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## JULY, 1900


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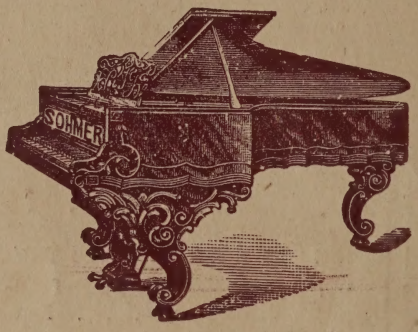


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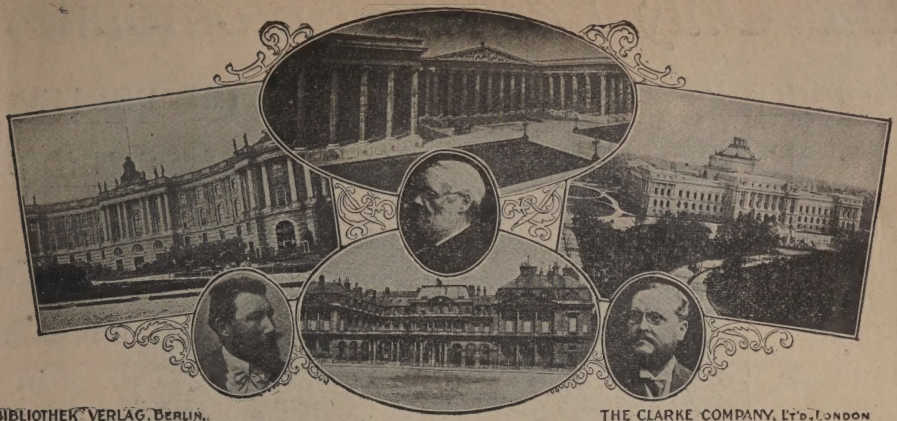

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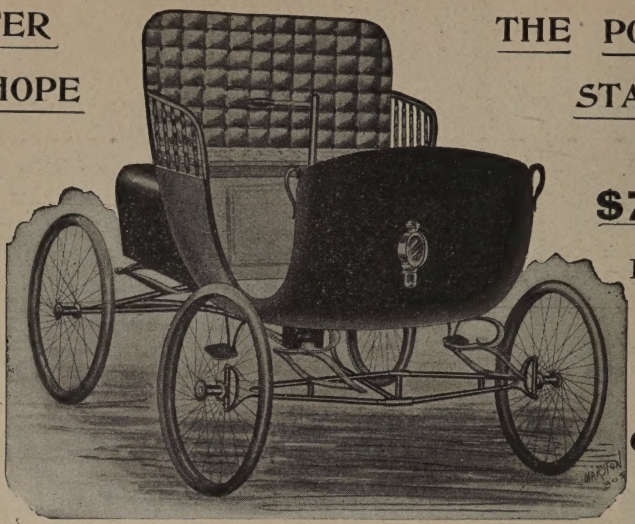

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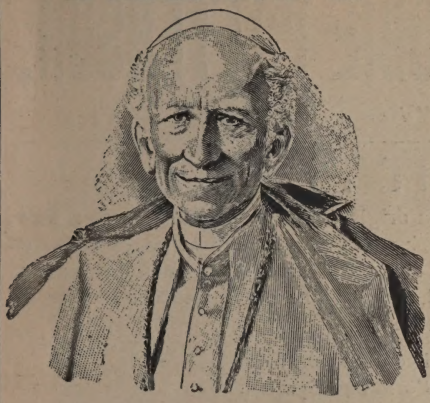

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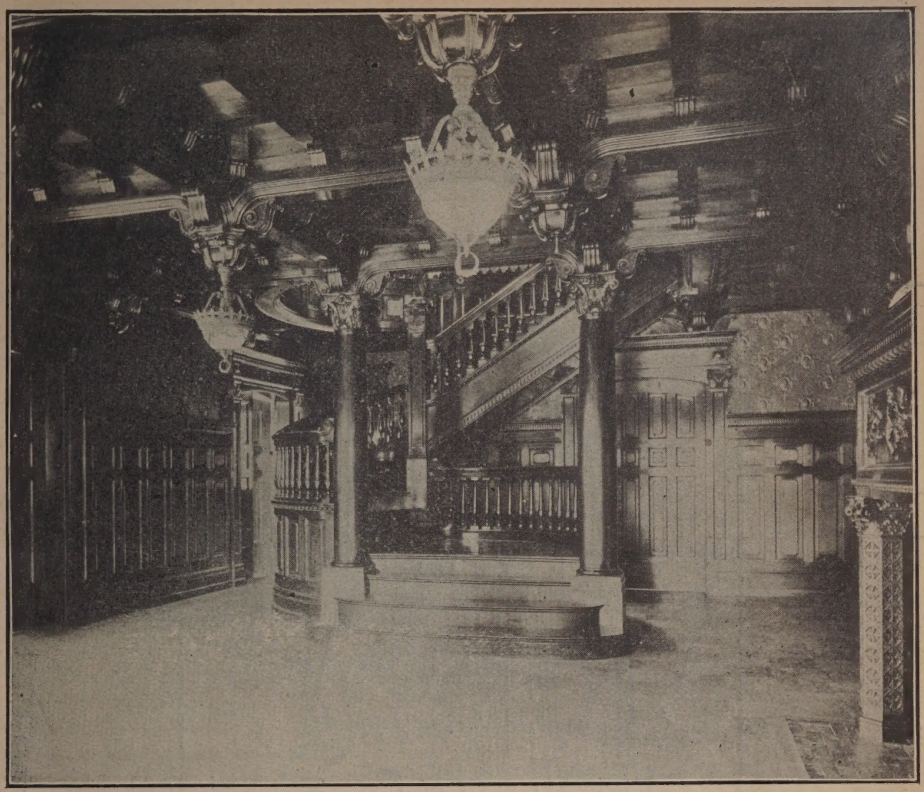

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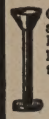

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# THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV. JULY, 1900. No. 1.

## THE CONCENTRATION OF COMMERCE.

### I. OVER-CAPITALIZED INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS.

NOW that the creation of new industrial corporations has ceased, American financiers are beginning to realize what a load of unnecessary securities the market is staggering under. Such periods of wild speculation and over-capitalization of enterprises of questionable merit as Wall Street has just passed through usually mark the culmination of any season of exceptional prosperity. The easy money conditions and active business that have recently existed in this country aroused the cupidity of unprincipled financial sharpers and even tempted usually conservative interests to embark in a series of enterprises that could only result in the loss of money by the public and the same relative gains by those engineering these undertakings. With but few exceptions, the new corporations were formed to acquire manufacturing plants, combining in one concern the various firms and small companies engaged in given lines of industry. These consolidations were weighted down with enormous capitals, far in excess of the actual value of properties secured. The process of absorption by investors has been attended by violent fluctuations in the stock market, which led to the collapse of last December and a steady decline in quotations, which has progressed with but

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few interruptions since that time. Even now this assimilation is far from complete; and judging from the shock to confidence, from the demonstration of the absolute failure of some of the new corporations, the public will be still more wary and inclined to sell present holdings rather than make new commitments.

These combinations have been popularly known as Trusts, but with few exceptions this appellation is not a correct one. There has been no proper definition of the meaning of the word "Trust" when used in this sense, the vague notion prevailing that it refers to any aggregation of capital that acquires possession of and consolidates the competitors in any line of trade, manufacture, or business. In the correct interpretation of the word, such control must constitute an absolute monopoly. It is almost needless to say that not one of the recently-formed organizations, no matter how great its capital, has secured entire control of any one industry. The companies formed to consolidate the iron and steel producing concerns are generally accepted as examples in any popular dissertation on Trusts. Nothing could be plainer than that these alleged Trusts are in reality competing one with another. This was difficult to discern when the prices of all commodities were advancing, and the question that most disturbed producers was how to handle existing business instead of how to secure new orders. The moment a retrograde movement developed, such as is now in evidence, the competition comes to the surface. In reality the Standard Oil Company is the only Trust in the United States that spreads its influence everywhere. This grasping corporation is unique in that it makes no effort to control the output of crude petroleum. This is its strongest point. Notice was served upon oil producers long ago that they could place all the petroleum possible upon the market, but that the only purchaser would be the Standard Oil Company. In this way individuals have been encouraged to sink petroleum wells. The Standard Oil Company has not been called upon to sustain any of the losses resulting from unsuccessful efforts to "strike oil," but when the petroleum has been found it has stood ready to buy all of it at a fair price.

Recent organizations have been confined almost entirely to the industrial field, where suitable opportunities were alone to be found. The same class of unscrupulous persons who in former years devised new railways, which were over-capitalized and sold to the public, were found among the leaders in the recent so-called "Trust craze." The one idea underlying all this pernicious activity was to create new securities, which the public were inveigled into buying by the circulation of the most glowing reports concerning possible earnings and dividends. Many of the conservative banking interests looked askance at these palpable bids for the public's money, for which little was to be given in return except vague promises. An effort was made to check the work of the promoter and engraver by the bankers, many of whom refused to loan money when these new stock creations were offered as collateral. This action was, however, too tardy to prevent the mischief already done, which led inevitably to the panic of last December. The scare that then took possession of investors and speculators was not based upon any reasonable consideration of the then existing financial conditions. It was caused solely by the congested state of the securities market, resulting from the unloading by insiders of the new securities upon general speculators and investors until they could no longer stagger under the heavy weight. Just at the time when a note of alarm was being sounded, and the thinking men in financial circles were beginning to trim their sails for a coming storm, the National City Bank lent its name to the organization of the Amalgamated Copper Company, which was one of the most alluring of the industrial possibilities. Standing at the head of the banking institutions of this country, this display of subserviency to those engineering the so-called Copper Trust was by no means an edifying spectacle to those inclined to look with favor only upon conservative and safe banking principles. This flotation proved to be the turning-point in the stock market. The last straw had been laid upon the bending back of the collective public investment and speculative class.

While the Copper Trust had only one kind of stock, a majority of the industrial companies recently formed were capi-

talized for both preferred and common issues. Against the large amounts of common or general shares, the only asset was the intangible value of "good will" and agreements with individuals whose plants were acquired not to compete for a term of years with the purchasing corporation. There was no actual consideration given for this class of stock, which in almost every case exceeded in volume the amount of preferred shares. In fact the common stock was distributed gratuitously to the promoters of the various enterprises, so that no matter at what price it was sold in the open market it represented clear profit to the original holders. With all this "water" injected into the new capitalizations, it is not surprising that the public, after being allured by flattering promises into purchasing, should have sold out in disgust when the crash came. The liquidation would not have been so radical had it not been for the collapse of the American Malting securities, the bankruptcy of the United States Flour Milling Company, and the evidences of weakness shown by the Distilling Company of America. In these cases the preferred shares fared quite as badly as the common issues. This calls attention to another method resorted to by these energetic promoters of buying various establishments for cash and then having them appraised at double the actual purchase price, in order to secure the preference shares that were supposed to be issued on a conservative basis for actual property acquired. Not since the palmy times of the late Jay Gould and "Jim" Fiske, have the annals of American financial affairs contained such dark pages as the period now happily passed, which will be known as the days of the "Trust craze," even though the term is a misnomer. The Stock Exchange itself cannot escape some measure of censure for permitting trading in the new securities without safeguarding the public by compelling the corporation to file regular statements of assets, liabilities, and general financial condition.

Only during periods of extraordinary business activity, when high prices are obtainable for all manufactured goods, can there be even a remote possibility of dividends being earned and paid upon the new common stocks. Even during the last

year, when every industry of the country was unusually prosperous and many of the new corporations reported earnings largely in excess of fixed charges and preferred stock dividends, the directors found it inexpedient in many instances to distribute profits to the common shareholders. As the years progress, during which present machinery will become antiquated and new plants will have to be acquired in order to keep in line with improvements of every variety, the weight of the present unnecessary capitalizations will become more oppressive. Perhaps the preferred stockholders will continue to receive dividends, but for the common shares there seems to be no hopeful future except upon a purely speculative basis, which is uncertain at best. New competing concerns with smaller capital, which will enable them to manufacture on a narrower basis of profit, will spring up. Many of the old ironmasters, tobacco manufacturers, whisky distillers, and others now under contract not to engage in business in opposition to the companies that acquired their former interests, will tire of prolonged inactivity and will erect new plants, either because the business is congenial or because the so-called Trust, then grown older, must pay them again to withdraw by buying their new plants, for which more securities will have to be issued.

It is, of course, not beyond the range of possibility that some of these new corporations will be successful. There may in fact be at least one of them that will prove to be a second edition of the Standard Oil Company. There are, however, no indications at the moment of such long-sustained financial prosperity. At any event, the originators of the companies will have to be replaced by more conservative persons before such a result can be accomplished. The United States is a great and growing country. Few nations could have withstood without more serious consequences the recent reckless speculations in over-capitalized corporations. This speculation has, however, dealt a staggering blow to the middle classes from which the securities market is still suffering. The average American enjoys gambling to an inordinate degree. These industrial common shares, to which the promoters were calling attention just

as an auctioneer invites the buying of his wares, caught the popular fancy. The protest and advice of the conservative interest in financial circles were unheeded. The financial strength of a nation does not depend upon the enormous aggregations of money held by a few individuals, but by the number of its citizens who are moderately well-to-do. The result of the "Trust craze" has been to take from the middle classes a portion of their savings or earnings and transfer it to those already rich. In this one respect the period has been a costly one to the masses. No new wealth was created—no new enterprises started that might benefit the country at large. There was not one redeeming feature, save the possibility that there may be economies in operating that will tend ultimately to reduce the cost of production. Even this result will, however, not prove beneficial to the holders of the unnecessary issues of common shares. Those bankers who lent themselves to these undertakings—fortunately, comparatively few in number—have nothing to feel proud of when the high prices at which these securities were sold to the public are compared with their present low quotations in the market.

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## II. CO-OPERATIVE BUSINESS *vs.* TRUSTS.

IT is generally conceded that the most marked industrial characteristic of our age is the rapidly increasing concentration of commerce in the hands of a comparatively small number of people; and no other subject, except perhaps the labor question, possesses a deeper or more disquieting import, both present and prospective, for a large portion of the community, especially for our practical economists, publicists, and legislators.

Before the introduction of steam and other motors, before the discovery of the various commercial, mechanical, and other uses to which electricity could be practically applied, and be-

fore the improvement and extension of our transportation facilities, such a movement could have had no existence—indeed, it could scarcely be imagined. The promise and potency of steam were but dimly discerned when the first train ran over the Stockton and Darlington railroad seventy-three years ago. Its utility as a motor for a thousand other purposes was not then realized. The millions of mills and manufactories that have since sprung into existence and attested its power as a factor in agricultural, manufacturing, and general commercial development were undreamt of; yet now, notwithstanding its unparalleled record and value as a motor, electricity and other motive powers have become its rivals and bid fair to supplant it with a promise so marvelous that no one will venture to predict the nature and extent of the progress that awaits the world in the course of a few years.

While new and powerful motors, machinery of all kinds, railways, steamboats, the telegraph, and recent scientific discoveries are the chief causes of the rapid concentration of commerce and wealth in a few hands, yet it must be observed that, without the consummate organization of business methods and appliances that is also characteristic of our time, such a concentration would not be practicable. This organization—plus capital, plus increasing and improving facilities for production and distribution—renders it seemingly impossible to place any limit on the concentrating movement. The accumulation of vast wealth and the control of enormous business interests by a few are regarded by many as a menace to the commonwealth. That they are a menace and an injury to the large commercial class whose means are only moderate there is no doubt, and that they may become a source of danger to the people as a whole is quite within the range of possibility. But how is this concentration to be limited or abated? The doctrine that every one has the right to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market is at once an instinct of the human mind, the core of self-interest, and the immutable axiom of both capital and labor; moreover, it is a doctrine that has never been successfully assailed by human reasoning. If, indeed, the Golden

Rule were universally obeyed, this doctrine would dissolve and usher in a new humanity and a new world—a heaven upon earth. But to-day individuals and aggregations of individuals constantly act on the principle of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, and in their hearts recognize no other; and were a general spoliation of the millionaires to occur to-morrow, and an equal division of their hoards to be made among the masses, the latter would on the day following begin to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market—and thus immediately sow the germs of a new concentration of wealth and commerce.

This movement possesses a tragic interest for all engaged in commerce, except the favored few immediately concerned in the process. The first to feel its effects are the smaller dealers—men with limited means to pay rent and other expenses that are high in proportion to the volume and profits of the business they transact: men that are unable to take advantage of the discount allowed on purchases for cash and whose exigencies sometimes compel them to give more credit than is warranted by their means. These men are gradually being forced out of business by the larger stores; and that the movement, beginning at the lowest, will attack in succession every grade in every line of business and attempt to establish itself in their place is becoming daily more evident. The tendency of concentration—another word for monopoly—is to destroy the business of hundreds of thousands of people who are now actively and profitably engaged in trade, make stepping-stones of them, and rise pyramid-like on their ruins. The pyramid, indeed, is an apt illustration of the movement: its base may be said to represent the entire area of commerce before undue concentration began, and the subsequent contracting elevations represent its progressive stages, until at length the apex, which will dominate the whole space, is reared.

That there are natural checks in the world of commerce, as in other departments of human activity, is unquestionable; and one of the most obvious of these, as regards concentration, is coöperation. When all the issues involved in the struggle be-

tween the moneyed class and the large number of small capitalists are more clearly seen, coöperation, whether embracing employees only or employers and employees together, will emerge in a much more effective form than ever to take a hand in the fight. But at present coöperation, while successful in several notable instances and susceptible of being made successful in a great many more, is unequal to the gigantic task. It is defective in capital, in method, in unanimity of ideas, and in unanimity of purpose. While it has grasped a fair idea of the peril surrounding the great army of smaller business men and their dependents, it has not risen to a full sense of the danger and is insufficiently equipped to do battle on their behalf. However, when coöperation develops sufficiently and assumes its rightful position, much may be expected from it; its characteristic weaknesses will then be corrected and counterbalanced by the combined influence of a common interest and a common danger. We may expect in time a vast mitigation of the evils of monopoly from intelligent and competent coöperation. It is true that the instincts of monopoly will be present in coöperation, and that the coöperative bodies will compete with one another, with the usual result—a diminution of profit to all. This, however, if not carried to excess, would only amount to a healthy rivalry, which without inflicting serious injury on the parties engaged in it would greatly benefit the general public.

Another natural check to concentration is the limitation of individual power, or capacity. Individual endowments are of great variety and large range; they ascend from the dark mind of the dunce, through every grade of mental, moral, and physical capacity, to the clear, cool-headed, competent business man. Practical business capacity of a high order is, however, confined to a comparatively small number of men. By far the larger number of those who engage in commercial pursuits fail not only in making a competency but in making more than a living. This fact assuredly indicates incapacity, or the limitation of the qualities necessary to success. Nor can we hope for much improvement in this respect; indeed, the only hope of bringing human intelligence and capacity up to their highest

development lies in *education,* using the word in its widest sense. If education be persisted in it will bring the mind up to its highest capacity of power and polish, but *it cannot transmute the baser metals into gold.* There is no reason to believe that any increase in the powers of the human mind has taken place since the time of Socrates; hence, what reason have we to expect any during the next two or three millenniums? It is true that, through the appropriation of the ideas and discoveries of a few great minds, mankind has risen within the last hundred years to a high plane of intelligence and capacity; but, while this is a practical and grand elevation of the race, it gives no promise of any general increase in human faculty. The higher we ascend in our observation of men's capacity the fewer individuals do we find in its strata. The great mass that lies at the bottom is more or less incompetent; at each upward step we find higher and higher abilities but fewer and fewer individuals, until we come at length to the very wise and very able—who are extremely rare in every age and country.

Many men that can successfully manage a business of moderate dimensions, when placed in charge of the same line of business on a larger scale, completely fail to hold it in hand and are ultimately compelled to abandon the attempt. In the ranks of commerce there are undoubtedly men quite competent to manage the increased business successfully, but they are comparatively few; and such men become fewer as the business becomes larger and more complicated. The natural inference from this is that business, if forced to a certain magnitude—which is the aim of monopoly—will get beyond the managing capacity of any man; in other words, the structure will fall to pieces from its own unwieldiness and weight. Nor can this be avoided by the multiplication of assistants or by the adoption of any "system," no matter how effective and comprehensive it may be. When the point of limitation is reached demolition and dismemberment will follow. It must be admitted, however, that the growing concentration of commerce has immense scope before such a limit can be attained; and, if nothing of an unforeseen nature occur to prevent it, the great bulk of com-

mercial business may soon be centered in the hands of a small number of men. Such a prospect, showing as it does the permanent elevation of a few possessed of immense wealth and power obtained at the expense and in many cases at the ruin of the many, is not a pleasing one. No well-wisher to humanity can contemplate such an issue with equanimity; but where is the remedy?

The remedies hitherto proposed by the most rational socialists for such a state of things are inchoate, unnatural, and impracticable. If all men were endowed by Nature with equal physical strength and energy, with equal mental and moral faculties, and above all with good judgment, socialism might become a possibility; but under existing conditions its suggestions have little practical application and are unworthy of serious consideration—except as signs of the times and as indications of certain peculiar phases of human nature. The department store and everything of which it is the type or ally have come to stay. The process of concentration is only in its infancy; and that it will go on until checked by its own magnitude, or by a regenerated coöperation, there can be but little doubt. Machinery of an ever-improving design, on an ever-expanding scale, will continue to supplant human labor until every unnecessary employee is weeded out of the factory and the store. Production in every line of goods will continue to increase. The merchant prince will purchase goods in larger and larger quantities, thereby securing the lowest possible price from manufacturers and producers and the lowest possible rate of freight from transportation companies. Goods will be sold at a low price for cash; and the owners of large mercantile establishments, though making but a small profit on individual transactions, will reap colossal gains from their aggregate sales. It is obvious that such a course of events involves the speedy ruin of the smaller men engaged in trade; for what chance has the man that buys by the hundredweight or ton, and often on credit, with the man that buys by the car-load or train-load and for cash? Then the folds of the boa-constrictor will twine around the larger traders until *they* are compelled

to succumb, which they will do in the order of their financial strength and business capacity—the weakest always going first.

In this remarkable revolution in commerce there will be many compensations to the public. While concentration is in progress, and before its final stages are reached, all the necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life will be bought at lower prices than ever. What the result will be when the process reaches its maximum development it is not easy to say; but even then it will be impossible to exact exorbitant prices without creating a social and political revolution. Not the least advantage to the public will be the introduction of an almost universal habit of cash payment. Credit, which is not without its uses, but is nevertheless too often the parent of imprudence and extravagances, will almost disappear from commerce.

The important question now arises, What is to become of the hundreds of thousands of persons who sooner or later will be thrown out of the employments for which they were specially trained and for which alone the majority are adapted? Such persons will, at least temporarily, swell the ranks of the existing army of the unemployed. That they will suffer privations of many kinds is inevitable. The main answer to the question, and it applies to the unemployed as a whole, is that they must betake themselves to agriculture—man's original and most natural occupation. They must settle on the land—such areas individually as their means and abilities may enable them to cultivate. The cultivation of the soil does not, as a rule, result in making many fortunes; but with ordinary industry and moderate capital it almost always results in affording a comfortable living. And, so long as the land, implements, and cattle are kept clear of incumbrance, such a life is the most independent that any man can lead. In agriculture, monopoly—such as is possible in commerce—cannot exist; and, aside from unfavorable conditions of the weather, the only bugbear the cultivator of the soil has to fear is low prices for his products. But, if he keeps clear of debt, low prices cannot ruin him, and he can always live on the products raised by his own hands.

Compensation will come to him from time to time in the form of good crops and high prices, when his patience and industry will be rewarded. A certain proportion of those thrown out of employment will be absorbed by the various mechanical and other trades, but for the great majority there is no other choice than settlement on the land; and the sooner this is realized and preparations made for the change the better.

Every age has had its characteristic grievances, and mankind at every stage of its history has had to contend with monopoly in one form or another. No sooner has one wrong been redressed than another has arisen to take its place; indeed, the chief problem of the race during all the ages has been to emancipate itself from its own thralls. With every member of it born a greater or lesser tyrant and monopolist; with inequalities in mental, moral, and physical endowments; with an overwhelming preponderance of inferior ability in its mass—the task thus far has been neither easy nor satisfactory, and the solution of the problem is still far out of sight. The developments of the nineteenth century in every department of human industry have added to its complications and will evidently retard its solution. We can only hope that ultimately mankind will fall into such attitudes and relations with its own occupations and interests as will be at once the most natural, the most acceptable, and the most conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people as a whole.

DUNCAN MACARTHUR.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## THE HOUSE AND THE ELECTION OF SENATORS.

THE House of Representatives, by a vote of 240 to 15, has passed a joint resolution providing for the election of Senators by the direct votes of the people. This practically unanimous vote carries with it no great importance, for the reason that the House has long been willing to propose such an amendment, and, the assent of the Senate being necessary, it is always understood that this cannot be had. Therefore, if this *brutum fulmen* of the House has any significance, it is to show the estimate of Representatives as to the wishes of their people on the question.

It must be conceded that there has been much in recent years connected with the election of Senators to cause the tendency of public opinion to criticize the present method, as producing a marked falling off in the dignity, usefulness, and power of the Senate—converting it, as some charge, into a "chapel of ease for millionaires; a baron's castle for the spoilsman." The simple remedy, though an *ad captandum* one, is at once suggested: "Bring responsibility nearer to the real source of power, and the unworthy, the incompetent, and the corrupt will be detected and defeated." It is questionable whether experience has shown that direct responsibility has resulted in official probity, efficiency, and good faith to an extent to justify us in reverting to one of the plans rejected in the Constitutional Convention and embarking on a fresh voyage of experiment.

The method of choosing United States Senators is a part of the form of government created by the Constitution of 1789, and in force now for one hundred and ten years. The greatest difficulty—which seems very slight now, but was almost insuperable in the beginning of the Convention's work—was to find a different basis of existence for the two houses. It is difficult to say what philosophic principle is enshrined in the two chambers; all we can answer is that it has been found that

more than one house is necessary and that more than two are too many.

The excellence, if not the necessity, of the bicameral system being conceded, the question was as to the modes of composing them. It was regarded as essential that this composition of the two houses should be based upon entirely different principles, unlike in their origin and derivation and inspired by the like jealousy of each other. If the two were elected for the same period and by the same electors, they would amount in practise to little more than two committees of the same house. What was wanted was two *bona fide* different houses, "representing the impulse as well as the continuity, the progress and the conservatism, the onward zeal and retentive element, which must ever form integral elements of all civilization." When the federal Constitution was formed, the interest of independence for the separate States and the interest of union for the whole people were the two conflicting interests, and a compromise was necessary. It was felt that in a federal government there must be some institution, some authority, some body, possessing a veto, in which the separate States comprising the federation are all equal. There was no different class, as in Great Britain, from which to elect a House of Lords, and the formation of a smaller house on the same basis as the other would have ended in the establishment of a system having none of the advantages of two houses; for both would be controlled by precisely the same ideas.

Several plans were originally suggested in the Constitutional Convention. While Mr. Gerry proposed that Senators should be appointed by the Executives of the several States, Mr. Wilson and Mr. George Mason of Virginia advocated their election by the people. Four modes were mentioned: First, by the first branch (House) of the national legislature; secondly, by the national Executive; thirdly, by the people; fourthly, by the individual State legislatures. It was conceded that an election of at least one branch of the proposed national legislature by the people immediately was a clear principle of free government. Mr. Madison considered "the popular elec-

tion of one branch of the national legislature as essential to every plan of free government." Mr. Gerry conceded that much, saying: "It is necessary that the people should appoint one branch of the government in order to inspire them with confidence"; but he wished the "other [the Senate] to be so modified as to secure a just preference of merit." Mr. Madison was for "refining popular appointments by successive filtrations," but he would have the "expedient resorted to only in the second branch [the Senate] of Congress, the Executive and judiciary branches of the government." Mr. Dickinson said he wished "the Senate to consist of the most distinguished characters," and he thought "such characters more likely to be selected by the State legislatures than by any other mode." Mr. Pinckney thought that "the second branch [the Senate] ought to be permanent and independent, and that the members of it would be rendered more so by receiving their appointments from the State legislatures."

It is manifest that there prevailed in the Convention that framed the Constitution much distrust of popular elections. There were other influences that induced the Convention to confide the election of Senators to the legislatures of the States. The State legislatures, during the war for independence and for some time afterward, were the favored and trusted depositories of a variety of delegated powers. During that period the legislatures elected the Governor and other chief officers, both civil and military, in the several States. The same legislative bodies selected and commissioned the members of the Continental Congress. Indeed, all the members of the Convention which framed the federal Constitution were chosen in the same way by the legislative assemblies of the different States. The final action of the Convention was due to the gradual and somewhat reluctant agreement of conflicting purposes. On Mr. Wilson's proposition to elect the Senators by the people, ten States voted "nay," and Pennsylvania alone voted "yea"; and on the proposition to elect by the legislatures, which was called the "Connecticut compromise," two States only voted "nay"—Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Thus the principle of the independence of the States prevailed in the formation of the Senate, and that of the sovereignty of the nation predominated in that of the House. The Senators, as they represent the States, are chosen by their respective legislatures, not by the people; they represent the States as the constituent members of the Union. The Senate was instituted as an earnest of the abiding equality and sovereignty of the States. The true character of the Senator is that he is the representative, but not the deputy, of his State as such. That is a political society of itself, yet a member of a union—in which capacity, of course, all members, *i. e.,* States, are equal; and for which reason an equal number of these State representatives is fixed for all, of which they cannot be deprived. The members of the House are the direct representatives of the people, apportioned according to population.

Senators are not, however, in any sense delegates of the governments of the States. They are not subject to instruction as to their votes by any State authority, not even by the legislature that elected them. Senators may be said to represent, not the governments of the States, but the people of the States organized as corporate bodies politic. What they may lose through not standing in immediate contact with the people, they gain in representing such ancient and powerful commonwealths as the States; and their election by the legislatures gives the State governments so essential an agency in the formation of the general government that their separate and independent existence is recognized and preserved, and they are in their sovereign character living and active members of the federal body.

All foreign critics have found in the method of choosing the members of our Senate a sufficient if not the sole cause of its excellence as a legislative and executive authority. It is their opinion that the mode of electing that body constitutes its functions one of the effectual checks—one of the real balances of our system.

A philosophic analysis of any successful system of self-government will disclose the fact that its only effec-

tual checks consist in a mixture of elements—in a combination of seemingly contradictory political principles. The Senate is valuable, by this rule, in our democracy in proportion as it is undemocratic; its mediate election giving it independence, and coming, though mediately, from the people, and equally responsible to them for its conduct, but resting on a more permanent basis and constituted with stronger inducements to moderation in debate and tenacity of purpose.

The characteristic qualities of the Senate, in the intendment of the Constitution, are wisdom and experience: that its members will entertain more enlarged views of public policy, and feel a higher and juster sense of national character and a greater regard for stability and permanence in administration. The mode of their election should largely remove Senators from that temptation to servile obedience to the whims of popular constituencies to which members of the House are constantly subject. The Senate may respond rather slowly to changes in popular sentiment. This is not objectionable. We are in more danger of suffering from hasty legislation than from tardy legislation. Popular opinion is often wrong at particular moments; but, with time to cool off and reflect, it is almost certain to correct its mistakes.

The Senate is less democratic than the House, and consequently less sensible to transient phases of public opinion; but it is not less sensible than the House of its ultimate accountability to the people, and is quite as obedient to the more permanent and imperative judgments of the public mind. It cannot be carried so quickly by every new sentiment or howl, but it can be carried quickly enough. Popular demands, ere they reach the Senate with definite and authoritative suggestion, are diluted by passage through the feelings and conclusions of State legislatures, which are its only immediate constituents. The Senate, of course, owes its existence primarily to the necessity of giving due recognition to the principle of State equality; and this principle is still in the strict sense of the word of vital import. But, however that may be, the fathers

of the Constitution were quick to see that tasks of the greatest consequence, in no way connected with State equality, could be assigned to the Senate. Time has not made these tasks less essential.

When somebody railed at the adoption of the bicameral system of the Convention some one is said to have interposed by asking, "What do you do when your tea is too hot?" "I pour it into the saucer to cool," was the reply. "Well," rejoined the sage, "the Senate is the saucer." If any modern constitutional State cannot do without such a saucer, it is our Republic. And it is our imperative duty to keep it fit to serve its purpose, which it fairly, if not perfectly, realized from the foundation of the government until a period within the memory of many now living. I do not believe that it has altogether departed from and is failing to serve its purpose. The Senate is unreasonably disparaged. Professor Woodrow Wilson says: "It is just what the conditions of public life in the country make it. Its members, as a rule, are chosen from the ranks of active politicians, and it is probable that it contains the best men that our system calls into politics." We are disposed to expect the Senate to be just what the Constitution intended it to be—full of stateliness of character and wisdom of practise, with aims exalted as is its place in the federal system; and because its election is not directly of the people, we expect that demagogy would find no life possible in its halls.

While the Senate is in fact nothing more than a part of the public service, there cannot be a separate breed of public men reared specially for that body. It is mainly recruited from the House of Representatives, or branches of the representative system, of which it is only the topmost part, and takes the best men from it. It may not be what we wish, but it contains the most perfect product of our politics. It may not be, what it was once justly designated, "incomparably the foremost legislative body of the modern world;" yet some of the most remarkable men of the country still perform their most remarkable achievements there, and the body of eloquence and

learning that goes to perpetuate its influence and traditions still includes the best the country produces.

While in point of dignity and authority it has in some respects disappointed the sanguine expectations of its founders, yet the Senate is still certainly the most impressive part of our constitutional system, unless we except the Supreme Court. Practically, in many States the election of Senators has become a popular election, the function of the legislature being little more than to register and formally complete a choice already made by the people. But let the form—the historic and traditional form—be preserved. To take from the legislatures the choice of Senators would at once alter fundamentally the relation of the States to the federal Union; it would deprive the States, as such, in their political capacity, of their legal representation in the Senate; and it would destroy the check a majority of the States have upon the legislative powers of a majority of the whole people. Complicated as this check is, it both recognizes and preserves the residuary sovereignty of the States.

Boyd Winchester.

*Louisville, Ky.*

## WILL THE CHINESE MIGRATE?

THE disintegration of the Chinese Empire, which seems inevitable, will no doubt more seriously affect the United States than any other country, because this is a more inviting field for labor. If the European Powers succeed in carving that empire to suit their greed, or through their interference bring about a change of government, a spirit of unrest will be created among those four hundred millions of people, and they will begin to migrate. Their objective point will be California, which will be the distributing center for the United States—as is it is now, mainly. Comprising about one-third of the human race, when once started they may swarm over here in such large numbers as to change the industrial condition of the Pacific Coast States, and even the whole United States. The "Exclusion" law does not exclude, but, like most others, exempts the self-styled "privileged classes."

The Chinese may swarm to these shores in such numbers that only an army can check the tide, when once set in motion. The Chinese are energetic and persevering, and no obstacle is too great for them when their life, and even their welfare, is at stake. We are destined soon to feel the effects of that "awakening" we were instrumental in bringing about. Their numbers are increasing in California and throughout the Pacific Coast country, notwithstanding the "Exclusion" law. And from California they are sent to the Eastern cities and farms as soon as they find employment through their agencies in San Francisco.

The "Exclusion" law exempts diplomats, scientists, tourists, teachers, students, and merchants. The term "merchant" is susceptible of a wide construction, limited largely by the ingenuity of the immigrant and his capacity for swearing. Under this favored clause from two to three hundred "merchants" and "tourists" arrive at San Francisco by each Oriental steamer, aggregating about ten thousand a year. This

number is increased by others who swear that they are natives of the State and are returning from a visit to the old folks at home. Witnesses are at hand when the statement is doubted, and it is "proved," though they may have never before seen California. The photograph of the immigrant is attached to the certificate, but it does not enlighten the immigration officers to any great extent. Generally, the office-holder's ethnological knowledge is very limited, and his means of identification is principally through whiskers. These the Chinese, as a rule, do not wear—very seldom before the age of thirty years. Even then they do not go beyond the delicate mustache, or goatee. The main reason is that they cannot. This limitation of Nature aids them in evading our laws and overrunning our country.

In addition to the foregoing, the Chinese are "smuggling" themselves into this country through British Columbia and Mexico; also, by sailing-vessels from other countries. From 400 to 500 a month are thus "smuggled" into this country. A few are arrested and deported, but these most successful of all immigrants manage to evade the "lynx-eyed" officials, either by their own shrewdness or the intervention of one of the Chinese immigration companies. The greater number of those returned at government expense, however, wish to go. They are not recent immigrants, but have labored here long enough to accumulate a good working capital and desire to return to China, where a wife can be cheaply bought and their earnings last much longer than here. Accordingly, the shrewd Chinese permits the official to catch him in the act of crossing the boundary line—and he is sent home at the expense of the government. It is charged that some of the officers are in collusion with the Chinese in this "open smuggling;" but, whether true or not, the fact remains that a great deal of this swindling is being done on the borders.

Under these restrictions, which make it a crime for a laborer to enter the country, the Chinese may not come in sufficiently large numbers to prove an important factor for two or three decades. But a dissolution of the Chinese Empire will no

doubt set in motion such a mass of these plodding, industrious, tenacious laborers that in a comparatively short time the industrial condition of the Pacific Coast will be revolutionized. Under no other condition than necessity will the Chinese leave their native land. The officials have always opposed emigration, and have strongly resisted the settlement of foreigners in China. Their "friendly" relations with this country were brought about by force, it must be recollected; and then, when we saw that this country was a good field for their laborers, we hastily erected the "Chinese wall" of exclusion that we had "battered down."

Isolated behind their walls of exclusion, in perhaps the grandest country in the world, the Chinese were satisfied with their religion, their civilization, and their literature. They avoided contact or communication with the "outside" world. Having the oldest civilization known in history, they looked with indifference upon all others and were prejudiced against other people. Their civilization was superior to that of the adjacent countries, yet they did not attempt to force it upon them or to "colonize" their weaker neighbors. They were opposed to "expansion" in every sense. With a powerful government, a history of greater antiquity, a more extensive literature, and a system of philosophy older than Christianity, while embracing some of the principles of that religious system, it is natural that they should consider themselves superior to all other peoples and violently oppose any attempt to "civilize" or Christianize them. For centuries this patriarchal government has stood, while others rose and fell. By their conservatism and industry the Chinese maintained the most numerously populated government, under one head, that has ever existed. Their customs and beliefs are virtually the same to-day as they were two thousand years ago. What was good enough for one generation is good for all time, they reason.

Such a people, if they emigrate in any considerable numbers, will ultimately have a marked industrial and political influence upon any country in which they settle. This is evidenced

by the revolution in the labor market of California, and of the Pacific Coast generally, in consequence of Chinese immigration. In brightness of intellect, power of imitation, and industry the Chinese equal any other nationality and are superior to many. They are quick to learn English and do not drink intoxicants nor go out on strikes; hence, they are preferred to laborers of any other country. They are always at work at something, and have a remarkable adaptability for changing from one occupation to another—which is only done, however, when there is no work to be had in their regular vocation. They are ever striving to improve—to advance from unskilled to skilled labor, and eventually to the post of employer and owner.

The introduction of Chinese labor in California was made necessary by the scarcity of white labor and the high wages arbitrarily demanded. The projectors of the trans-continental railroad required several thousand laborers and could get only about ten per cent. of the number. It was cheaper to import them from China than to drum them up in Eastern cities. All the white labor that could be got was employed, however, and paid full wages, while the Chinese were paid only about half as much. Immigration companies were formed and Chinese laborers were imported by the ship-load for the large wheat-fields and fruit farms, railroad building, and the more unhealthful work of ditching swamp lands. As white men would not work in the tule swamps, an extensive area was thus added to agriculture. It is estimated by those who have studied the "Chinese problem" that Chinese labor has increased by at least one-third the total wealth of the State. The cry of the agitators that the Chinese "send the money they earn out of the country" is no argument. The *labor* remains, and the resources developed by that labor continue to increase in value.

This is the class of people who have gained a firm foothold in the United States, and who in time may overrun this country as did the Northern barbarians the face of Europe; but with this difference: the Chinese will bring a civilization far

superior to that of any of those migratory tribes, and one that is not influenced by impressions from without, but is as unchangeable as truth. The United States, and especially California, is to them the most inviting field in the world, and if they begin to migrate a very serious problem will confront the American people. This depends upon present European complications, or rather the grabbing of the remainder of the Chinese Empire. The nearness of the Pacific Coast and the cheaper transportation rates make the Coast their objective point. In addition there are gold and silver mines, a mild climate, and comparatively high wages. Cheap labor is, and always has been, in demand on the Coast in order more fully to develop the material resources of the country and enable its industries to compete with those of the Eastern States. Capitalists have always encouraged Chinese immigration, and will so continue. With them it is a matter of business, not sentiment; and so long as Chinese laborers find employment they will continue to come, regardless of the "Exclusion" law, which is easily evaded and rarely enforced. Under these ordinary conditions they will undoubtedly become a troublesome factor within the next generation. But the future can take care of itself—perhaps.

The Chinese were first attracted to California by the discovery of gold. Naturally conservative and slow to move, only small numbers came each year until it was learned that the "Gold Mountain," as they called California, was indeed a rich field. Encouraging reports were sent back and the emigrating began in earnest. Agencies were established in San Francisco, and within a quarter of a century two hundred and fifty thousand Chinese laborers were imported, and the nucleus of the Chinese quarter in San Francisco had increased to fifty thousand people—about one-sixth of the total population. Then began the "crusade" that resulted in the present "Exclusion" law. Although the Pacific Coast country was sparsely settled and labor was in demand, especially cheap labor, the people saw, or thought they saw, the coming danger. Nearly as many Chinese enter the United States through this open

door, and the closed one (by smuggling), as came when the Golden Gate was wide open. The Chinese population of San Francisco has not perceptibly diminished; neither has that of the Pacific Coast States and Territories. Since the beginning of the crusade a steady stream has been pouring into the Eastern and middle Western States. The popular belief is that the Chinese population of the far West has been correspondingly decreased; but other Chinese have taken their places. The opportunities in the United States are much greater than in their own overcrowded country, and they will only return home when they have accumulated enough—leaving their places to others of their countrymen.

The first Chinese immigrants worked in the mines, generally in the districts abandoned by white miners as unprofitable. They were persecuted as no other race in this country has been, not excepting the Indians. Lawless men robbed them of their small gains, drove them from their mines, and shot them down without provocation, merely because they were of an "inferior" race; and their oath in court was valueless as against a white man. Each Chinese laborer was required to pay a "foreign miner's" tax of $4 a month, and $50 upon arrival. This was exacted of no other foreigners. The proscriptive law, which was of course unconstitutional, specially applied to those foreigners who were ineligible to naturalization. As the Chinese are ineligible under the treaty, there was no necessity for this circumlocution. They proved to be industrious, law-abiding, and sober laborers, and capital opened the way for them.

Gradually their labors were extended from the mines, railroads, and tule lands to the lighter work on the farms and in house-service. As servants they are far superior to those of any other nationality, and they were much in demand, especially as it was more expensive to bring servants from Eastern cities. The immigrants were consigned to some one of the "Six Companies," according to the districts whence they came. They were sent, under the charge of a "boss," to points where labor was needed. If there was not enough work for all,

the Company provided for the immigrant until employment was found for him, the expenses for his support to be paid from his first wages. The employer contracted with the "boss" for a stated number of men, at a given price, and paid the money to him. The "boss" pays each laborer, deducting the amount he may owe to the Company. There is not an instance known of a "boss" running away with the money of the gang. The same simplified system of employing and paying for labor prevails now. But in the matter of house-servants, and where a small number is employed, the employer deals with each individually. Since each one is free to contract, and to annul the agreement when he wishes, the inference is that they are not "coolies," nor contract laborers as the law implies. The employer contracts with a "boss" as a matter of convenience, for it is doubtful if he could understandingly carry several hundred Chinese names on his pay-roll; and as personal identification is difficult to the Caucasian, he may pay the wages of Ah Sin to Wun Lung. The president of each of the "Six Companies" denies that these organizations are immigration companies, stating that they are solely benevolent associations and that their only office is to provide for their countrymen, after arrival, until they have found employment. While this "benevolent" statement is true, they no doubt regulate the supply of immigrants according to the demand for labor. Of course this "benevolence" is paid for by each immigrant, just as the white laborer pays a fee to his labor bureau.

From the foregoing it would seem that the Chinese have a firm footing in the United States and are better organized than any other class of immigrants. That they will remain there can be no doubt, judging from their history; and that they will largely increase in numbers is a natural conclusion. How soon this gradual immigration will affect the destiny of this country is a matter of figures, multiplied by the demand of capital for cheap labor. Whether or not this country shall be overrun by a peaceful army of invasion depends upon the inevitable disintegration of the Chinese Empire. A country of

400,000,000 inhabitants is assuredly a menace to the United States when once its people begin to migrate.

What effect they may have on our civilization can be inferred from their brief history on the Pacific Coast. It must be recollected that it is not the custom of the Chinese to bring their families to "new countries," and their system of morals permits them to have a "second wife," after the manner of the patriarchs. The children are legitimate under Chinese law, but the wives are divorced at pleasure, and generally descend in the social scale. Hence, the Chinese do not assimilate with any other nationality. Polygamy is one of their principles of philosophy, and, with the polygamists of Utah to the East, the social conditions of the Pacific Coast must soon undergo a radical change. There are about five thousand "second wives" on the Pacific Coast, and about two thousand in San Francisco who are neither maids, wives, nor widows. They have a government, irrespective of our laws, to which every Chinaman is subject. The same laws prevail as in China, and the same code of punishments. Headquarters are in San Francisco, with local officials in the various Chinese colonies. Their civil affairs are settled by arbitration, the boards being selected from the merchants and leading members of each colony, or "Chinese quarter." An appeal to the American courts is a very rare proceeding. Wherever they go they take their customs and laws, believing them superior to those of any other country.

While the Chinese have exercised an indelible influence over the social and economic conditions of the Pacific Coast, they have themselves remained uninfluenced. The efforts of our Christian missionaries and school-teachers have failed to change their belief from the philosophy of Confucius and the worship of their ancestors. The unjust city ordinance that required them to cut off their queues had no effect other than to imprison them, though the queue was once the fashion in this country. When the Tartar dynasty forced this badge of captivity upon them, many chose the alternative of losing their heads rather than wear the queue. So strongly is the custom

implanted that no doubt they would now prefer to lose their heads rather than the queue. The tenacity with which a Chinaman clings to his queue indicates his unchanging loyalty to the Chinese Empire; and when he has parted with it he is a man without a country—he has renounced his allegiance.

They cannot, it is evident, be "civilized" according to *our* use of that word. On the contrary, they hold their civilization to be superior to that of any other country, but they believe it is their mission to conform all others to their own; therefore, it does not seem possible to break down this "Chinese wall of superstition." Our chief care is to resist its encroachment, especially the worship of idols. But it is not their philosophy and customs that menace our nationality: it is their overwhelming numbers, which once set in motion are powerful enough to change the social condition of the world.

No census has ever been taken of the Chinese population on the Pacific Coast. These people do not understand its necessity, and thwart every effort in that direction. Furthermore, their names render the work almost impossible for a white man. The official figures do not show the total arrivals, for many are "smuggled" in, as has been shown. It is certain, however, that, notwithstanding the "Exclusion" law, their numbers are increasing in California and throughout the entire Pacific Coast. There are about two thousand native-born Chinese in San Francisco. Under the Constitution of the United States they are entitled to the elective franchise and are eligible to office. Many of them vote, but it is difficult to discover their politics. Within the next decade this native-born voting population will have become an important factor in San Francisco politics. This will be one of the "Chinese problems" that this city and State must solve in the near future.

The only way to check this flow is to repeal the favored clause—excluding all except diplomats. This would greatly reduce the opportunities for "smuggling." It is not probable, however, that this will be done. Capital demands cheap labor, and the Chinese will continue to come, irrespective of law and

the probable effects of their increasing numbers. But the coming dissolution of the Chinese Empire may cause a migration which we perhaps cannot check, and which in time may change the social and political nature of this Republic.

J. M. SCANLAND.

*Cripple Creek, Col.*

# NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST PRESIDENT.

IN his "Popular Government," Sir Henry Maine insinuates that our democracy counted on being sure to select the best men for the offices, but has signally failed. On the contrary, we can safely aver that no monarchical government of the nineteenth century has been able to show a list of rulers comparable with our American Presidents. Of the three departments of government, the executive has proved safest and invariably truest to the popular sentiment. New England has had many candidates for the Presidency, but only three of her citizens have reached the coveted office: John Adams, his son John Quincy Adams, and Franklin Pierce. Of Vice-Presidents she has had four: John Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Hannibal Hamlin, and Henry Wilson. Of the disappointed candidates the most notable were Daniel Webster, James G. Blaine, and Geo. F. Edmunds. The first two failed for reasons easily translatable. Incomparably popular, the people failed to see that there was good cause for trusting them with the supreme executive office; and in both cases the popular judgment was probably correct.

There has been good reason, however, for Mr. Maine's criticism, taking it from an English standpoint. It has been impossible for a foreigner to form any judgment of our public men not tinged with the campaign sentiment in which we have ourselves indulged. I am glad to know that my own weariness is not singular, in opening book after book written by the sons or grandsons of Federalists, or by others echoing old Federalistic sentiments, and reading of New England's first President, John Adams, that he was "vain," "conceited," "egotistic," "coxcombical," "censorious," or "insane with stubborn conceit." Even this is feeble language when compared with that used by Hamilton in his diatribe upon his rival. When we come to inquire why all these charges are brought against John Adams, Hamilton's opinion is finally quoted.

Well, Hamilton hated Adams, and was himself perhaps the most self-inflated man that ever rose to eminence in the United States. Here is a letter quoted by a recent biographer to show that Adams was censorious. Speaking of the first Congress, Adams wrote:

"The deliberations of Congress are strung out to immeasurable length. There is so much wit, sense, learning, acuteness, subtlety, eloquence, among fifty gentlemen that an immensity of time is spent unnecessarily. This assembly is like no other that ever existed. Every man in it is a great man—an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man, upon every question, must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities. The consequence of this is that business is drawn and spun out to an immeasurable length. I believe that if it were moved and seconded that we should come to a resolution that three and two make five we should be entertained with logic and rhetoric, law, history, politics, and mathematics; and then we should pass the resolution unanimously in the affirmative."

Precisely why a private letter of this sort, bubbling over with pleasant good nature, should be set down as "censorious," passes the power of an unprejudiced person to conceive. Almost without exception, these critical writers allow for every act of Mr. Adams's public policy, honesty, good sense, sound judgment, and patriotism; then systematically they qualify it all with the appendix that he was arrogant, foolish, and blind. In the wild fury of popular enthusiasm, after Talleyrand's insult to our ambassadors, we are told that Adams uttered a characteristic "bit of foolish and superfluous rhodomontade" when he said: "I will never send another Minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, independent, and powerful nation." Well, Mr. Adams never did send an ambassador until he had such assurance. But the trouble was that he sent ambassadors at all, while many of his party desired a breach of peace with France.

John Adams came to the front as early as the first conflict with the mother country. He was destined by his parents

for the ministry, but, coming into sympathy with the spirit of the age, which was very interrogative, he soon found himself blurting out heresy where he tried to be heroically orthodox. He thereupon took a short turn and landed in the law. It must be allowed, however, that he never got over a little of his early training—a fondness for discussing religion and theology, which easily dropped into a bit of a sermon. Coleridge asked Lamb if he had ever heard him preach. "I never," stuttered Lamb, "heard you do anything else." Mr. Adams saw the moral side of politics always first, and it was largely due to him and to Jefferson that the Republic in its early days was based on ethical principles. The historian has it constantly before him that the Federal Union was formed for the distinct purpose of beneficence as well as independence. In New England this arose out of the religious spirit; in Virginia it was due to philosophy. Adams was a Puritan, but a very well-read one; while Jefferson was a disciple of Rousseau and the Humanitarians.

Adams's life spanned the first Congress, the war for independence, the building of the nation, the struggle to create an aristocratic government in the place of the democratic, the Federal revolt of 1803, the second war with England in 1812 (which established our place among the nations), and the promulgation of the league with Britain in 1823. A stirring era indeed, the whole of it. Mr. Fiske speaks of the critical period of American history as covering from 1783 to 1789; but the whole of our early history down to 1823 was uncertain, if not unstable. And Adams's life almost exactly spanned this period. Jefferson, writing of Canning's proposition to establish an alliance of the liberal governments against the despotic, said: "The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us." It is certain that none of the early leaders who had most to do with shaping our policy felt confident of the future until this happy

event of 1823, which Jefferson denominated "the American system."

After the conflict of citizens and troops on the fifth of March, 1770, Adams did not hesitate to defend the soldiers for the part they had taken in resisting the citizens. It is reported that the position firmly taken by him changed the policy of opposition, which was rapidly running into that of riot and mob law.

Four years later came the first Continental Congress. Adams never dreamed in his early days of popular rule. He had believed in freedom, but it was that freedom which comports with the right of the select to govern the masses—and of the masses to select the best to rule them. His Congress was an ideal one—to be made up of the best of men. He wrote: "This will be an assembly of the wisest men upon the continent, who are Americans in principle; that is, against taxation of Americans by authority of Parliament." He felt timorous about entering such a body. In his meditations Adams was always dramatic; in his actions he was always executive. Therefore, in his talk he was inclined to speak much of himself. This has been branded as egotism, and his critics cannot easily get over the difficulty. But at this period of his life we are told that "there is a profound consciousness in Mr. Adams, in the presence of great events; and that there is perceptible scarcely any trace of that unfortunate vanity and egotism which so marred his aspect when time had taught him that he was really a great man." Perhaps we shall find, however, just as much difficulty in discovering this strange egotism, this haunting censoriousness, at a later date.

Those who constituted the first American Congress had a tremendous task. They were from all parts of the country, with marked dissimilarity of colonial taste, and not a little jealous of one another. Adams says of Philadelphia: "The morals of our New England people are much better. Their manners are more polite and agreeable. Our language is better; our taste is better; our persons are handsomer; our spirit is greater; our laws are wiser; our religion is superior; our education is

better." And this, in terms, was the opinion that each colony had of the others. The Bostonians got some broad hints to carry themselves more modestly; and they took the hint with good nature and acted upon it. But, very curiously, the men of Massachusetts especially liked the Virginians, and the Virginians in turn respected those of Massachusetts. The different delegates compared notes, as best they could; passed non-exportation and non-importation acts; and when they adjourned were much nearer unanimity than when they met. The fact was, the times were crowding: they must either agree or submit to England. Everybody was choosing sides. Hate was rapidly taking the place of discordance of opinion. Scission from the mother country was common sense. A committee was appointed to consider a declaration of independence. The battle was a long one, and at first the majority were largely adverse. Men like Jay were opposed to the last. But what else could be done? The people demanded it; England was crowding and goading the colonies to extremities. It was impossible that the storm should settle down into a calm without decisive measures. Adams had for some time urged measures of an aggressive sort, and was not wholly satisfied that the Declaration of Independence had not been made seven months previous; but he contented himself with the consideration that many people had, during the lapse of months, given up their hopes of being pacified with England, and were more ready for the Declaration:

"Time has been given to the whole people maturely to consider the great question, to ripen their judgment, to dissipate their fears: by debating in assemblies, by discussing in newspapers, by committees, and at county meetings, as well as in private conversation; so that the whole people have now adopted the Declaration as their own act. But the day is past; the second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns,

bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward for evermore. You will think me transported with enthusiasm. I am well aware of the blood and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this declaration and support and defend these States. Yet through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph in that day's transactions, even although we should rue it—which I trust in God we shall not."

From this we discover that Adams was far from being either slow in patriotism or insane with radicalism. He had carefully measured the event. He took in to the full the probable consequences. And we cannot but say that his language is that of a Christian statesman. So far Congress had created an association of the colonies, but not a confederacy. This, Adams implies, would soon be the order of events. The day to which he refers is not the fourth of July, but the second, on which was passed the preliminary resolution, before the form of the Declaration had been settled. The committee, at the head of which had been placed the young and brilliant Jefferson, included the aged Franklin as well as John Adams. The composition of the paper devolved largely upon Mr. Jefferson; but it was afterward reviewed by Adams and by Franklin separately, and many erasures were made by each. After it was reported, the fight for its passage fell almost entirely upon Adams. Jefferson, marvelously skilful with his pen, was not fond of debate. On the fourth of July the Declaration was finally approved, and signed by all the members present with one exception.

Adams, from the beginning of the discussion looking toward a separation of the colonies from the mother country, was urgent in advocating an alliance with France. After the passage of the Declaration and the common forces of France and the United States had brought England to her senses, John Adams appeared in a third rôle as diplomat. He was sent by the new government to act with Franklin in securing a treaty of peace. Notwithstanding the blunt straightforward-

ness of the Adams stock, it has always furnished excellent statesmen. "The art of ruling," wrote Jefferson to George III., "is the art of being honest." Diplomatic skill is always most permanently successful when entirely free of Machiavellianism. The history of the Treaty of Paris is a good example, as at a later period was that of Ghent, of straightforward honesty. In the former case John Adams was chief actor; in the latter John Quincy Adams was eminent. When John Adams reached Paris, Jay and Franklin had been at work for several months, trying to get the tangle unsnarled that mixed up Spanish and French interests with those to be settled between America and England. Adams, like all New Englanders, was suspicious of Frenchmen—notwithstanding the aid they had rendered us in the Revolution. This was partly because all New Englanders had pure English blood, with English instincts. They doubted the motives of France in helping to dismember Great Britain. Adams began by paying scant court to the French minister; and when at last he did call on Vergennes, he let out some strong democratic sentiment, that was at least unusual and unexpected.

The demands for compensation to Loyalists for damage that accrued during the war make curious reading in these days. Those who were refugees in New York, with the British, formed a sort of congress, to which they elected delegates by colonies. This congress, among other resolutions and documents, issued a proclamation suggesting to England what should be done with the rebels and their property, closing with this passage: "Would it not be proper, as well as just, to have the estates of the rebels who have gone out of the king's lines forfeited, confiscated, and sold by commissioners to be appointed for that purpose, and moneys arising on the sale to be applied to the use of the refugees, to compensate for their suffering by the rebels, in case of parliamentary donation?" England, it was suggested, should make herself good by seizing the islands belonging to Spain and France and holding them in reprisal.

The administration of Adams as President was turbulent

and critical, only because the Tories had been enfranchised with political power and largely restored to their old estates. The first political problem before the new nation was, What shall be done with the Tories? Robert Livingston in 1784 wrote: "Our parties are: first the Tories, who still hope for power; second, the violent Whigs, who are for expelling the Tories from the State; and third, the Moderates, who wish to supplant violence and soften the rigor of the laws against Loyalists." Hamilton took up the cause of the Tories, and soon succeeded in having them restored to political equality. They constituted a large element of the Federal party, which elected Adams to the Presidency; but they were not his friends. They were the tools of Hamilton. They never gave over their attachment to England and their opposition to republican institutions. In the furious onslaught made by Hamilton on Adams, and the effort to make the party as well as the government semi-monarchical, these Tories were the soul of the movement. The end was that the United States entered on a dangerous struggle between "the people" and "the best."

Elected to the Presidency in 1796, Adams's administration has never had full justice. He had the severest task of any man that ever held the office, not excepting Mr. Lincoln. Public policy was undefined. The cement of Union had not hardened. Each section threatened to break off at the slightest provocation. The Southwest was restless. New England was jealous of the South. Virginia statesmen had democratic ideas that New England statesmen generally did not share. Otis, Ames, Strong, Pickering, and Judge Parsons were among the leaders who had no faith in popular government. It was a common phrase among them that "democracy is a disease." Cabot did not hesitate to say that there was no cure for the ills that troubled New England but to get rid of popular government. Hamilton not only had no faith in the people: he had none in the principles of the Constitution. "The people," said he, "is a great beast." Of the Constitution he said, "No man has less faith in it than myself, although I do not tell of it from Dan to Beersheba."

Adams had by instinct strong sympathy with the Federals, but his experience was leading him directly the other way. He was during his Administration a conservative republican. It was his lot to be in nominal alliance with Hamilton. Hamilton's ambition was unbounded. He issued an address to Congress demanding an army of fifty thousand, and that he himself be senior major-general, next after Washington, who was already superannuated. He engaged in negotiations with Great Britain to lead his army, while England furnished a navy, to attack the Spanish possessions, including Florida, Mexico, and Cuba, and not excepting the South American Spanish colonies. His plans, of course, involved not only alliance with Great Britain but war with Great Britain's enemies. First of all he would plunge us into an attack upon France, our old friend during the Revolution. The Jay treaty with England had already angered France and led to a disruption of diplomatic correspondence. Our Minister was sent home, much to the disgust of the American people. Adams had a task before him that demanded the very highest courage, honesty, and self-sacrifice. He never hesitated. Comprehending the plot of the Hamilton clique, he cast away private ambition; he refused to indorse the scheme for filibustering; he insisted that faith should be kept with France; and as soon as conditions would permit, in spite of furious opposition, he sent negotiations to reëstablish conditions of friendship. He ordered Hamilton to go to his regiment and attend to his official duties. A new treaty with France was agreed upon and cordially reëstablished. Adams was brutally assailed, in a lampoon pamphlet, by Hamilton, and had in addition to bear the odium of the Alien and Sedition acts recommended by Hamilton but not approved by Adams himself.

When we consider the enormous pressure brought to bear upon Adams to perpetuate Federal party rule, it is astonishing that, standing almost entirely alone, he was able to stand firm. In fact the patriotic student of history thanks God as heartily for the stubbornness of the Adams stock as for the sublime dignity of Washington. John Adams was the very man needed

for the time. Washington yielded to Hamilton, and to his influence we owe the only episode in Washington's career that we can wish erased. It is doubtful if Jefferson, had he been elected in 1796, would have been as capable of stemming the onslaught of this adroit mind. The proposal of Hamilton included an army twice as large as that which our Republic considered necessary a century later. A war with France would have exhausted the young nation. The Alien and Sedition acts not only brought about the disruption of the Federal party but came near breaking up the Republic. When war with France seemed inevitable, Adams alone resolved to send commissioners to reëstablish amity. It was not plain sailing in any direction for the young nation. We were in danger of two wars at once. Only the most thorough statesmanship could have guided us through the dangers.

I cannot read without indignation the charge that Adams was "hot-headed" in the final break-up of the Federal party. It seems to me he was supremely the one cool-headed man at that hour. With intense prejudice against all that was French, nevertheless he alone refused to obey his instincts and act unjustly. He was cool enough to resist both his party and himself. He was obstinate for the right; yet what better could we ask of him? The historian will surely reverse the applause given to the bellicose and self-seeking Hamilton, and equally the censure showered upon Adams, who in 1815 wrote: "I will defend my mission to France as long as I have an eye to direct my hand or a finger to hold my pen. They were the most disinterested and meritorious actions of my life. I reflect upon them with ever-increasing satisfaction, so that I desire no other inscription upon my gravestone than 'Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800.'" Let us write that inscription today, deep graven in American history, enameled with the gold of the nation's gratitude! It is time for us to exalt John Adams. Why confuse with disproved exceptions our praise of the brave, honest, unselfish man who threw away the chance of a reëlection and willingly gave up his rightful place as the

chief in a nation that he had himself been largely instrumental in creating?

The men whom Adams had accepted as his Cabinet openly revolted, and he concluded to discharge those least to be trusted. He criticized McHenry; he told him the truth in blunt Adams style; and the next morning McHenry resigned. Pickering was allowed quietly to resign. But Hamilton still had one friend in the Cabinet, who reported to him all the secrets that he could use with which to make mischief. Adams was virulently assailed as having abused his Cabinet. The facts are that all through his Administration Adams was generously confiding. He never forsook Wolcott, who was never true to him in return. Even Aaron Burr, whom he detested, he did not fail to measure justly—as a man of remarkable talent and natural power, which he thought could be used for good if Burr "could be kept on the right track." He went to Washington to urge that Burr be made a brigadier-general; but Washington replied that all that he had seen and heard of Burr was favorable to his bravery, though it seemed to him doubtful if the man was not equally talented in intrigue. We may sum up the character of Adams as eminently generous, tolerant, and unsuspicious; but when once he had discovered good reason for doubting the loyalty and honesty of a man he hated him. He could read character, but seldom did so. When he discovered treachery, he was inclined to give way to a disagreeable habit of personal repining. His health in early life had led him to a habit of complaining, which developed a form of pessimistic logic. In his old age he discussed the value of life with a tone and argument that would suit Mr. Mallock. But to charge Mr. Adams with a lack of generosity, and with a suspicious character, especially in his dealing with his Cabinet, is bitterly unjust.

Hamilton began a tour to make sure of cheating Adams of a second nomination. But he returned, reporting that, while the Federal leaders were all sound in their opposition, the common people were all with Adams. Then came that supreme effort of vindictiveness, Hamilton's pamphlet. He got his

material from McHenry and Pickering, and from Wolcott, who still held his place as Secretary of the Treasury but told all its secrets up to date. The story of Adams refusing to take part in his successor's inauguration ceremonies has been told over and over to his disadvantage. It has, however, never been told as a plain, unvarnished tale. Adams was still a Federalist—he had not yet gone over to Jefferson's views of popular government; but he did not stand for the Federal party as it was represented in Congress. The leaders detested him, and they were unstinted in their abuse. He was pronounced by them to be insane. If he had remained in Washington to attend the inauguration he would have been made a sorry figure. He felt that he was disgraced, and was indignant at the treatment he had received; but he had never expressed, under all this burden, half the indignant wrath that Washington had been accustomed to pour out in the case of much milder criticism, and possibly more deserved. It was the fate of a man who stood nominally at the head of a party that did not believe in government by the people. A mighty struggle was going on to establish the United States on aristocratic principles. On the one hand Jefferson was organizing the people; on the other, Hamilton was organizing the social and political "best." Adams, fortunately for us but unfortunately for himself, was not with either. He certainly did not stand with Hamilton; and he was as yet but slowly moving toward Jefferson.

Retired from public life, the great commoner soon had congenial work on hand. He began a reply to Hamilton, but concluded to drop it. When the traitor Pickering, however, assailed Jefferson, Adams wrote a superb reply defending Jefferson. It is difficult to tell from Pickering's pamphlet whether he most detested Adams or Jefferson. He bitterly complains that "Adams seems above all things in his old age anxious to conciliate the good will of Mr. Jefferson." In 1803, Pickering, Wolcott, Governor Strong, and others began the effort to cleave New England from the Union and create a Northern Confederacy. Such letters as the following constitute a chap-

ter of eternal shame. Governor Griswold wrote: "The project we had formed was to induce, if possible, the legislatures of the three New England States that remained Federal (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire) to commence measures which should call for a reunion of the Northern States. The magnitude and jealousy of Massachusetts would render it necessary that the operation should be commenced there. If any hope can be created that New York will ultimately support our plan it may perhaps be successful." Pickering wrote: "If Federalism is crumbling away in New England there is no time to be lost. Separation must begin with Massachusetts. The proposition would be welcome in Connecticut; and could we doubt of New Hampshire? But New York must be associated, and how is her concurrence to be obtained? She must be made the center of the Confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would follow, of course, and Rhode Island of necessity. Who will take the lead?" Students of history need not be told how near this conspiracy came to a successful issue. Adams watched the leaders with lynx-eyed vigilance, and thwarted them at every turn. They did, however, form a league with Aaron Burr to elect him governor of New York, on condition that having brought that State into the conspiracy he should become its acknowledged head. Burr failed of securing his election as governor, because Hamilton would not consent to exalt his rival to such supremacy. Then followed the duel; and Hamilton was shot, while Burr became an outcast. So ended the epoch to create a rule of aristocracy in America. Adams did not like either Burr or Hamilton. He found them not to be totally unlike in character, and placed them in the same category as dangerous schemers.

The advanced years of Adams grew beautiful with amenities of old age, but more particularly in the charms of a remarkable friendship for Jefferson. He read omnivorously and corresponded voluminously. From his letters we find that he was after 1805 a full convert to the doctrine of popular sovereignty. He found the common people far safer depositories of power than their leaders had been. But Adams was not made

for retirement. He had been active in public affairs from the first defiance of Great Britain. He had lived through the corner-stone era. He was as much entitled to be called Founder of the Republic as Washington was entitled to be called the Father. He did not choose to lie idle and wait for decrepitude. At times he fell into a mood of unrest and dissatisfaction. Who could have foreseen that the Republic would have become ungrateful to John Adams? He did not grow conservative, however, with old age, but broader minded to the last. When eighty-five, in the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, he strenuously insisted on an article to do away with State recognition of distinct modes of religious faith.

The supreme disaster of Adams was not his collision with Hamilton or his disagreement with Pickering and other leaders concerning commissioners to Paris, but it was that contrary to his own best judgment he signed the Alien and Sedition bills. These were a part of the scheme of the arch-plotter Hamilton, and Adams was but half aroused to comprehend the drift of this political bigotry. He knew it was aimed at Gallatin and indirectly was intended to damage Jefferson. He comprehended the injustice of the acts and their unwisdom. He fought openly and bravely against the Hamilton program; but after the Alien act had been modified and the Sedition act was rid of its most violent clause he signed the bill. In after years he never failed to express his detestation of the whole business. The immediate effect was to stir the people of nearly every section of the country into revolt, not against the party but the Administration. The cunning hand of Hamilton was concealed; the weight of public indignation fell on Mr. Adams. His was not the temper to explain or retreat. While the Federal party crumbled, Adams was assailed on both sides. The republicans charged him with political tyranny and a willingness to establish autocracy. The Federals charged him with egotism and laid the blame of their disruption, not on the Alien and Sedition bills but on the Adams revolt from party discipline. He fell between the two. It was a sad fate. The ablest statesman of the Revolution became

the scapegoat of as impudent a set of political rogues as our country has ever developed. In 1796, elected over Jefferson; popular everywhere to a high degree; the pride of New England; already the running mate of Washington; conscious that he had led the armies of peace during the Revolution—in 1800 he found himself plunged into a chaos of obloquy, misunderstanding, and aversion. Hamilton canvassed the country to prevent his renomination, and, failing in this, he contributed as far as possible to his defeat. The Federal organization dissolved beneath him, and John Adams went into history as the cause. Honest research is slowly rectifying false records; yet it will be many years before Hamilton will be rightly relegated from undeserved popularity and John Adams lifted to the place that the new nation gave to him at its birth beside Washington.

One might search the nineteenth century through for an instance comparable to that which led a party, already in full possession of power and with a prospective lease far ahead, to wreck itself and strand its leader—without the least compensation in prospect. The warning is clear that the path of justice and honor, of absolute right, is the only path that can safely be followed by those in power. The people cannot be fooled by cunning pretenses and specious excuses. He has not begun the Alpha of statecraft who imagines he can hoodwink the popular instincts of right and wrong. We are now closing another century with the most emphatic reiteration of the fact that the people can be trusted to govern themselves in the spirit of righteousness, but that the representatives of the people are always in danger of being blind both to the demands of political prudence and equally to popular sentiment. Historic periodicity seems to bring about old truths once in a hundred years—enforcing them with new illustrations.

Close after Thomas Jefferson the final verdict of history will place John Adams as the great constructive force of the Revolutionary and the Constitutional eras—the building period of the nation. There should be a renascence of love and reverence for John Adams in the hearts of his countrymen. He

should be studied as the ideal patriot, the well-tempered republican, the scholar among statesmen, the man that saved us in the crisis that threatened the displacement of democracy in favor of aristocracy. His moral nature never failed to move, *pari passu,* with his intellectual, in every stage of the world's most revolutionary period.

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# THE REFERENDUM IN AMERICA.

THAT there is a strong sentiment in this country, or in certain sections of it, in favor of enabling the People to make their political power felt more directly in legislation cannot have escaped the careful observer of political conditions. The growth of this sentiment can, I think, be readily traced to two sources. The first is the widespread distrust of State legislatures, which, though not confined to recent years, is certainly very much accentuated by the conviction that corporations, Trusts, etc., exercise a dominant influence over legislation, and that this power could be exerted less effectively at the polls than in the lobbies of the State legislatures. Whether or not this conviction be well founded is a question I do not propose to argue; but the fact of its existence will not, I think, be seriously disputed. The second source is an increased faith in the wisdom and virtue of popular government.

Given these conditions, it is but natural that the people should seek some remedy; and, being a practical people, it is not surprising that they should avail themselves of the political experience of other countries. Switzerland having advanced further along the line of pure democracy than any other republic, it is but natural that they should have turned to it. Finding the people of Switzerland armed with the initiative and referendum, the question inevitably presented itself to them as to whether or not these political institutions would be applicable to the existing conditions and be a fitting remedy for the political evils from which they are suffering. In our present discussion we will omit an examination of the initiative, reserving that for separate treatment.

There are two kinds of referendum—optional and compulsory; the latter would require popular ratification of all acts passed by the legislature, the former simply those with which there is popular dissatisfaction. As the compulsory referendum has not been advocated seriously, we will omit consideration of it.

The Swiss plan of optional referendum, as modified in phraseology to conform to that of our American States, involves the following provisions:

1. That after an act has been passed by the legislature in the regular course of legislation it shall not take effect until a certain time fixed by law shall have elapsed.

2. The act as passed shall be printed in all the official county newspapers.

3. That within the said time the people of the State, by a certain number of qualified electors (generally twenty per cent. of the electors of the State), may by petition require the Executive to submit any objectionable act to the electorate before it can become a law.

4. That, in the event of such petition being made, the Executive shall call an election of the people to pass upon such act by a "yes" or "no" vote, by ballot, and in case a majority of the ballots are against said act such decision of the voters shall constitute an absolute veto.

5. That by a certain vote (generally two-thirds or three-fourths) an act may be passed by the legislature to take effect at once. This is a provision for emergencies, in which case the popular dissent cannot be had until the next legislature is elected.

In discussing this plan with reference to its adoption in our States, certain facts must ever serve as touchstones for testing its adaptability: (1) Is it consistent with the fundamental principles of a democratic republic? (2) Is it adapted to the necessities of a rapidly developing State? (3) Would the people be willing and able to give time enough to it to make it effective? (4) Are the general intelligence and independence of the rank and file of voters such as to allow of putting the plan into successful operation at present?

With reference to the first question, there is little room for serious difference of opinion; for it is not difficult to harmonize the principle of popular veto of legislation with the basic ideas of popular sovereignty. Therefore, it seems to me that, if the plan is to be assailed, it is not from the standpoint of its

lack of harmony with the genius of our political system. In fact, we have already introduced the referendum principle into our State governments through the Constitutions of our States; *e. g.*, the Constitution of Illinois provides that the division of counties by the legislature shall not be binding unless ratified by a majority of the voters concerned. Here is clearly a popular veto upon acts of the legislature. Many provisions involving the same principle are found in the Constitutions of other States. The question, therefore, becomes one of degree rather than of principle—how far is it wise to extend the principle of popular veto? Granting that it is wise to apply a principle to a certain extent, it does not follow that it is wise to admit it to its fullest extent. In questions of government, regard must always be had to existing conditions. It may be that a conservative plan, as the one we are discussing unquestionably is, would be well suited to the needs of an old country, in which the conditions of life and industry are largely static, and not at all adapted to a new country in which economic conditions are of great variety and changing with intense rapidity. Moreover, a change in the relative distribution of population from agricultural to urban life necessitates a change in legislation to make it conform to the new order of things. Hence, it might easily be that a system of legislation that would work well in Switzerland, where there is comparatively little need for change in legislation—because of the distribution of population, the lack of variety of industries, and the stage of development reached—would not be well adapted to the dynamic condition of affairs existing in most of our States, owing to their immense resources.

The second question raised is, indeed, debatable, and we have but *a priori* reasoning and an imperfect analogy to aid us in arriving at a conclusion.

In seeking an answer to the third question raised, we must bear in mind this fundamental fact in practical politics: that any system of government requiring for its successful working more of the people's time and study than their economic and social life will permit, or their tastes impel them to give, is

impracticable. This question, like the second and fourth, is one of fact to be determined by experiment, and it seems that the end and the chances of success would justify the experiment. Certainly our political system is well adapted to the performing of such practical experiments in the art of government; our States form a great Political Science University of forty-five laboratories for experimentation—the results of some of which experiments have made every future generation our debtor.

But while I am in favor of a trial of the plan, the successful working of which I would hail with intense delight and satisfaction, I would not close my eyes to the fact that there are many and weighty objections to it; hence, in a spirit of fairness I will present such as occur to me. In the first place, it is cumbersome, requiring machinery of the State to be brought into action for purposes for which it is not well adapted. It is also expensive. Nor is this a trifling matter, when we consider the necessary outlay for printing in the various newspapers and in holding the elections, which includes cost of ballots, rent of polling-rooms, pay of judges, inspectors, and clerks, and a reasonable estimate for time spent by voters. It would necessitate either that a great number of elections be held, which in itself would lead to turmoil and confusion, or that a number of bills be voted upon at the same election, in which case the voter could know very little of the merits of the bills upon which he was voting; hence, his judgment could have but little value.

The impossibility of the voter familiarizing himself with the bills upon which he is to pass will appear immediately from an inspection of the records of legislatures in such States as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Illinois; for, as a matter of fact, diligent legislators (for there *are* some diligent legislators), whose entire time and energy are spent in studying bills, are unfamiliar with many bills that are passed by their State legislatures.

It is hardly fair to legislation; for when submission of a bill is secured by petition it is *prima facie* evidence that it

is objectionable, and to overcome this presumption would require a careful study of the bill, which the average voter has not the time to give. The above theory has proved to be the fact in Switzerland, where we find that nearly every bill submitted to the electorate is killed because of prejudged notions; and a large portion of bills thus rejected are found by careful, candid investigation to be wise measures. This is particularly true of appropriation bills, the majority of which were in no wise extravagant; but somehow most men have a constitutional aversion to paying taxes, and hence to ratify measures that will necessitate any increase in taxes. It might not lessen the amount of partizan legislation, but on the other hand it might increase it; for the demagogue would have a wider field and more occasions to manifest that concern for the welfare of his fellow-men which is consuming in its intensity.

Men are, as a rule, better fitted and have greater confidence in their ability to pass upon the qualifications of legislators about whom they know considerable than upon measures about which they know very little. In other words, average men study biography much more carefully than they study political science; therefore, men more readily yield to the judgment of others as to the wisdom of a measure than as to the qualifications of a man. Thus it might infuse into our civic system more "peanut" politics, of which we are already suffering from an overdose. In fact, it is easily conceivable that the petition for submission might emanate from partizan motives rather than from a sense of the injustice or inexpediency of the measure.

It would essentially change the character of the legislature, by removing in large part its responsibility for legislation, until it would soon become little more than a drafting committee.

In its present state of development, the plan is defective in that it makes no provision for amending a bill or for striking out a mischievous clause from a bill otherwise unobjectionable. This defect could, however, be remedied in part by making such changes in it as we have made in the veto power of governors and mayors—by enabling them to veto specific clauses and thus cut off riders to appropriation bills, etc.

The power of the supreme court of the State in controlling legislation would be greatly weakened; for few courts, especially where the judges were elected, would declare a law unconstitutional after it had received the direct sanction of the people. It would cheapen Constitutions; for, ordinary legislation having an equal sanction with the Constitution, the tendency would be to consider all laws bearing the seal of the people as constitutional: hence, there would be no permanent Constitution at all.

I do not assert that all these evils would result, but there is a possibility of it; and I think the possibility—nay, even the probability—is sufficient to make us guarded. Yet, as all systems of government are imperfect; as the plan under consideration is consistent with the genius of our political system and would be politically educative, with at least nothing explosive about it; and as the best and in fact the only conclusive test of the feasibility of a plan is its actual working—I think that the facts amply justify a trial of the plan in question. If found to work well we would have made a valuable discovery in legislative science, and if it would not work well we would be convinced of that fact and would return to our present method better satisfied. I am fully aware of the aversion of many to experiments in political institutions, and I share this aversion, provided the experiment is unpromising or mischievous; but this is no wild-cat scheme, and has many commendable features. Perchance a trial plan would prove in this, as in the elective judiciary, that the actual working would force the logic of theory to give way to the logic of facts.

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# OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

## I. Turkey and the United States.

THE Turko-American diplomatic relations have been of recent years most unsatisfactory. The two countries have at no time reciprocated intimate friendship. In the infancy of the American Republic, the Ottoman Sultanate realized the tremendous resources of the newly-founded government upon the Western hemisphere and the power awaiting her in the horizon of her future greatness. Turkey, therefore, thought it desirable to form an alliance with the infant country, and with this object in view she sent an admiral, with his own flagship laden with presents, to the American Chief Executive. But she was chagrined, to put it mildly, to learn that neither the admiral nor his bounty was received at Washington; for fully a year he had to anchor off the harbor of Philadelphia, until Congress reluctantly authorized the President to accept the presents from the Sultan.

The publicity given to the matter at the time and the public comments that it elicited were very unfavorable to Turkey, which has ever since frowned upon the people of this country, with whom she has fully realized that she may not expect an alliance when European nations shall attempt to deface the map of the world by causing the downfall of the Turkish Empire. Furthermore, the righteous indignation of the American people when the world has been thrilled by the frequent Turkish atrocities, and the impassioned speech of Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, have lost for America the confidence of Turkey, which thereby became convinced that she may not only expect no aid from America but also that our people are not more friendly to her than Europe has been; for it was the progenitors of both American and European tribes that fought for centuries against the Saracens. It may be said, therefore, that, since there exist no common interests, diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United States are

a mere formality; for, indeed, commercial intercourse between the two countries is not such as to warrant the expense of keeping up the American consular service in Turkey.

It is evident that Turkey has no "interest" to protect in America. She is not a commercial country; neither are any of her people financiers with American investments. The thousands of her subjects who have found a haven upon American soil are not in need of her protection, for they have fled her domains to escape the persecutions their fathers have met with at the hands of the tyrannical Turks, who have also devastated their country and left them no means whereby they might obtain a decent livelihood. On the other hand, the oppression of Christians in Turkey has elicited for them the sympathy of the liberty-loving Americans, who are at all times prepared to respond to the cry for succor against tyranny and persecution.

Religious intolerance, fanaticism, and racial hatred, which are prevalent in Turkey, elicited on behalf of the Christian population of that empire the sympathy of Christendom; and religious America has undertaken to ease their hardships by educating their children and establishing among them institutions that breathe liberty and inculcate advanced thoughts of life and Nature. Turkey, on the other hand, has been inimical to this work, and is therefore unfriendly to those to whose generosity is due the alleviation of suffering in the Ottoman Empire, where not only schools but orphan asylums and hospitals are supported exclusively by Americans.

The objection of Turkey to the education of Christians may be explained by the fact that it is against her policy to relieve her Christian subjects of the disgrace of illiteracy, into which they have been lulled through centuries of oppression. Her policy is to discourage the betterment of their condition generally; therefore, she bars out their children from her public schools, notwithstanding the fact that the parents are taxed to sustain these institutions. She is desirous of keeping them ignorant, fearing that education would enlighten and influence them to demand tolerance for their religious convictions and

the justice that is the natural right of every living soul, which unhappily is being denied them even upon the very soil that gave birth to the greatest precepts of justice.

The fact that Americans own educational and humanitarian institutions in Turkey entitles them to the protection of their home government; therefore, the United States has "interests" in that country. Moreover, thousands of pilgrims annually cross the Atlantic and the Mediterranean to worship at the shrines of Christianity in Turkey, and such persons must be protected while thus sojourning among fanatic and semi-civilized tribes. Hence, it is to our interest that there exist diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey, but not for the object of identifying ourselves with European diplomacy, particularly when the so-called "Eastern question" is the issue of the day; for America has repeatedly declared to the world her policy of not interfering with that tedious affair.

The present disturbance in the relations of the two countries, therefore, has not the faintest shadow of bearing on the "Eastern question," but is the result of Turkish intolerance of American humanity and destruction of mission property. The issue that called for the recent strong diplomatic negotiations between Turkey and America is known as the "indemnity claim," for whose adjustment this country refused to join the concert of Europe (which has similar claims against Turkey) in 1898, but preferred to act independently, so that she would avoid being dragged into the Eastern controversy.

The "indemnity claim," however, is not the only question at issue between the two countries. The treaty that was signed by both in 1868 is probably of far more vital importance than all the questions that America will ever be called upon to adjust with Turkey. This treaty has for many years weighed heavily upon the mind of official Washington, which is reluctant to make public the facts of the controversy. It has been condemned by able lawyers as being both unconstitutional and a disgrace to American citizenship, inasmuch as it confers upon the Sultan certain privileges that are beyond the power of Congress either

to claim for itself or to grant to others. Its striking feature is the fact that through it this government is forbidden to protect a certain class of American citizens within an empire with which she holds diplomatic and commercial treaties. The United States government is bound by this treaty to deny not only protection to American citizens but also their citizenship rights. She is obliged virtually to recognize American citizens of Turkish birth as Turkish subjects while living in their native land, although they are accorded the rights of full-fledged American citizens while living in their adopted country and protection while traveling elsewhere—except in Turkey.

It is needless to recall the fact that the Constitution of this Republic demands full protection to American citizens throughout the world. The treaty of 1868 is therefore a travesty upon American principles and institutions. There is only one American citizenship, and it knows no distinctions.

Those who abandon the homes wherein they were born, and in which Nature has portrayed for them pictures of the sweetest memories in human life, should be cordially welcomed when they come here to find a haven and espouse American principles and institutions. A clause in the treaty of 1868 requires that every Turkish subject who desires to become an American citizen must apply to the Sultan for permission to do so and place in the State Department at Washington several hundred dollars, which go to swell the exchequer of the Sultan. And this permission is never easily obtained, although in every case of the sort the American Minister in Constantinople is obliged to open negotiations that consume years before the Sultan grants his consent; meanwhile the applicant, who has been declared a free citizen of America, is forced to support an empire in which he does not live and to which he does not belong. The shortest time in which the State Department ever obtained permission of the Sultanate to receive a Turkish alien into American citizenship, whose rights he had meanwhile exercised, was seven years.

These facts suggest that this treaty should be at once abro-

gated. It is an open secret that the Sultan strongly abhors those who relinquish their allegiance to him and adopt American citizenship, especially because he fears they may enlighten and urge their relatives remaining in Turkey to demand their rights.

The Sultan's legation at Washington is unlike other diplomatic delegations, inasmuch as it conducts no negotiations with the State Department on any important question; for it is never called upon to protect the Sultan's subjects in this country, who have come here to seek American protection against Turkish oppression. The legation is, I am safe in saying, a bureau of intrigue, since it transacts no officially legitimate business; its chief mission is apparently to keep Turkish subjects here in a state of dread and fear, and by threats to compel them to retain their Turkish allegiance.

In my opinion, diplomacy with the Sultan is not the method by which Turkey may be brought to reason. The diplomacy of the whole of Europe, which has been directed toward this object for many centuries, has not yet accomplished its mission; neither has the power of the Christian Church exacted justice for the oppressed subjects of the Sultanate. This country will never accomplish any results through diplomacy with Turkey. A Dewey, a Schley, or a Sampson should be seen and heard upon the Bosphorus—not only that the "indemnity claim" may be paid and that shameful treaty abrogated, but also that the Sultanate may have cause to respect America and protect her interests in Turkey.

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## II. THE UNITED STATES IN CUBA.

IN reviewing the present situation in Cuba, it is necessary, in order to arrive at anything like a just estimate in a reasonable length of time, to begin with some realization of the sharp contrasts to be found here in phases of development,

of living, and of moral judgments wrought into the definite expression of words or acts. For palace and hovel, ignorance and culture, refinement and vulgarity, good and evil, verge upon each other with no intermediate ground. As, in the people of the island, the sturdy middle classes that make the bone and brawn of a nation are wanting, so in their customs, their institutions, their homes, their very habits of thought, the golden mean that balances life is a quantity rarely found. Having settled upon this, and realized that you are studying a bit of Latin Europe, not Anglo-Saxon America—even of Latin Europe with much of medieval dust and feudal corruption still unshaken from it—you are better prepared to set out upon your tour of investigation.

To such a people, then, antipodal to ourselves in most of the intrinsic characteristics that differentiate nations as well as in popular institutions, laws, and customs, we came when their need was very sore, relieving them from an oppression of some four hundred years' duration: a relief that every devout Cuban, with "Patria" upon his lips, is to-day ready to swear they could soon and easily have achieved for themselves. But, letting that pass, it is still not unprofitable for us to look about thoughtfully and weigh the question whether we have done anything beyond this. Not whether we have set the imprint of the Saxon indelibly upon a civilization in the very process of its new molding—for time is the only test of that imprint as of the civilization—but whether the arbitrary power we have wielded has made, in its chief issues, for practical good: whether, to put it in homely phrase, we have kept house for our neighbor during her invalidism with due economy, system, and consideration for the entire well-being of the individuals of her household.

That we advanced money to pay off her faithful servitors, and sent them from the demoralizing life of idle camps to the fields that needed them, was but a small beginning. What we have done with funds borrowed from our own treasury does not so much signify as how we have managed and shaped the material and human resources upon which the

island is to depend if Cuba free and independent evolves from to-day's uncertainty.

A very good starting-point for our proposed estimate is the balance-sheet of 1899, which undeniably makes a more hopeful showing than any presented by Spain in her best days. The receipts of public funds in Cuba during the last year aggregated $16,346,015. Of this goodly amount, $15,011,089 came from customs, $244,000 from the postal service, $787,592 from internal revenue, and $303,331 from miscellaneous sources. The expenditures amounted to only $14,085,805; and an American may be pardoned for emphasizing the contrast between two items under this head—$1,269,939 for barracks, quarters, etc., and $3,052,282 for sanitation. The remainder of the fourteen millions was spent on public works, municipalities, rural police, administration, and kindred necessities. Striking a balance, we find in the hands of the treasurer the sum of $2,260,209 against future needs.

One may read this, and, turning from it, pick up the Havana morning paper, which states that "the receipts of the Havana Custom House on the 2d inst. [Feb.] amounted to $47,073;" or, "the receipts of the Custom House of this city on the 6th inst. amounted to $51,221." The reader may then be ready to exclaim that the United States has not yet inaugurated justice here; for the customs are apparently as exorbitant as under the Spanish régime. But let him go down to the office of Major E. T. Ladd, Treasurer of Cuba, who has controlled the finances for a year, and there he will be enlightened.

In point of fact, the customs have been reduced sixty-four per cent. since the colors of Castile and Aragon were hauled down for the last time from the old Convent Custom House on New Year's Day, a little more than twelve months ago. Yet the revenues are still more than sufficient for the expenses of the island, having yielded, even in this first unsettled and unprosperous year, a surplus of thirteen per cent. If this seems incredible, reflect that Havana ranks in tonnage as the fourth port of the Western world. It is not strange that decaying Spain held on with a death-grip to such possessions.

The most important changes made by the United States in the financial administration of Cuba are these—in regard to customs and the methods of disbursing the same. It is not necessary at this point to go into the details; but it may be well to emphasize the fact that every cent taken in here is devoted strictly to Cuba and the Cubans nationally.

The postal service of the island is now excellent. The rural mail delivery is looked after with a thoroughness that amazes the unsophisticated dwellers in swamps and chapparals. But in this department a large deficit is found, to be supplied from more fortunate sources; for, with monthly returns of only $16,000 or $17,000, there is a necessary monthly expenditure of some $50,000.

The present excellent organization of the native police force of the island is an added example of a liberal and far-sighted policy, and throws some light upon the question of how the United States has been able in the last few months to reduce her garrisoning force from 16,000 soldiers to something less than 7,000. This has been done so easily and quietly that many army men themselves are ignorant of it, as are nearly all the Cubans. Before the days of American occupation, a small and incompetent police force existed in the cities and larger towns; but a rural constabulary, though greatly needed, was unknown. To-day the "rural guards," of native young men selected with much care and discrimination, constitute the good right arm of law and order in the country districts; while in the cities the heavy police force, altogether Cuban, is settling down, after the first months of reckless shooting and injudicious clubbing, into a body far more attentive and efficient than one would have believed a year and a half ago they could be molded into.

"Are the Cuban municipalities self-supporting since the war?" is a question I often hear. In the broadest sense, yes. For municipalities are everything here, corresponding more nearly to our townships. But municipal organization in the island is clumsy and cumbersome, and already in Havana they are trying to formulate something simpler and more effective.

Other reforms are drifting to these people. For us to try to hasten some of them arbitrarily would only retard them. Foremost in this class may be counted the transfer tax, the census or ninety-nine-year tax, and the land tax. The last arrests the attention. Think of a country that reverses Henry George's "ground principle" and taxes land only when under cultivation, thereby putting a certain premium upon idleness! But the Cubans are not ready to accept a reversal of this unjust statute at the hands of their benefactors. There are too many circumstances that make them suspicious of a reform so radical. Yet could this be done at once, and with their full acceptance in spirit, they would be much closer to that industrial revival which must precede prosperity.

Some reforms in the judiciary have been necessary from the first days of our administration, but they have not been easy of accomplishment. There intervened the inevitable and almost daily conflict between the civil and military processes of law. General Wood has already done much to obviate this, stimulating the civil procedure and narrowing the reach of military jurisdiction. By such a policy he has won the confidence of the islanders to a remarkable extent, increasing their admiring affection also by employing Cubans in every position possible, even in his own offices and about his person. It should be remarked that this has been done very persistently by all officials and in every department of the United States' Cuban government.

The lately appointed law-reform commission has not yet completed its task, but it is well understood that its most radical innovations will be the establishment of police correctional courts, presided over by salaried judges, and the acceleration of judicial processes so that justice in both civil and criminal cases may be meted out with less delay than under the old dragging system instituted by Spain.

Before quitting a necessarily incomplete summary of what arbitrary power humanely directed has done in a short time toward the betterment of the conditions of Cuban life, it is fitting to add that public roads and works, which were indeed

the *summum bonum* of executive genius under the Spanish dynasty, are still receiving their share of attention; that the department of agriculture, which must also fulfil the duties of a bureau of labor, is well equipped, although severely handicapped by chaotic conditions in the country as well as by an apparent brief tenure of office where time is required to show results; and that inspectors of forestry have been appointed from every province to guard the depleted timber resources and inaugurate the rehabilitation of the forests and fruit-groves destroyed in the conflicts of late years. I shall not attempt to crowd the vital subject of the educational movement and reform into line with these more material questions, but leave it for separate treatment.

There is scarcely a doubt that some older nation, better versed in protectorates and colonial administration, would have done for these people more than we have in certain lines; but at least we have thus far sown no seed to bear fruitage of humiliation in years to come. An American can scarcely walk through the streets of the "regenerated" cities of Cuba without feeling a thrill of unselfish gratification at the cleansing effect, physical and moral, of the United States government upon a country needing both for centuries. Having bestowed emancipation from tyranny first, and cleanliness next, ability for self-government will follow if it be in our power to endow the people with it; and the climax can then come in complete freedom and right of uncompelled choice as to their own mode of national existence.

Let no one infer, from this presentation of the more hopeful aspect of the question, that all the good seeds are supposed to be sown and the harvest soon to be golden and abundant. Far more remains to be done than we could accomplish in many times the period allotted to our rule here. Railroads are to be built, mines opened, native crops and fruits cultivated with more studious attention, new industries inaugurated, natural resources developed in new lines and economized and guarded in the old;—all of which should be done by native or naturalized labor under intelligent direction. Mere adventurers from

whatsoever land should be kept out, lest evil be added to evil.

This, and much more, for material prosperity. The more vital issues of spirit are not easy to put into words, nor easy indeed of determination. But they exist, and are to be met and coped with—if not by ourselves, then probably by a people of weaker moral fiber. Such consideration may well give pause to any one, statesman or mere babbler on the outside, who would hasten us unduly to the climax and close of our administration in Cuba.

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# RAILROAD CONTROL IN JAPAN.

THERE are two systems of railroad in Japan—one owned and managed by the government and the other built and managed by private corporations. The government lines comprise twenty-five per cent. and the private lines seventy-five per cent. of the total mileage, the aggregate being 3,420 miles in 1898. The government owned 768 miles, which cost 75,923,111 yen, or about 99,873 yen per mile; while the private lines cost the corporations 158,181,389 yen, or 60,023 yen per mile—an average of 68,451 yen per mile. The cost of railroads in Japan, therefore, when compared with that of similar utilities in the United States, is very small. In America the cost of building railways is problematical, as almost all transportation capital is "watered," while railroad capitalization in Japan means the actual cost of construction.

The government system came into existence by accident in 1872, when the government built the first railroad, which connected the cities of Tokyo and Yokohama—a distance of 18 miles. The government constructed the road to ascertain the feasibility of such a system, and at the same time to facilitate communication between the two great cities—one the water transportation center and the other the business and political center of Japan. The road proved to be very profitable, bringing the government a net revenue of 208,785 yen in 1873, or 11,599 yen per mile. Encouraged by this experiment, the government built several other short lines in different parts of the empire—76 miles in 1880, 593 miles in 1895, and 768 miles in 1897-'98. The revenue of the government roads increased from 174,930 yen in 1872 to 11,143,742 yen in 1897-'98.

Though the government demonstrated the national blessing of railroads, conservative Japanese capitalists refused to build them unless the government guaranteed a certain rate of interest on the capital invested; for the industry was considered by them very risky in those days. There was a growing de-

mand for railways during 1895-'96, and the government, unable to cope with it directly, decided to guarantee seven per cent. interest on all capital invested in railroads. As a result of this action, the Nippon Railway, the first private railway corporation and the largest in Japan, was chartered in 1885, and the construction of several other roads soon followed. There were sixty-six lines in operation in 1898, and several others were chartered during the same year.

These railroads are carefully supervised by the government, and they do not bring trouble to the people, as all Japanese railroads obey the prescribed rules and regulations without hesitating. But it is too early to form an opinion on this point, because the railroad in Japan is still a new thing; moreover, there are in corporations certain tendencies to become corrupt as political morality degenerates. Japan has, however, several advantages over England and the United States in regard to railroad control, because she saw why State ownership failed in the United States, why public control had not worked well in England, and why State ownership was a success in Germany and Belgium; so she did not have to go through the three stages of railway development in order to obtain the present result. Like Athenæ, railroad control in Japan came into existence full armed.

The first railroad law was enacted by the government in 1872, when the first railway in Japan was completed; but it was a mere prescription of rules in regard to the manner of running trains, how the passenger should behave, what kinds of goods should be carried, and the degree of responsibility of the government in case of train wrecks, etc. Several private railroad companies came into existence in 1887, and since then numerous enactments have been added to the original statute. The corporation law of 1893 supplemented the original railroad law relative to the financing of railways, public as well as private.

Any five or more persons may organize a railroad company and apply for a charter to the central government through the local legislature in whose territory the general business office may be located. The originators must furnish to the government

a paper describing the name and headquarters of the company and other details, together with a map of the region through which the road is to pass; also the capital, number of shares, prospective expenses of the road, and names of the originators. Furthermore, the originators must own at least twenty per cent. of the authorized capital of the corporation, which is not allowed to issue shares until the general government grants the charter. If the government finds, after a close examination, that the new road is to parallel one already operating, or that the region does not demand a road, it may not issue the charter. In case the corporation does not begin construction within three months from the date of its charter, the right may be forfeited; and if the corporation cannot finish the construction within the prescribed period it must apply to the government for an extension of time at least two months before the expiration of the time limit, or the charter may be forfeited. As to the gauge, all railroads must conform to the law of 1890, which prescribes three feet and six inches.

After granting the charter, the government, through the right of eminent domain, acquires the necessary grounds and other properties and gives them to the new corporation. Such possessions include lands for railroad beds, stations, shops, warehouses, buildings for employees, etc. The corporation may be allowed to change public roads, ditches, canals, and bridges at crossings, but the cost of such work must be borne by the railroad company. In case the corporation has not finished the construction within the time limit, the government may either compel the forfeiture of the charter or sell the property by auction and allow the purchaser to complete the construction. After completion the road-beds, bridges, and rolling-stock must be examined by government inspectors, under the direction of the department of communications, and the road cannot be operated without the official sanction of the chief of the railroad bureau. If the new company operates the road without the approval of the bureau chief, or runs trains after being condemned by government inspectors, operations shall be directly suspended and the earnings thereof confis-

cated. If the corporation is found practising any irregularities, or wilfully breaking any portion of the railroad acts, the railroad bureau may undertake the operation of the road, and the loss or gain shall be charged against the corporation.

The government has the right to build telegraph lines along any road, and in return the railroad may use a portion of the government telegraph posts and stretch wires for its own use. The government has also the right to buy a portion of the station ground of any private railroad for military or other purposes. The private railroad must furnish, free of charge, part of the station ground or building for mail and telegraph service.

Railroad control properly belongs to the Cabinet, but the specific supervisory power is given to the department of communications, except in extraordinary cases, such as wars and other national emergencies. A law was passed in 1894 creating the railroad council, whose duty is to investigate and discuss general matters of public and private railroads at the request of the minister of communications and recommend remedies. When the government created the railroad council, it was argued (1) that the railroad is a public highway, and must partly come under the control of the department of the interior; (2) that it is a public carrier, and must partly come under the control of the department of communications; (3) that it is, especially a government road, financially connected with the treasury department, and must be supervised by that department; and (4) that it is more or less related to commerce, war, and the navy, and must be controlled in part by these departments. The members were selected accordingly. However, the direct supervisory power is given to the minister of communications, and two railroad bureaus were created—one for the management of government roads and the other for the control of private lines. The controlling bureau examines the rolling stock, road-beds, bridges, and financial condition, etc., of private lines. It is in the power of the bureau chief to compel all railroads to adopt the same (or similar) methods or systems of signals, brakes, pins, fencing, cattle-guards, etc.,

as the government roads, to order repairs of condemned bridges and tracks, and to stop trains if necessary. He prepares annual reports concerning the general condition of all railways and sends them to the general government.

Almost all railroad evils are economic; hence, railroad financing should be closely guarded against irregular practises. Combinations, pools, rate wars, discriminations, preferences, rebates, drawbacks—all have financial linings. The Japanese government, foreseeing such evils, enacted an elaborate corporation law in 1890, which prescribes what shall comprise the railroad capital and what shall be considered as operating expenses. The paid-up capital must be kept separate from the value of the railroad property.

No railroad corporation is permitted to increase or decrease its capital without the approval of the controlling bureau; but it may be allowed to borrow money to the extent of one-half of the paid-up capital. It is perhaps unjust so to limit the amount, for a paying road may be worth three or four times its paid-up capital, and in that case the law practically allows the company to borrow only to the extent of one-eighth of its resources: while some corporations may not be worth one-half of their paid-up capital.

A dividend of a railroad corporation shall not be paid until one-twentieth of the net earnings of the same shall have been set aside as a surplus fund, and all interest charges shall have been paid, if it is mortgaged. The dividend shall be alike upon all equal shares, no discrimination being allowed.

All railroads are required to report to the controlling bureau concerning their financial and general conditions within forty days from the end of each fiscal period, and the books of the corporation must be shown to and approved by the auditor-general at least once a year. The corporation is also subject to annual inspection by the controller of the treasury. It must keep books stating the general business conditions for the examination of shareholders. When persons representing one-fifth or more of the shares apply to the court where the general business office of the corporation is located, the court may appoint offi-

cers to inquire into the standing of the corporation. These are empowered to compel the production of all books, safes, properties, and papers connected with the corporation, and are required to report the facts to the court; moreover, they may give the exact figures and other data to the individual shareholders. All departments connected with railway control have the right to appoint a similar body of officers to inquire into the existing conditions of any railroad.

Since no competition is allowed, there is in Japan no inducement for combinations or pools of railways. It was the competitive system that caused the famous coal pool in the United States, and the same system encouraged the building of the Lake Shore Railroad and caused it to be leased to the New York Central for 475 years. Since the books of all Japanese railroads are open to the public for inspection, it would seem that there is no danger of the capital being watered or rebates or drawbacks being given. Any railroad is allowed to connect with any other, or to cross it by means of bridges or tunnels. No railroad may refuse to receive passengers or freight transferred to it from another road, or to connect through trains. The proportion of rates to be divided between the connecting lines, when one is a government road and the other a private line, shall be fixed by the bureau chief. In case both are private roads they may arrange the proportion among themselves; and if they cannot agree they may appeal to the bureau chief, whose decision is final.

The rebate-fixing power is reserved for the railroad bureau, but the chief does not generally compel railroads to conform to the government rates, except in freight and third-class passenger traffic. The law divides the passenger rates into three classes—first, second, and third. The third may not exceed one sen and a half, and the other rates may be fixed within the maximum rate. The actual rates now prevailing are: one sen and a half per mile for third-class passengers, two sen and a half for the second, and four sen for the first class on almost all railroads. For many years our passenger rates were straight rates, but the government roads have begun to fix distance

(or through) rates on a basis similar to that of American railways, and this will be followed by private lines.

In regard to freight, no discrimination in favor of persons or localities is allowed, nor a larger mileage charge for a short haul than for a long one, as prevails in the United States. The maximum rate by the car-load, with a capacity of four tons, is fixed at six sen per mile; that is, one sen and a half per ton per mile, which is equivalent to three-quarters of a cent per ton per mile in the United States. The freight rate prevailing in Japan is perhaps too high, but it is claimed by railroad companies that it does not afford them much profit, for this sort of traffic is not yet largely developed in Japan, and freight trains are as a rule very light. Statistics show that two-thirds of the railroad earnings represent passenger traffic and the remaining one-third freight. However, it is a short-sighted policy to maintain a freight rate so high as to prevent this sort of traffic from developing. If the roads were to cut down the rate, there is no doubt that this traffic would soon increase; although Japan is still industrially young, and almost the same kinds of goods are produced throughout the country—for that reason very little being transported from one part of the empire to another, except rice and a few other raw materials.

All railroad stations in Japan must be located and approved by the bureau chief, from whom permission to erect new stations must be obtained. All crossings must be bridged and the walks provided with planks or stone pavements, and at crossings in populous centers watchmen must be placed. This portion of the law is very easily enforced and is obeyed everywhere, as any neglect directly concerns the roads themselves. The law deals strictly with cases of negligence, and holds the transgressor responsible for all injuries and damages arising from such neglect.

In spite of the great precautions taken by the government to avoid railroad accidents there have been many serious wrecks, but in most cases they seem to have been unavoidable. For instance, on the 25th of July, 1895, in one of the central provinces, a train carrying 358 soldiers, who had just returned

from the glorious Chino-Japanese war, was blown off the track by a typhoon, and eight soldiers, three brakesmen, and one fireman were killed and ninety-eight soldiers injured. There was another sad accident a few months later on the Nippon Railway, in which a train was blown from a high bridge and a number of passengers were killed and injured. And there have been many other disasters. Official statistics of railroads date only from 1889, prior to which year the railroad occupied a very insignificant place in Japan. There were 145 deaths from accidents in 1889—2 passengers, 19 officials and employees, and 124 others. The statistics for 1897 give the cause of death in each case. The majority of deaths were caused by carelessness, but 259 out of 705 deaths were cases of suicide, representing 37 per cent. of the whole number. These figures cover only a few years and give no definite impression, because so short a period has but little value for scientific purposes; but they show that the number of deaths increases quite as rapidly as the railroad mileage. The proportion of deaths from railroad accidents in Japan in 1897 was one death to every 4.3 miles, while the record in the United States during the same year was one death to every 27 miles. This discrepancy may have been due to density of population or in part to carelessness or ignorance of the people in regard to railroads. While railroads have contributed enormously to the development and peopling of the United States, yet the sparseness of population undoubtedly had much to do with the small proportion of deaths from railroad accidents in that country.

The government roads have been very profitable thus far. The proportion of operating expenses to the gross revenue in 1872 was greater than the net revenue, for railroads in those days were innovations in Japan and had very little traffic; besides, they were not managed very efficiently or economically. However, they soon became prosperous, and ten years later the net earnings of the government roads swelled to 8,884 yen per mile—about half the gross revenue.

Thus it will be seen that government ownership of railroads in Japan is more expedient than in France or Italy; still, we

may not conclude that it is advisable for our country to adopt the system that prevails in Germany and Belgium, for we find that some private railroads in Japan are better managed than the government roads. Though there are some private railroads that barely pay their operating expenses, the majority of them are financially in good condition. The Hankai, for instance, spends only about 28 per cent. of its gross earnings and yields a dividend of over 30 per cent. on its paid-up stock; the Nippon Railroad, the largest system in Japan, spends about 45 per cent. of its gross earnings and declares a dividend of 10 per cent. The dividends of eight roads, whose total mileage represents almost four-fifths of the private roads in Japan, show that they are financially successful; besides, their passenger accommodations are far better than those of the government lines, which constantly try to raise freight and passenger charges.

It has been constantly urged by the *laissez faire* school of economists and philosophers that a strict governmental supervision of railroads is wrong, because free competition will regulate all matters of business and cure all evils—like a patent medicine. So great a philosopher as Mr. Fukuzawa, who has been the leading light of Japan's civilization for the last forty years, follows the tone of Herbert Spencer and condemns the majority of the railroad acts by saying that there is no need of such legislation, as the public and the business community are the regulators of such matters. But there are no facts nor experiences to warrant such assertions. It is true that there is a tendency in the Japanese government to over-legislate and become too strict in enforcing its laws; but, when the clumsiness and inconveniences arising from legislative control in Japan are compared with the evils that might arise from the free-competition method, there are a good many points in favor of the former system—even in America. If Japan adopted the principle of governmental aloofness, there is no doubt that the Japanese legislature would have been governed by the railways instead of governing them. The government was wise in

plucking the sting out of railway monopoly at the outset, making the roads comparatively harmless.

It may be objected that, with the far-reaching character of the prescriptions in regard to the issue of capital stock and mortgage, without a strict law against watering of stocks, good railroad financiering is impossible. The State of Texas adopted an act regulating the issue of railroad bonds and stocks; but, since almost all the railroads are mortgaged to more than their fullest capacity, and all stocks are watered, the act is ineffective. However, Texas is a new State, and its railroads may yet become very profitable; therefore, there is some excuse for issuing bonds to a reasonable extent, but none whatever for the watering of stock. The State of Connecticut enacted a law ordering all railroad companies to pay into the State treasury all their net earnings in excess of ten per cent. on the capital stock; but, since there is no legal definition of "capital," the act has accomplished nothing. All the railroads of Connecticut, it is said, systematically watered their stock as soon as the net earnings reached 10 per cent. on the real or fictitious capital, and thus evaded the law.

It may be objected that the Japanese government interferes too largely with railroads in regard to their books and book-keeping; but this is the most satisfactory feature of the railroad acts, because the majority of railroad evils can be traced to this source. It is regrettable that the Japanese government is beginning to weaken and dares not strictly enforce this feature, notwithstanding that there is an urgent demand that the government should closely guard against all irregular practises and protect the public from railroad evils and shareholders from being swamped. It was lack of public inspection of books and book-keeping of railroad corporations that enabled one man to cheat the State of Pennsylvania out of a million dollars; it was lack of public supervision of railroad management that tempted Messrs. Drew, Fisk, and Gould to water their stocks; and every one of the five thousand cases discovered by the famous Railroad Committee of New York could have been traced back to this defect in the statutes of New

York and Pennsylvania. If the United States had adopted our General Statute 820 long before, and the Supreme Court had not declared it unconstitutional, most of its railroad evils could have been avoided. On the other hand, if Japan had adopted so loose a system of railroad control as that of the United States there would have been many evils to combat, and the railroad question might have become the tool of ambitious politicians.

There are, however, certain objectionable features of railroad control in Japan. These are the uniform system of the narrow gauge, limitation of the amount of bonds to be issued by railroads, and prescription of passenger and freight rates. During the Chino-Japanese war it was proved that the narrow-gauge system was a failure from the military standpoint, and disappointed the government. For instance, it took over a week to transport a few thousand soldiers a distance of 770 miles, for the cars were small and incapable of carrying many at a time; besides, the speed could not be increased on account of the lightness of cars and engines. Again, the small cars were utterly unfit for the transportation of cavalry horses. It is unfortunate that the government has compelled all the railroads to adopt the narrow-gauge system—even after having discovered that the system is fit for street-railways but not for national highways. And the prescription of rates is unjust, because two sen per mile for carrying passengers may be profitable for some roads, while some branch lines may not be able to exist on two sen per mile. The same objection may be urged against government freight rates, as some lines are able to collect an immense amount of freight without much trouble while other roads are so situated that they have to assume a great deal of expense in order to secure even a small quantity of freight.

The system of railroad control in Japan may not suit the American spirit, as it is inquisitorial in character; but there exists no practical or serious objection on the part of the Japanese. A railroad, like a bank, is considered a pseudo-public enterprise in Japan, and the institution, in turn, regards itself

as such. Since a railroad is a natural monopoly, governed by the law of increasing return, it should be made subject to public inspection and supervision. In fact, railroads, like the post-office system, are becoming more and more indispensable to civilization; that is, the function of the railroad is becoming more and more public in character, so it is properly a subject of public control.

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## THE NON-EXISTENCE OF THE DEVIL.

THIS article is intended to set forth reasons for the conviction that no such being as the *Devil* exists. For definition, the common idea will be assumed—an antagonist of God; the author of evil in the universe; the originator of sin in man; the ubiquitous tempter of souls.

If there is anything of which we are getting a clear conception it is that the universe is one—that, for time and space whereof the vision of science runneth not to the contrary, it has been and continues under one management. What have been called evils in the system, as if they were something alien to it —earthquakes, whirlwinds, destructive storms, floods, and droughts—have ceased to be regarded as foreign and malign, and take place as part and parcel of the one onward march of physical events through which all beneficence is wrought. There is no longer room for tolerance of the idea of the interference of the Devil in the physical realm. Evolution cancels the Devil as a controller of matter or force. The system is so great that there are things that seem to us mere odds and ends—rejectamenta, thrums, objects not placed, not knit up into order; but our final philosophy with regard to such materials will be that they are in and of the one system, and that they call for no originator or manager diverse from the one supervising control productive of the order that is evident. The apparent inexplicability of some fact or force had better be referred to our ignorance rather than to call in the Devil as an explanation.

Sin has its psychology. Nothing is more certain than that the Devil does not appear in the field of the consciousness of sin. Nothing is more certain than that the field is occupied to the full with the individual ego, the sinner. In sin the man is himself the object of a fearfully alert subject—himself. Phenomenally, there is disturbance in the field of consciousness as the result of sin, but it is unnecessary to trace its par-

ticular forms. Poets, novelists, theologians, moral teachers—all are concerned in photographing the kaleidoscopic appearances on that field. Yet there is one constant factor always to be recognized—the subject of the disturbance recognizes himself as solely responsible for it. He owns to himself that he alone set in train the consequences that he experiences.

Probably not more scrutiny has been spent on any matter in the field of moral consciousness than in the attempt to find some way to avoid this conclusion. It is at this point that the Devil has been hypothetically substituted for the ego, the person himself; but this work of substitution is too crude to deceive any one—it certainly does not deceive the subject of sin. This attempt at substitution has been the work of theology—of speculation concerning the natural history of sin; but true psychology repudiates the supposititious finding.

Psychology thus falls into line with physics, and takes its place in the unitary system. We shall put all amorphic, unrelated, abnormal phenomena into the catalogue of the unexplained in the one system, rather than to treat them as evidence of a double government whose parts are in elementary antagonism to each other. In mind, what is not a function of the individual must be referred for origin and mode to the Divine government.

Temptation comes to a man either from his own nature or from his environment. Both belong to the system of God. Sin is a man's own act of maladjustment in that system, with the possibility of a right adjustment existing in his own mind at the time of its commission. The Devil is not only not subject to perception in this field, but would be the fifth wheel to a coach if he were. No man ever yet distinguished between a temptation proceeding from his own nature or environment and one furnished by the Devil.

A careful examination of the Bible shows that the Devil has no better standing therein than in physics and psychology. Take Cruden's Concordance—we do not strike the word "devil" until we come to references to the New Testament. It is an astonishing fact that translators have found nothing in

the Old Testament that they could render as "devil." We should expect, as we travel back toward the night of primitive conditions, to find evidences of the existence of polytheism and fetishism. While incidentally that is indicated, it is evident that the Old Testament was written throughout under the influence of the inspiration of an inflexible monotheism. God, in the Old Testament—

". . . fond to rule alone,
Bore, like the Turk, no brother near the throne."

That is something we shall want to bear in mind in our attempt to analyze the significance of the term "devil" in the New Testament. We shall find all the way through that no such anti-god as we, perhaps in common thought, have of the Devil could have been tolerated by the advocates and supporters of Hebrew and Jewish monotheism. The writers of the Old Testament had no such idea of a divided moral government as we tolerate in our allowance of the ubiquity of the Devil with the Spirit of God in human souls. But while the word "devil" does not occur, may it not be that an equivalent may be found under other terms? Let us see.

"Satan" occurs in four books of the Old Testament: I. Chronicles, Job, Psalms, and Zechariah. But the conception of Satan in all these books seems to be one and the same; so we need comment only on the Satan of Job. The appearance and action of Satan in this book are matters so familiar that we need not make quotations. Certainly the better and the prevalent opinion is that Job is a philosophical and not a historical book. It is to be regarded as of dramatic form and nature. It would be more than hazardous to deduce from a writing of such nature the actual existence of *any* character mentioned in it. It is very evident on slight examination that Satan in Job—and elsewhere in the Old Testament—is not the Devil of our modern conception. Satan in the Hebrew Scriptures may be regarded as a *hard* character, but not one essentially sinful. He is not an out-and-out antagonist of God. He goes in and out of celestial convocations on fairly good terms with every personage. He conducts an argument with the Lord and re-

ceives permission from him to make an experiment. His office seems to be that of accuser, or district attorney, to bring and support indictments. He appears nowhere as a mental tempter to sin, and is nowhere asserted to be such tempter or recognized as such. He is a meddler with environment but not with the soul.

It is a remarkable fact that, in the trial of Job, Satan's power is put forth only in the physics of his person and surroundings. He does not appear in the psychological field at all. Job is the "In Memoriam" of antiquity. In that great debate on the origin and meaning of suffering, the Devil is not once called in as an explanation of anything. The discussion moves on high theistic ground, and never descends below it. Job maintains that his misery is not due to sin, and his friends maintain that it is. It would have bravely served their ends in the argument if they could have suggested to him that somehow, somewhere in his experience, almost unknown to himself, he had been "instigated by the Devil" to some sin; but they never do it. The psychology of that argument is as clear of the Devil as is the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse.

In this connection it may be noted that the Psalms and the Proverbs cover an immense field of moral action; yet the Devil never once (except in Psalm 106) appears therein. The repentant sinner of Psalm 51 might have said, "Behold, I was tempted of the Devil;" but he did not. There are only two persons in the psychological field of that Psalm: God and the confessing sinner. Attention is challenged to the range of moral vision and experience in the Psalms and the Proverbs, and to the fact that the Devil does not appear on their horizon.

But His Satanic Majesty appears no more in the historic or prophetic books of the Old Testament than in those poetic. "And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" occurs over and over again. But complicity with the Devil is not once suggested to account for this evil; "he" did the evil, and on "him" the responsibility lay. If the lawgiver and the prophets carried along the Devil in their psychology, it is strange that they never once told that people, "stiff-necked"

and "laden with iniquity," that they were Devil-led and Devil-inspired; but they never did.

The main reason why we have supposed the Devil to have had such a presidency over human history, I think, is because he is supposed by us to have figured in the so-called "fall of man," as set forth in one of the early chapters of the Book of Genesis. Assuming the Devil to have been there, at the "beginning" of the race, *we* have spread his presence and government over subsequent history. But one thing is certain—neither *Devil* nor *Satan* appears in Genesis. Respecting what *does* appear, however, something may be said.

> "Truth in closest words shall fail,
> While truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at open doors."

Men have always known that, and have tried to put all kinds of truth in story form. In the account of "the fall," some one tried to translate the psychology of sin into story. He was successful. He took a photograph that any one can recognize. This makes the story of "the fall" not a biography of one man, but a portraiture of universal fact. No defense of this view is needed beyond the submission of it to test analysis and synthesis by any human mind, and the further statement that this method of interpretation is older than Christianity and as wide as human scholarship. This is the end of all possible attempts to construct the Devil from the Hebrew Scriptures. The mighty unbroken monotheism dominant in the thought of the writers of the Old Testament is the marvel of human history.

It is said that the Jews, in returning from the Babylonian captivity, brought with them ideas derived from the theology of Eastern nations, and that this accounts for the appearance of the terms *Satan* and *Devil* in their thought and language. This may be granted, but we still have to determine the part played by these imported ideas. Because the Jews used the above terms, it does not follow that they believed in the existence of beings corresponding thereto; *i.e.*, that the teachers so thought. The Jews came back from the captivity, as Kant

would say, categorical, bigoted monotheists. Probabilities attach to this fact that grade up into certainties. Let us examine a case to see the force of them.

All the synoptic Gospels record the dispute between the scribes and Pharisees and Jesus as to the source whence he derived his authority to cast out demons. It may look as if both parties recognized the existence of Beelzebub; but it is quite certain that neither could. Beelzebub was simply an instance of survival in language of the names of the gods of the original, underlying stratum of heathenism. The prophets had pulverized all the Baals in that system, which were mere "vanities." It would have been high treason to the Jewish State to have recognized the existence of any such god. And here it may be noticed that Jesus used "Satan" as a synonym for this impossible god Beelzebub. That of itself would effectually dispose of Satan. Theoretically, we should expect the name of a dethroned, degraded, and annihilated god to survive in the literature of sarcasm and caricature; and what we should expect we find. In the case before us, the scribes and Pharisees, instead of making a serious, philosophic, or scientific inquiry concerning the power by which Jesus restored the demonized person to himself, employed against him the weapon of ridicule. It was doubtless with a laugh of derision that they called up the old, dead, heathen god Beelzebub to figure in the case. Jesus used the term *Beelzebub,* not because he believed in the existence of such a being, but because it was the coin of their spirit of vituperation and calumny; that with him was the main thing, and to that he addressed himself.

Out of this clash came the warning in respect to blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. That is expressly said to have been uttered "because they said he had an unclean spirit." The point at issue was Christ's ethical condition, and to that he confined himself. All else uttered was verbiage leading up to that, and is to be regarded as *obiter dicta.* Authority cannot be given to such matter at common law because it is common sense that it should not be. Psychological analysis will support this conclusion anywhere.

It is one of the commonplaces of comment on Christ's method that he availed himself of illustrations from anything that was at hand—the ordinary thought, facts, and events about him, as well as objects from the ordinary scenery. The parables are special witnesses to this truth. If lilies were in the landscape, he would use them for illustrative purposes. If the names of antiquated and hostile deities were afloat in common remark, he would use them likewise; but, of course, they would stand for the undivine, the unethical, the unholy. They were historically degradations, and would be the synonyms of what was inherently and essentially degraded. Jesus used the coin of the realm in every department of thought.

The Saviour used the word *Diabolos* four times only. Let us consider one or two instances. It occurs in the parable of the sower, as given in each of the synoptic Gospels. In the sowing of the seed bad results are reached in three cases, but in only one of them is the agency of the Devil spoken of. In the other two, temptations arise normally, as we all experience them. "Tribulation and persecution" arise in one case, and in the other "the care of the world and deceitfulness of riches" come to bear. Does any one believe that the Saviour meant to call in the agency of the Devil to account for the failure of the good seed in the first case alone—"those that were sown by the wayside?" The "Devil" there simply appears as a short way of describing a bad result. In the second and third cases the psychology of temptation is normal; hence, there is no reason for calling in an abnormal agency in the first.

In that fierce debate with the Jews in the temple at Jerusalem, recorded in the eighth chapter of John, they claimed to be Abraham's children. This claim Jesus denied, but of course on spiritual grounds; for genealogically they *were* children of Abraham. He told them: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do." This was the language of invective, terrible in its stroke; but does it assert anything more than that they were deliberate children of wickedness? He goes on to paint the Devil in the blackest of colors—as a liar and a murderer; but is there any mean-

ing to that except that he would show them their spiritual fatherhood? The blacker he painted their father the more repellant they stood out on the canvas in their lying and murderous hate. In heated argument of this sort, one is not to be held to guarantee either fact or fancy that he may seize for epithet or illustration. No one delivers geological lectures on the stones he throws. Mere invective should not be treated as the deliberate utterance of philosophy or science. Nowhere but in Scripture do men maintain the literal truth of things said *en passant*. The point in view is not the existence of the Devil. The moral qualities of the antagonizing Jews are alone in the focus of thought; nothing else is at issue. Of such sort are all the cases in which Jesus used the word "devil." Is there anything in them to necessitate the conclusion that he either taught or believed in the existence of Satan as a personal being? Jesus used the terms *Satan* and *Devil* synonymously on four occasions only. For instance, in Matthew xvi. 23, we read: "But he turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Sâtan: thou art an offense unto me; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." This shows how easily strong epithets came into the mind of Jesus, who called Peter, Satan; Judas, devil; and Herod, a fox. From such a habit in the use of terms, nothing can be affirmed as to the belief of Jesus in the existence of the Devil.

It may be said that, to the degree in which the "temptation" of Christ is regarded as a genuine spiritual struggle, it is impossible to hold that it took place in the dramatic form given by Matthew. A good being could not be tempted to do evil when a bad being—known to be the head and front of all the sin of the world—comes before him. It would be morally impossible for temptation to arise out of such a situation. Then, if the temptation of Christ is to be regarded as of value to us, it must be looked upon as taking place under normal human conditions. The scenic form of the record is to be treated as we treat such forms elsewhere—an outward and dramatic form given to an inward and spiritual struggle.

The authority for the existence of the Devil, viewed thus

from the New Testament center, seems tenuous. If Jesus did not teach the existence of the Devil, we shall be slow to find that doctrine elsewhere. There is no need to examine particular texts throughout the New Testament. The principle alone by which we have worked will guide us anywhere, and will be found to relieve the New Testament from responsibility for our common notion of a great omniscient and omnipresent, if not omnipotent, antagonist of God.

St. Paul was a tense rhetorician. It may be submitted that his use of the terms *devil* and *Satan* was founded on a desire to condense into close expression all the forces of evil that he found antagonistic to the kingdom of God, which was with him a kingdom of righteousness and love. Paul was a psychologist of superior rank. He had the keenest insight into the play of righteousness and sin over the human mind. He has described his own experiences in sin with an accuracy of self-inspection that stands as a norm for similar exercise by any of the sons of men. But this fact stands out in clearness: Paul never intimates that *his* psychology in sin was the manufacture of any being but himself—and God. The Devil appears nowhere in Paul's description of his own experiences. His sin was his own as clearly as that of the author of Psalm 51 was his own. If Paul did not find the Devil a necessity, or even a help toward explaining his own experiences, we may be sure that he would not make such finding for any one else; for he called himself the "chief of sinners."

Assume the Apocalypse to be the work of John. The Devil certainly appears in his visions—along with other strange things. But we have now come to the conclusion that many of John's "beings" are but symbols of spiritual processes, forces, and experiences entirely within the domain of man. The final vision of the disposition of the forces of evil is given in the tenth verse of the twentieth chapter: "And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, *where the beast and the false prophet are,* and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever." Now, the assertion of the existence of the "devil" is no stronger here than

is that of the "beast" and the "false prophet." But John creates, out of his imagination, the beast and the false prophet before our eyes. These are not, and never were, correspondent beings. They are symbols of the secular and religious powers, found embodied in the Roman Empire, that were antagonistic to the kingdom of Christ. Yet they are considered as having as good a biological existence as Satan himself. They are all three cast into the "lake of fire and brimstone." There is not the slightest indication that John meant to teach the individual being of the "devil" and not to teach that of the "beast" and the "false prophet."

This is the last we read of the Devil in the Scriptures. May we not assume that wherever he has appeared in the Bible he has been simply an imaginary figurehead for the forces of wrong, evil, sin?

It seems to be a solution almost too easy to be valuable to put the matter mathematically—thus:

Beelzebub = Satan = Diabolos.

But Beelzebub *ex necessitate rei* = 0;

and the rest follows. That is the way in which the argument in the New Testament for the existence of the Devil stands.

To the degree in which one is theistically orthodox will he cease to offer the Devil as explanatory of anything in the universe of God.

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## BENEVOLENT LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

THERE is great need of a universal loan association. The poor as well as the rich are frequently obliged to borrow money, but the poor man cannot get it at low rates. Banks will not take a man's clothes, tools, or little household treasures for security; yet the poor man is forced to borrow. Picture to yourself a man out of work for a long time. The rent is due; if he cannot pay it he will be evicted. One of the children is sick. The doctor may be kind-hearted and not charge for his services, but there are medicine and food to get. What in this extremity does the poor man do? He goes to the pawnbroker—with everything he can spare, perhaps even necessities—whose doors are always open to receive anything of value. He must pay three per cent. a month, or finally lose the articles without having received one-fifth of their value. This is not an exceptional case; such are of daily occurrence.

Just above the needy, and wholly distinct from the thriftless, the improvident, and the reckless, is a large portion of the community who are small borrowers. For these there is no provision whatever outside of the pawnshop. What we need is municipal loan associations, or collateral loan companies, and workingmen's associations, managed by men and women that wish to lend a hand to their brothers and sisters. This is not charity: it is simply giving an equal chance to the poor and the well-to-do borrower.

Pawnshops that crowd the poor quarters of a city by their numbers and accessibility contribute largely toward keeping these parts poor. The pawnbroker claims there is no money in his business, and that any association, church company, or charity organization that should attempt his work at lower rates of interest would fail. At the same time there are over one hundred licensed pawnshops in New York City, and one firm announces it has been in business seventy-two years.

The experience of other countries has proved the fallacy of

these statements and will be helpful and interesting in this connection. Not only for centuries has France possessed her Monte-de-Piete, which, though better than our present pawnshops and especially than those of England, where forty-three per cent. is charged, is still open to criticism, but she has other and smaller organizations on this line. One of these societies, at Nice, charges nothing for its services; but the borrower makes a small offering toward its sustenance, and pledges are kept for seven years. The "Mazurel," of Lille, began in the seventeenth century, and lends money for one year only. The "Pret-Gratuit," of Montpelier, was founded three hundred years ago. During a period of increased activity it has never asked or received the smallest payment for its services. The benevolent loan association of Angers differs in that forty per cent. of the loans are free and the remainder subject to a small charge. Quite as interesting is the "Pret-Charitable," of Grenable, which was organized in 1693 to relieve the poor from the tyranny of the pawnshop. It has never charged interest nor permitted any offering of money on the part of its beneficiaries. Sales of unredeemed articles take place once a year. Loans are made to represent a little more than half the value of the security, and the institution has never suffered serious interruption. If possible only so much of the pledge is sold as is sufficient to repay the loan, and if the article sells for more than the amount originally lost the difference is credited to the owner. Most of those who avail themselves of these institutions are laborers, mechanics, clerks, etc., driven by temporary misfortune to seek aid. In some instances, when money has been voted to redeem small pledges the owners have refused to accept the gift.

Is it unreasonable to hope that the success of these French organizations may encourage the experiments that have been undertaken in this country for the deserving poor? In Spain the pawnbroking business is connected with that of savings banks. Italy may be called the home of the pawnshop, since Savonarola is supposed to have established the first one. Interest is charged at the rate of six per cent. The Bank of

Naples, however, continues the custom of lending money without interest or security to students and others whose characters are considered a sufficient guarantee. In the agricultural districts there are societies that advance food and seeds to peasants on the same liberal terms. The Imperial Pawn Offices of Austria were founded by the Emperor Josef I. Ten per cent. is charged for all money loaned, no matter if it is one florin or ten thousand. These institutions are self-supporting and were organized for the express purpose of helping the poor.

In Germany, pawnbroking is conducted by the State, parish, or private persons, and the rate of interest varies from twelve to twenty-four per cent. a year.

The English government is considering the adoption of a system of municipal pawnshops, and the question should be agitated in this country. The States in which most attention has been given to the subject are New York and Massachusetts. In the former the legal rate of pawnbrokers' interest on loans less than one hundred dollars is three per cent. for the first six months and two per cent. per month thereafter; in other words, thirty per cent. per annum. Upon household effects and clothing the American pawnbroker lends very little—partly on account of storage; but upon diamonds competition forces the pawnbroker to advance a large proportion of the price that the dealer would pay for them.

It is the opinion of many that institutions that lend small sums on pledges or chattel mortgages on furniture or personal effects are even more useful to the people generally than the banker. The small borrowers outnumber the large ones ten to one. There are discouragements: one meets with some dishonest people; but it is the observation of clergymen, missionaries, officers of the Salvation Army, and others in like positions, that the poor are just as anxious to pay their debts as the more prosperous.

As early as 1859 there was incorporated in Boston a Pawners' Bank. The aim of this institution was to enable the poor to borrow money in small sums on personal effects. After various vicissitudes this became the Collateral Loan Company.

Most of their loans are for five dollars each. This company is trying to reach the ideal of the Pawners' Bank; namely, for the poor to borrow money on personal property of all kinds on reasonable terms. The loans are for four months at one-half per cent. per month.

The Workingmen's Association received its charter from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on March 8, 1888. This organization was also formed for the purpose of enabling persons to borrow money on furniture and other personal property at low rates. It was designed that they should transact business, conducted economically, at the very lowest rate that would yield a fair return upon the capital invested. One per cent. a month was fixed as the interest rate, and with each payment of interest the payment of an instalment of the principal equal to five per cent. of the loan was demanded: thus encouraging borrowers to save and pay off the loan. Loans have been repaid very fast, averaging from half a year to a year in duration. When illness or misfortune comes the company relaxes its demands and gives time until circumstances shall improve. Besides the interest at one per cent. a month, an additional charge is made sufficient to cover all expenses in investigating and recording mortgage. Loans are made on furniture and household effects, insurance policies, indorsed notes, etc., but seldom on jewelry. Each applicant is questioned with great care and fills out a blank application, giving present residence, previous residence, and business references, and deposits thirty-five cents. The company has of course met with some losses. Loans on horses, boats, pictures, and druggists' sundries have proved unfortunate; but, as a rule, furniture has been redeemed. As the loan, being only one-fourth of the purchase price, is small in comparison with the value of the furniture, there is a strong inclination to pay.

A few years ago Dr. Greer started a loan association in New York, and out of this the Provident Loan Society was organized to give aid, on a strictly business basis, by the loan of money at one per cent. per month, or one-third the legal charge made by pawnbrokers. As a rule, money is loaned on jewelry

and other articles representing large value in small bulk. Reports of this association state that those who obtain loans are rarely found on the records of charitable institutions, but are self-supporting persons that desire to tide over periods of misfortune or illness. The work is preventive rather than charitable. Less than two and one-third per cent. of the loans made in 1896 remained unpaid at the close of the year. This society started with a capital of $136,000. In 1896 over 28,218 loans were made, averaging about twenty dollars each.

The moral influence of these institutions is one of order, as proved by the number of pledges redeemed during the year. There is a mistaken idea that such institutions foster thriftless habits among the poor. Those who want to get rid of stolen property will still go to the pawnshop, but persons that need a temporary loan to help them through a period of enforced idleness are greatly benefited by wisely-managed associations. When citizens undertake a duty of this kind it is not significant alone because of the philanthropic value of the act but because of the broader aspect. The competition of these societies may eventually reduce the number of pawnshops.

Another value in all these experiments lies in the example they set to the rest of the country. The Whittier Home, a university settlement in Jersey City, has begun to loan small sums on chattel mortgages on furniture, believing that it i better charity to lend in a business way than to give in a sentimental spirit.

To test the matter in a practical way, an interesting experiment is carried on in New York City in connection with some of the churches. The business of loaning money is cond 'ted by men familiar with the wants of the working-people, and with the belief that people living in flats and small apartments are just as much in need of occasional aid in the way of loans as the business man who goes to his banker. It is said by objectors that the requirement of these benevolent loan associations of a recommendation from some charitable organization may exclude the drunkard and spendthrift but cannot prevent pawning for a "spree." There is also raised the plea that the

societies' requirement thrusts in the face of an applicant the fact that he is a recipient of charity, and that sensitiveness rather than unworthiness may deter people from applying. These cases are, however, rare; and the success of loan and saving associations clearly disproves the allegation that small borrowers are as a rule dishonest.

The West is never behindhand in its endeavor for the mitigation of the evils of society. Recently a number of charitable women in Chicago organized a loan association on a small scale. The capital is furnished by contributors, who give from ten to five dollars annually. Loans are made in a business-like manner, the borrower giving his note, countersigned by a responsible guarantor; but the note does not bear interest. Owing to the association's small capital, loans are limited to ten dollars and are payable in weekly instalments. In the event of illness or other sufficient cause, extensions are granted. The managers find much encouragement in the attitude of the men and women borrowing money. A spirit of pride has been inspired by this opportunity of borrowing money for temporary relief in an honorable way.

A member of the society, summarizing results to date, finds that there are those clearly defined sets of conditions where loans may be successfully substituted for alms. The first is in dealing with an element of the respectable poor, applying for relief the first time: very destitute, yet with a future not altogether hopeless. Here is a chance for the loan association to come to the rescue. It will at once relieve distress and serve as a factor from a moral point of view. A second class are those whose only idea is of giving and taking; to such a class a loan is welcomed with surprise and gratitude. The third class includes the degenerate poor, who expect alms as their right. Such people the association endeavors to help by trying to make them see that they have been helped to reach pauperism by the alms that have been given them.

Such a society is educative and uplifting, and deserves encouragement and support. The great marvel of modern charity is not its plenitude but its ingenuity in devising methods

to reach distress. What is needed is coöperation among good men. Prejudice, narrow-mindedness, and bigotry have too long stood in the way of social reform. Experiments in this line are well worth the cost. When all good men shall work together great changes will be wrought; and the endeavor to help the poor man to help himself, in the ability to borrow without losing self-respect, will only be an added testimony that "what is good is of God, no matter what the source."

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# MANUAL TRAINING IN MENTAL DEVELOPMENT.

MODERN thought has revealed many a defect in the traditional system of education. One of these (and the higher our ideals for realizing the all-round man the more woful appears this defect) was its failure to aid the pupil in forming correct judgments of the things about him. The time-honored system failed to utilize more than a very few avenues to the mind, and the fruits of so irrational a process are seen in the multitudes of proverbially helpless high-school and college graduates. This fact led Emerson to say: "We are students of words; we are shut up in schools and colleges and recitation-rooms for ten or fifteen years, and come out at last with a bag of wind—a memory of words—and do not know a thing. We cannot use our hands, or our legs, or our eyes, or our arms."

On the other hand, illustrations are countless of the fact that lack of college training does not always disqualify a person from attaining a position of intellectual greatness. The mere mention of the names of Faraday and Franklin in scientific discovery, and of Watt, Bessemer, and Edison in invention, will remind us that not alone to the products of the so-called higher education is the world indebted. Instead of thinking of these self-educated men as having attained a high order of mental development in spite of their lack of school and college training, is it not more rational, from what we know of their biographies, to credit their eminence to that which was really a higher education—direct contact with things and natural processes? In fact, education through things is the oldest form of education. Consider the life of the savage: all the schooling that is necessary to him he gets by learning to hunt, to fish, and to make war. What mental development is needful in his daily life is acquired by applying his energies to the task of ministering to his animal needs. Like

the beasts, he found himself naked, hungry, shelterless, and surrounded by equally savage enemies. But here the latent superiority of man as an animal began to assert itself. In his struggle for comfort, new ways of using things and applying the processes of Nature to his benefit became open to him. Each tool he invented and each process he discovered furnished him with the means of raising himself to the next stage of industrial progress.

But it must not be supposed that the improvement was merely in a material sense. Since the use of things and processes was impossible without a directing intelligence, the mental faculties were exercised by their constant application. What is true of savage man is equally true of his more civilized descendant. Like our barbarous ancestors, we are surrounded by matter and force; like them, we must understand Nature or we are impotent. Though the progress of civilization has furnished us with countless tools, without a world of matter to apply them to or a source of energy to move them, they are useless—if indeed their very existence be thinkable. Though scientists and philosophers have delved and laid bare the secrets of Nature, we are just as much dependent upon the material universe as were the mound-builder and the cave-dweller.

"Education," said Pestalozzi, "is the generation of power." If our schools neglect to help men in their understanding of the things about them, or refuse to train them to greater potency in the mastery of natural forces, their object will never be realized. The reasoning powers, the habit of investigating causes and the tracing out of effects, and the many qualities of mind that make the difference between efficiency and inefficiency become deadened if they are given nothing to work upon. It is putting it mildly to assert that the old-time college was the graveyard of many a promising example of mental vigor. When we bear in mind the fact that the hand as well as the tongue is a medium for expressing our ideas, the remark of Emerson quoted above is seen to be not without justification. As a combination of the ridiculous and the

pathetic, what shall we think of the spectacle of children being sent to school, literally to have their hands tied, only to be thrown out upon the world where their first and most important relation is that to tangible things?

With such thoughts in mind we can appreciate the claims of the manual training school as an important factor in mental development. Every faculty of the mind is susceptible of cultivation through exercise and comparison. If we wish to sharpen the memory, we memorize; if to measure distances by the eye, we attempt to estimate them. But every such increase of mental capacity must be gained by comparing results attained with results wished for—or, in general terms, the actual with the ideal.

In every person, no matter what the age or stage of civilization, we find a creative tendency, an instinct, we may say, which through the agency of matter strives to proclaim its divine kinship. This is seen notably in the case of children: activity and mental alertness are perhaps their most marked characteristics. It may be, to speak figuratively, that each faculty has an intuition that inactivity means atrophy and death, and that to satisfy the instinct of self-preservation exercise or use of the faculties is enjoined. The power to make thoughts is itself weakened by every neglect of thought-expression. This is the point of application of the forces of the new education. It will be observed that the compelling element comes not from the side of the teacher: it is entirely from the side of the pupil.

But in order to make the expression exactly correspond with the thought, the muscles that move the tongue and the hand (our only avenues of expression) must be correctly guided. Every one has realized at one time or another that a tool in the hand is incapable of directing itself; not even the muscles can of themselves act in any particular direction. Back of every muscular action must be the *mind*, and, what is more to the point, a certain mental quality upon the extent of which depends the power of realizing the complete thought-expression. Thus, in order to make this expression in wood-joinery,

care in reasoning and accuracy in measurement are necessary. If the desired result is a bit of ornate carving, imagination and sympathy with Nature are essential factors. If a piece of cold metal is to be wrought into shape at the vise or in the lathe, the unavoidable slowness of the operation requires patience and perseverance. If the thought is to take the shape of a piece of forged metal, promptness and decision—the necessity of "striking while the iron is hot"—is an evident requisite.

No one will suppose, however, that, with all the care and judgment a pupil can bring to his work, the result of his efforts will always be satisfactory to himself. In fact, to every live soul stretching out to attain perfection the result achieved always falls short of the ideal. The first efforts of the pupil are usually, if not always, failures; but in his appreciation of his own shortcomings there is being constantly driven home to him the necessity of being, as the case may be, more alert, more patient, more careful, more logical, or more prompt. He is forced to admit the truth of the proverb about time and tide, and that the principle of cause and effect is no respecter of persons. The very desire to express a thought in the concrete compels the exercise of these mental qualities. It will be further seen that with every attempt to make an achievement surpass a previous one, these qualities are called upon, and in their continued exercise will be strengthened and put in readiness to meet a more advanced problem.

All this may readily be granted, and yet the vital point is to follow. No person that has learned the lessons of attention, concentration, correct reasoning, accuracy, neatness, perseverance, and decision by working in concrete materials will make use of these lessons only in the school-room, nor merely when working in clay, wood, or iron. The boy whose habit is carefully to examine, step by step, each stage in the making of a dovetailed box, for instance, will carry this habit of analyzing and logically putting two and two together into every walk of life. He also that has felt the exultation as each step in his construction of the steam-engine was completed, and the engine justified its creation and proved the correctness of his

reasoning by actually running, in the new-born confidence of his powers of achievement is not likely to shrink from an undertaking through imagined incompetency. And with this respect for himself as a creator there comes to him naturally a high regard for intelligent labor. In his eyes the stigma that slavery-cursed centuries have put upon the toiler vanishes, and in its place there comes to him a dawning appreciation of the value and dignity of every manner of expressing the God-like attributes of man.

The value of manual training as a factor in *general* mental development deserves emphasis on account of a widespread notion that such training is of importance only to those who intend to follow mechanical pursuits. The opposition to manual training was at first based upon its supposed inapplicability to any line of activity. It is now admitted to be of value, but, according to an idea that still finds expression, not to those who are not prospective artisans. As well might we recommend physical culture only to would-be pugilists. It is asserted with a confidence grown from hundreds of successful mental demonstrations that a system of mental training through the hand and eye is as helpful to the lawyer and physician, the statesman and the priest, as it is to the carpenter or sculptor. There is no mental organ of banking, no "bump" of tinsmithing. A mental quality developed through the agency of a certain craft does not lie dormant nor wait until the identical kind of work rouses it to renewed activity. To be specific, the lessons of economy and correct reasoning that have been learned at the tinner's bench are not to be despised in the counting-room.

In conclusion, we must not forget how the influence of a pupil's experiences of things and processes clears up his ideas of the universe and puts him in better mental accord with Nature. One who has been compelled to submit all problems to the test of reason, and who sees definite results always following from definite causes, will never doubt the invariability of the laws of being; for with every "question put to Nature" the certainty of the principle of cause and effect receives new

confirmation. A child whose mind has been unfolded along such lines will never be a pessimist, nor will he ever be guilty of holding the "theoretically this, but practically that" philosophy.

Hope for humanity lies in the fact that our educational processes are giving more and more attention to those activities which promote the power to think clear and straight. Only so long as the chronic counsel-darkener is the normal product of the schools will the strongholds of so-called conservatism present any formidable resistance to the progress of civilization. To reach the heights to which man's soul aspires, the ladder is strong and ever ready; and though medieval superstition, clothed in the garb of respectability and claiming the voice of authority, may denounce the ascent as impossible or impious, those who have followed Truth over a few rungs of the ladder may rest easy in the thought that the foothold is secure and that the pathway leads inevitably to the heart of the Infinite.

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# PERNICIOUS MAXIMS AND IDEAS.

IT has been said that there is no positive without a negative—no virtue without a corresponding vice.

The power of communicating thought by means of words, enabling the individual to act on the formulated experiences and ideas of others, is one of the most potent factors in the process of civilization; this power perverted, however, is a retarding agent of no mean significance.

The good that has been accomplished by thoughts crystallized in brief, pointed sentences is beyond estimate; yet, if we could know merely the financial loss occasioned by the misuse of these forms, we would turn for a while from the discussion of industrial and political problems to consider a few simple combinations of words—false in whole or in part, yet bearing the stamp of truth and passing unchallenged from lip to lip. If, moreover, we could realize the mental inertia, the moral perversity, the social detriment caused by these allies of evil, we might, perhaps, set a stricter guard over ourselves concerning them, and think it a part of altruism to oppose their acceptance by others.

Maxims passing freely in society acquire credit because of their currency. What is generally said is taken for common sense, and is usually accepted without question. So it happens that maxims, seeming to express the general opinion, become rules of conduct. We imitate our fellows both consciously and unconsciously; and to imitation, working upon the material stored in words, is due in large measure the tendency of the individual to shape his conduct by the standard of others. Conscience, unworthily yielding to custom, attempts justification by throwing responsibility on society. The Danbury *News* man said, "They all do it," and the significance of that expression has been broadened until it serves not only to excuse but to incite misconduct and even crime.

Proverbial workers of iniquity assume various and effective disguises. Most of them come to us in some semblance of

truth, and with the authority of long continued public approval. Remove the mask from "Honesty is the best policy," and its subtle hypocrisy is evident. Honesty is *right*, not "policy"; yet this counterfeit of truth has passed for generations. Perhaps more dangerous than this, because of the element of truth it contains, is the self-sufficient assertion that "Man is the creature of environment." It acts as a salve to conscience, and exerts a deadening influence upon just ambition. I am what I am because my surroundings have made me so. I should like to be something better, but I am "the slave of circumstance," and it would be useless to struggle against my bonds. "All things come to him who waits"—perhaps something may come to me; if not, "what can't be cured must be endured," and I may as well "let well enough alone." So the victim of masquerading half-truths reasons mechanically, not realizing that man can react upon his environment; that many desirable things have to be gone after; that what cannot be cured may be alleviated, and that "well enough" means the best that is within the attainment of reasonable effort.

Possibly there has never been a more efficient aider and abettor of the crime of embezzlement than the insipid joke about the cashier going to Canada. That idea, now somewhat trite, it is hoped, once had such wide circulation that it seemed to be generally expected, as a matter of course, that a cashier would embezzle and leave the country. Less in rank but equal in iniquity, reminding one of Shakespeare's man who "smiles and smiles and is a villain still," there is an apparently insignificant expression that has gone a long way toward making one kind of theft respectable. One who would not even think of doing a thing so criminal as to pick a dollar from your pocket will unblushingly leave your property without making just payment for its use, and smilingly say that "It is cheaper to move than to pay rent." The criminality of a still worse kind of theft, perhaps the worst, is obscured by the satire that enormous theft is successful finance. He who, driven by the pangs of hunger or despair, steals a loaf of bread is a contemptible thief worthy of imprisonment; but he whose theft is

counted by six figures is a financier worthy of respect and admiration. What mockery of justice and reason!

Some of these maxims are so individual, so half-human in their power to do evil, that one can hardly avoid personifying them. "Every man has his price" is clearly the bosom friend of bribery and corruption; "Dead men tell no tales" is *particeps criminis* in many a foul murder; and "Every man must sow his wild oats" is the agent of vice—the enemy of youth. Thus we might go on calling criminals to account; in many cases, however, all that seems necessary is to direct attention to them in some especial manner. So we will begin here a new Rogues' Gallery, with a few familiar faces that deserve a prominent place and a good light:

"Every one for himself, and the devil take the hindmost."

"When you are in Rome, you must do as the Romans do."

"Friendship is a matter of streets."

"A bad beginning makes a good ending."

"The end justifies the means."

"Money makes the mare go."

"The better the day the better the deed."

"Stolen sweets are sweetest."

"The devil is not so black as he's painted."

"Get all you can, and keep all you get."

"Never judge by appearances."

"One may as well be hanged for an old sheep as a lamb."

"Do others, or they'll do you."

He who knowingly passes counterfeit coin is a criminal against society; and he who knowingly passes counterfeit truth cannot be held guiltless.

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# THE ETHICS OF CRIMINOLOGY.

## I. Restitution to Victims of Crime.

THE progress of civilization has modified the penology of nations. Justice was anciently conceived to be embodied in the prescription, "An eye for an eye, a life for a life." More modernly the sacredness of property was so exaggerated that petty larceny was rewarded with the death penalty in the most enlightened nation of Europe. A higher estimate of the value of human life, the rise of the democracy, and the broadening of human sympathy, as attested by a thousand philanthropic movements and institutions, have combined to temper the rigors of retributive justice.

Society, furthermore, has become conscious in some degree of its own responsibility for the misdeeds of its members, and a recognition of the influence of heredity argues strongly with candid minds for lenity to the depraved. So multipotent, indeed, is heredity now thought to be in shaping and limiting the individual that nothing short of Omniscience can mark a boundary and say: Here transmission ends and there purely individual choice begins; at this point necessity stops and now responsibility reigns. If we accept what may be called the extreme view of hereditary influence, we shall be constrained to believe that penalty for crime is justifiable only as a deterrent.

Despite the fact that penalties are still graded in supposed correspondence with the quality of offenses, the punitive principle, as such, has been largely eliminated from law and practise. Torture is tabooed and the whipping-post has at last been abolished almost everywhere. Indeed, the health and comfort of prisoners are aims now quite essential to good repute in prison management. Needless humiliation, even, is avoided, and the death penalty is inflicted with growing aversion to display and all unnecessary suffering.

Beyond the bare necessity of restraining evil doers of their misused freedom and the supposed deterrence of others thereby

from criminal courses, the aim of enlightened society is reformatory. The prisoner while incarcerated is, if possible, to be so wrought over by education, industrial training, and religious influence as to develop any latent moral quality he may possess and fit him to become a safe and useful member of the community at large. This is commendable. To reclaim the criminal is to prevent crime and enrich society, and society should use all means available to this end, the pursuit of which scores a high-water mark of advancing civilization.

But in all this merciful and wise modification of the laws relating to criminality, one class, intimately concerned therein, appears to have been overlooked, namely, the victims of crime. What has the law declared, or philanthropy even suggested, as a means of affirmative justice to the sufferers from outbreaking wickedness? If they are very poor they can, of course, appeal to the charitable institutions for aid, and if they are sick or injured the hospitals, if there are any within reach, may be open to them—but in neither case because they are the victims of robbery, deceit, or violence. The same relief is available for others. Let us invoke a few illustrations—already too common.

A workman on his way home on Saturday night, with his week's or more wages in his pocket, is set upon by a gang of roughs, so beaten as to unfit him for work for a week or two, if no worse, and his money, all he possesses, taken from him to be spent in dissipation. The authorities, if informed, will take him home or to a hospital; they may furnish him with medical attendance and his family with food, if asked; and they will endeavor to arrest the offenders and fine or send them to jail for brief terms. And there society, as voiced in the law, seems to think that its responsibility ends.

It is right to imprison the robbers for the reasons heretofore adverted to, if no others; but their incarceration is of no advantage to the injured workman, except as it may gratify a childish thirst for revenge. It does not restore his stolen money, or compensate him for his time lost from work. Is it not a necessary part of even-handed justice that such amends

should be made? Even when fines are collected no part thereof is paid to the injured parties. How can we call that justice which deals only with one side of a case, making no effort to award recompense for loss or injury to those in whose persons society has been outraged and its laws contemned? Is not such a system halting, fragmentary, and incomplete?

A civil suit under the circumstances above supposed, which are very common, is out of the question. The offenders have no visible resources but their ability to labor, while the workman has neither time nor means to spend in a legal fight. Should not such conditions be provided for? I do not think we are justified in assuming, as society seems to have done heretofore, that no such provision is possible.

The thieves once in confinement are set to work. Under intelligent management, prisoners employed, either at indoor trades or on public works, are easily made to earn considerably more than the full cost of their detention and support. This is shown in police-court cases where the culprits are jailed to work out fines. In some prisons this profit, or a part of it, is regularly placed to the credit of the convict and paid to him on his release. Let us then empower and require the courts, in a well-defined class of cases, to reimburse the victims of robbery, where the stolen property is not recovered, and of assault, and to sentence offenders for terms of sufficient duration to provide the funds for such purposes out of the value of their prison labor. If the criminals in some cases are not apprehended at once they are pretty sure to be caught eventually, and the increased responsibility herein advocated would tend to greater vigilance in the prevention of crime and the pursuit of offenders. But delay or failure in that respect does not invalidate the inherent right of the victim to reimbursement, nor should it—certainly in distressful cases—hinder the process. The first duty of organized society is to prevent disorder. Prevention failing, disorder should be followed by enforced reparation for injury. The wealth and power of the State are morally bound to the latter as to the former, and should be so obligated in law.

A guardian or trustee embezzles the estate committed to his charge. If after discovery he is possessed of accessible means a civil suit may compel restitution, provided always that the heirs or other owners have the means with which to proceed against him; but he may have squandered or secreted the property, and a civil suit would be fruitless. Proceeding criminally the State may imprison him, but if he behaves well in duress, showing contrition and a good purpose, his further detention will appear unnecessary and objectless, and he will be released by the shortening of the sentence, or by a pardon. In the meantime the penniless orphans have experienced no benefit whatever from the so-called justice executed and are wholly without redress. Why not compel the defaulter to work for the support of his victims, utilizing his abilities to the full in the State service and paying the proceeds, either by anticipation or as they accrue, to the wronged persons? This would be real justice and all men would recognize it.

Let us look higher in the scale of offenses. Accidental death, due immediately or remotely to error or negligence, is the frequent occasion of successful damage suits. The responsibility of the parties recovered from is well settled, though the intent to injure is wholly absent. The great and irreparable loss sustained by surviving relatives is recognized by the law. In the event of death by murder the loss is equally severe and the responsibility incomparably greater, but society provides no compensation for that loss. The law aims only to discover the guilt and destroy the guilty. Obviously, however, the death of the murderer is of no avail to the family bereft of its bread-winner, often helplessly poverty-stricken as well as grief-stricken at one blow. The awful vengeance of violated law may be a just award to the sinner, but it does not feed and clothe and shelter the widow and the fatherless. Indeed, it cuts off what might be a means of their support. Can we not find a more practical way? "Avenge me of mine enemy!" may have voiced the orphan's cry in a more ferocious and less utilitarian age, but the beneficent materialism of to-day looks first to the sustenance and comfort of the poor as the *sine qua*

*non* of a well-ordered community. It would seem, therefore, that a well-considered plan by which, as a measure of right and justice and not of charity, the surviving relatives—particularly if dependent—in cases of homicide could be provided for, would command general approval.

How should the funds for this purpose be provided? There may be objections to the State's insuring all its citizens indiscriminately against murder and manslaughter. Here, as in the other classes of offenses noted, the culprit should himself repair, so far as possible, the damage he has done. If he has an ample estate the law should apportion therefrom a liberal indemnity to the heirs of the slain. If his possessions are small and required by a dependent family of his own, or he has no possessions, the slayer should be treated in the same manner as the "tough" and the knavish trustee.

Of course, this calls for the abolition of the death penalty. That it should be abolished on other grounds than that of requiring restitution I firmly believe. Some of the reasons often urged I will name in passing. That the deterrent influence of execution has been much overrated seems to be pretty well established by comparative statistics. It is certain that some innocent men have been judicially killed; how many in any country it is, of course, impossible to say. "To err is human;" a man once dead is past receiving reparation for a terrible mistake. The reluctance of juries to inflict capital punishment often results in failure to convict the guilty. More serious still is the consideration that some men are born almost murderers as truly as other men are born poets, or generals, or financiers, or inventors. The destructive and ferocious bent is prenatal and may be apprehended from the shape of the head in childhood. Granting that the murderous twist could be cultured out, the fact is that most great criminals have never had that beneficent experiment made on them in their youth. How, then, shall we measure their responsibility; and how answer for the cutting off of such beings from possible reclamation in later years?

But the argument that I desire specially to urge here is wholly of the practical sort. A man, whether free or under

forfeit to the State, is of value to the State and should not be wasted. He has an earning power, active or latent, that should be utilized, if he is a criminal, in repairing, so far as may be, the injury he has done. To kill him is as wasteful as to burn up useful property. Even the most truculent and incorrigible should not be destroyed unless every device of modern prison discipline, supplemented by the softening influence of time, has been exhausted in their behalf. By substituting for the death penalty a life of industry in behalf of the bereaved, lives now thrown away would be saved to usefulness; judicial errors, if they occurred, could be corrected; justice would be done to the sufferers by the crime as well as the doer of it; the sensibilities of society, now shocked by judicial slaughters, would be respected, and no safeguard to human life would be sacrificed by the change.

Details are not essential to the present purpose. If the principle be accepted that society, in assuming the protection of its members and taxing them to sustain the elaborate machinery provided therefor, has a responsibility beyond that now recognized in law, the shaping of a method for its discharge need not be difficult. Such questions as these will arise: Should the sum to be paid to the surviving dependents in a murder case be a fixed amount or be modified by the degree of atrocity of the crime, or the rate of earnings of the deceased, or by other considerations? If the murdered person leave no dependents, or his family do not need an indemnity, shall the earnings of the culprit go into a fund out of which all public indemnities shall be paid, so that if other offenders are incapacitated by death or otherwise from contributing to the fund their victims shall not be deprived of compensation nor the State unduly taxed? Shall indemnities be in the form of a lump sum or an annuity for a given term?

The needful thing is to extend the principle of equity into the domain of criminal jurisprudence, the State in a sense standing sponsor for the good behavior of all to all, and requiring the assailant, the faithless guardian, the murderer, and the rest to make restitution by their property or their serv-

ice. The Indians, or certain tribes of them, applied this principle in a direct way, requiring the slayer of a man to provide for the dependents of his victim, if they so desired. The Mosaic law is filled with just ordainments perfectly congruous with the course of procedure urged herein. As they are accessible to all they need not be quoted here, but their perusal is commended. The great Lawgiver, whose system of government for his people was the model from which our own Republic was built, sought to establish equal and easily obtained justice, reparative as well as retributive; and we cannot do better than study his principles and seek to apply them to the conditions of our time.

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## II. Women as Criminals.

THE new study of abnormal woman is a very important work—one that has offered much greater difficulty in the way of research and observation than that of abnormal man. Lombroso, the Italian criminologist, says in his preface to "Criminal Women": "The chief results of our first investigations were in opposition to the usual premises. Even individual and partial observations seemed to clash; so that if one wished to be logical one was obliged to hesitate as to a definite conclusion." However, through the unceasing work of a few, chief among them Lombroso, some definite conclusions have been reached.

A criminal known as a complete type is one in whom four or more of the characteristics of degeneracy are found; a half type, that which contains at least three of these; and no type, a countenance possessing one or two anomalies or none. The real criminal type is more rare among women than among men, for various reasons. Women are less inclined to crime. It is the occasional criminal that one meets most frequently, and as such have no special physiognomy they can offer no exam-

ples for the type. Again, according to Lombroso, the cerebral cortex, particularly in the psychical centers, is less active in women. The irritation consequent in a degenerative process is neither so constant nor so lasting. For a similar reason genius is more common in men than in women. Few women are born with criminal tendencies; but when these are present the criminality is more intense and depraved in them than in the male delinquents. They are found wanting in every attribute belonging to normal women. For example, there is a total lack of maternal affection, pity, and love; they are excessively revengeful—revenge among this class being one of the chief motives for crime. In the place of real and strong sentiment there is a mawkish sentimentality, which is particularly manifest in their letters.

Women born criminals are as a rule intelligent, and make up for their weakness, and want of physical force to satisfy their natural depravity, by having recourse to cunning in their fight against society. But, no matter what may be their degree of intelligence, their minds are always on the alert; hence, not as many impulsive crimes are committed by them as by men. Impulsive female criminals, who revenge themselves for a small offense, or women of great physical strength, may have only average intelligence; but the ferocious criminals who commit a multiplicity of crimes are generally very able. Often the very originality of their crimes is proof of this. To kill a man in the explosion of rage is compatible with the intelligence of a Hottentot, but to plan poisoning demands a certain amount of intelligence. Frequently the ability of born criminals lies in the deliberation with which their plans are laid and the ends accomplished. Whether we regard it as an effect of weakness or as suggested by the reading of romantic literature, it is equally an evidence of intelligence above the ordinary. Yet often in the case of the cleverest criminals their plans prove defective. When most elaborate they are constantly absurd and impossible, not to say mad.

Vengeance plays a leading part in the crimes committed by women. The psychic centers being in an excited condition,

the smallest stimulus provokes a reaction out of all proportion to its cause. The woman is less rapid in her vengeance than a man. She gloats upon her revenge for days, months, and even years: the explanation being her weakness and the relative timidity of nature that restrains where reason alone is powerless. Most often the hatreds and modes of vengeance are of a complicated nature and origin. They conceive mortal hates with the most extraordinary facility. Every small check in the struggle for life produces in them hatred for somebody, and frequently that hatred ends in crime. A disappointment turns to hate for the person that caused it, even involuntarily; an unsatisfied desire breeds resentment toward the person representing the obstacle; defeat results in detestation of the conqueror. All these appear to be but slower forms of the passion that causes children to administer a shower of blows upon any obstacle against which they have knocked their heads; and they prove an inferior physical development, common not only to children but, according to some authors, to the lower animals.

Although to a less degree than vengeance, greed and avarice are frequently the moving cause of crime. Women criminals, like the men, have an overpowering desire for money to waste. Messalina caused the richer citizens of Rome to be killed solely that she might have their villas and their wealth.

Strange as it may seem, love is very rarely a cause of crime among women. In their love there is no spirit of self-sacrifice—only the satisfaction of their own desires. Possessed by one idea—hypnotized, one might say—they are unconscious of peril, and rush into crime to get that which with a little patience they might obtain without risk. When the object is obtained they cease to care for it. If arrested and tried, self-salvation becomes their one idea.

Yet another frequent cause of crime among women is love of dress and ornament. They steal, not from need, but in order to buy articles of luxury, etc.

Perhaps only one thing characterizes alike the male and female born criminal, and that is love of evil for its own sake.

Their hatreds are automatic, springing from no external cause but from a morbid irritation of the psychical centers, which finds relief for itself in evil action. Continually under the influence of this stimulus, they must visit their anger upon some victim; and the one with whom they are brought most frequently in contact becomes upon the merest trifle the unfortunate.

A religious feeling is by no means rare among criminal women. They even go so far as to think that God enters into their work, and that He will help them. One woman, after committing a dreadful murder, was heard to say to her counsel, after she had been condemned to death: "Death is nothing. One must think of the salvation of one's soul. The rest is of no importance." And, in strange contrast to their usual depravity, these people are not wanting in a paradoxical and intermittent goodness. They are kind to the unhappy, simply because the latter are in a worse state than themselves. This would be a source of instinctive satisfaction to natures in whom the good fortune of others inspires only hatred. Their love of power is gratified by good methods for once. Their kindness is of an inferior sort, springing from what might be called composite selfishness. This intermittent goodness explains the behavior of the most ferocious among them in the presence of the scaffold—behavior that frequently to ordinary observers seems so heroically Christian and resigned as to appear a miracle worked out by God for the salvation of a lost soul. The criminal receives a sentimental suggestion from her spiritual adviser, under whose influence she falls all the more readily because of her peculiar position; and she is moved by his appeals to the milder feelings, in which she is not totally wanting, because of the absence of the stimulus to evil. Add to this the instinctive yearning for sympathy and protection that possesses women in general, and is likely to make itself strongly felt when they are rejected by the world and on the brink of the tomb.

Another peculiarity of the female offender is her obstinacy in denying her crime, no matter how convincing the proof may

be. The male criminal, when denial no longer serves, usually confesses; but the woman only protests her innocence the more strenuously the more obviously absurd her assertions become. When criminal women do not deny altogether they invent excuses so elaborate that even a child would not believe them. They will change their line of defense two or three times, and assert each new statement with undiminished ardor and apparently without reflecting that the variation in their stories will influence the judge against them.

Again, the woman criminal will often reveal her guilt in a perfectly spontaneous manner—a singular psychological phenomenon for which there are many causes. One is what men say is the chief characteristic of woman—her liking for gossip and inability to keep a secret. Another is the habitual feather-headedness and imprudence of the female criminal, who does not realize the peril to which she exposes herself by alluding publicly to her crime. Often her need to *talk* about her act finds indirect means; but never does she invoke the memory of her crime by writing or drawing, as men frequently do.

Women are not only longer lived than men, but have greater powers of resistance to misfortune and grief. This is a law that in the female criminal seems almost exaggerated, so remarkable is her longevity and the manner in which she bears the hardships of prison life. Aged women criminals outnumber the men. Many women have been known to live in prison from the age of twenty-nine to ninety without apparent injury to their health. Between 1870 and 1879 the prison returns of Italy showed a percentage of 4.3 among the women and 3.2 among the men who were over sixty.

Yet, with all our investigations and data, the question still remaining to be answered is, Why with the advance of civilization is criminality increasing among women?

H. Harrell.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HEINE.

# THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV. AUGUST, 1900. No. 2.

## BRITISH MOVEMENTS AND LEADERS.

### I. CROMWELL AND CHAMBERLAIN.

THERE is much force in Carlyle's remark that the history of the world is chiefly the biography of great men. Every era of reform, every season of political advance, every movement in morals or religion, and every stage of empire-building is associated with some name that was a rallying-cry for the time and is a precious legacy to all succeeding ages.

Carlyle was a hero-worshiper; we are all hero-worshipers, in greater or less degree. When we admire some beautiful landscape, there is something within our souls that can respond to the beauty. When we rejoice over some wonderful deed, there is some measure of that nobility even within ourselves. When we indulge in hero-worship, it means that some flashes of heroism may be awakened even in our duller spirits.

In bringing together two such names as Oliver Cromwell and Joseph Chamberlain, I am not prompted by mere ideal fancy. It is possible at least to suggest points of comparison and contrast; and my theory is that what Cromwell was for his country in his day Chamberlain is, or may be, for the British Empire in our own time. The circumstances of his period, acting upon a peculiar temperament, produced the man whose name stands, like a warning if not a menace, in the long list

of English monarchs. The circumstances of the last quarter of the century, acting upon temperament and genius, have produced the man who, beginning as partner in a screw manufactory and as a Radical politician, has become the dominating member of a more or less conservative government and perhaps the most actively powerful factor in the political life of Great Britain.

When we consider the varying estimates of men still living, we cannot be surprised at the widely differing opinions concerning those who have passed away more than two hundred years ago. Very earnest and very bitter has been the controversy respecting the character and actions of Oliver Cromwell. By some he has been denounced as the evil genius of his country and as a regicide. By others he has been acclaimed as a reformer and a patriot—as one who put an end forever (in Great Britain) to the superstition as to the divine right of kings.

Of Charles I., whose execution is one of the landmarks of British progress, some people have written as if he had been a patient saint and a glorious martyr; but, in spite of a few good qualities, he was tyrannical and self-assertive. It was not altogether his fault. He simply inherited ideas that led him to suppose that the people were made to serve the monarch, instead of the monarch to serve the people. The execution of a king might seem a very desperate undertaking; but if ever there was justification for inflicting the extreme penalty upon a political offender it was in the case of that proud, superstitious, and tyrannical man.

Cromwell was no vulgar regicide; nor was he solely responsible for the fate that befell the monarch. To him, and to men like John Hampden, must be accorded the praise of those who can recognize, in the events of the Revolution, the beginning of that era of civil and religious liberty in which we live and work to-day. Never again, in the history of Great Britain, can there be such a struggle as that of two and one-half centuries ago. The modern king or queen may have strong opinions, or even prejudices, and may

express such opinions to responsible statesmen—as Queen Victoria, acting within her right, has frequently done. But, when it comes to a plain choice between the monarch and the representatives of the nation, the monarch must give way, subordinating personal prejudice to public duty. Perchance no effort will ever again be made to resist the popular will; but if it should—well, behind any possible tyrant will loom the warning specter of Oliver Cromwell!

Very different, in many respects, have been the times in which Joseph Chamberlain has lived and flourished; and very different has been the man himself, though to this modern politician might be applied the words written by Cromwell concerning himself: "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity."

There has been no great constitutional crisis, unless the agitation for home rule in Ireland was worthy of such designation. Important matters have come under discussion, while vital principles have had to contend for recognition and supremacy. Having inherited, however, the beneficent results of Oliver Cromwell's work, the British people have gone forward, surely and not very slowly, in the path of progress.

The career of Joseph Chamberlain has been both interesting and instructive. He represents a new phase of political life and enterprise. With him, a new spirit enters into the councils of the nations.

Cromwell was a religious fanatic, whose words and actions were based upon a superstitious regard for the mere letter of Scripture. Chamberlain is a Unitarian, who can respect and admire all that is beautiful and inspiring in the Bible, but would never dream of basing modern statesmanship upon the language or the maxims of Moses, David, Isaiah, or St. Paul. Cromwell was concerned with the power and glory of England. Chamberlain seems to have had the vision of a great Empire, and has probably set himself to the realization of a grand ideal.

Having carefully watched and noted the various stages of his career, not always with sympathy or approval, I do not

think that he has been so inconsistent as many people suppose. He has followed a line of conduct that was no doubt clear to himself; and, with regard to the future, I anticipate that within ten years he will be at the head of one of the most powerful and energetic ministries England has ever known. He is a man of inflexible will and determination. No mere trifle can turn him from the path he has elected to follow. Caring little or nothing for accusations of inconsistency, he finds only amusement when political opponents quote against him to-day the speeches that he delivered ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago. From first to last he has been consistent with—himself.

I was living in Birmingham, nearly thirty years ago, when "Joe" Chamberlain was beginning to take an active, practical interest in social and political questions. Then he was a Radical; and he avowed himself, theoretically at any rate, a republican. It may be doubted whether his opinions have changed very much since then, but he has seen fit to adapt himself to altered times and circumstances. He has been reproached for having joined the Conservative party. The position might be more correctly stated if we said that the Conservative party had joined him.

Somewhat puzzling transformations have taken place in the political life of Great Britain during the last twenty years. I was residing in Aberdeen, the Scottish university town, when Joseph Chamberlain was first included among Her Majesty's Ministers, and I well remember a Conservative friend coming to me in a club reading-room and saying in broken voice: "God help my poor country!"

Since then Chamberlain has done much to disorganize the old Liberal party, and in recent years he has been (is it an exaggeration to say it?) the savior of the British Empire. If we contrast the relations existing between England and her colonies twenty years ago with the strong—because voluntary—union to-day; if we think of the old policy too often expressed in the words, "Let the colonies go!" and then turn to the new picture of those colonies rallying to the side of the

mother country—then we begin to realize how far we have advanced in comparatively recent times.

As a public speaker, and as a debater, Joseph Chamberlain is probably without a rival—at any rate in the House of Commons. Calm and collected, he knows exactly what he desires to say, and he knows how best to say it. Without any sign of nervous distress, he can cut and slash with his words until one thinks of a clever swordsman who, with ease and apparent unconcern, defends himself from attack and drives his weapon home at every opportunity. We are reminded of Sir Walter Scott's description of Fitz James in his great fight with the chieftain, Roderick Dhu:

> "Trained abroad his arms to wield,
> Fitz James's blade was sword and shield.
> He practised every pass and ward,
> To thrust, to strike, to feint, to guard."

Thus does Joseph Chamberlain use his power of oratory, and thus does he win the admiration even of his opponents, as in that remarkable, almost historic, speech which he delivered a few months ago in the British Parliament, when, in what seemed a critical moment, he fairly routed the Opposition, reëstablished his personal position, and saved the government from discredit, if not from defeat.

Few persons of active intelligence will dispute, or even doubt, that there is a continuity of national life—a gradual, steady, and persistent evolution of ideas and principles. I venture, therefore, to suggest that Chamberlain is continuing the old, old struggle in which Cromwell, bravely and resolutely, played his part in his own day.

We have traveled far since then—socially, politically, and religiously. Just as many of the old Presbyterian churches, founded with open trusts, have gradually drifted to the Unitarian position, so the champion of the type of Oliver Cromwell—a mixture of freeman and fanatic—has given place to the statesman of the type of Joseph Chamberlain: at heart a freethinker, but ready to use the Church as a stepping-stone

if necessary for his personal ambition and for the achievement of his grand designs.

Whenever the spirit of liberty comes into collision with the spirit of bigotry or of autocracy, there must be a struggle, more or less severe. We may regret this, but we cannot avoid it. We may passionately desire a fairer and happier time, but we must live in the present and make the best of the circumstances and events about us.

Oliver Cromwell found his lines cast in far from pleasant places. To him and to men like John Hampden it was given to check the avarice and the tyranny of the king, to uphold the cause of a free and independent Parliament, and to test the question upon many a field of battle.

Times have changed since then, and so has the nature of the struggle; and yet the problem working out in South Africa to-day is the lineal descendant of the problem that confronted the brave old Puritans of two hundred and fifty years ago.

Through many difficulties, dangers, and trials, men like Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain are busy with the fabric of a mighty Empire. The end does not always justify the means; but in this case the methods are unavoidable, unless indeed the glorious task is to be put aside—unless we are to fling away the richest gifts that Time and Fortune bring to us.

(Rev.) GEORGE WALTERS.

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## II. FAILURES IN ENGLISH TEMPERANCE REFORM.

THE bibulous habits and Bacchanalian revels of our ancestors are proverbial. They have satisfied the wants of the story-teller and provided material for the meditations of the moralist. They have been woven into romance and taken form and substance on the painter's canvas. Homilies have been written and delivered over them, and they have supplied the humorist with diversions for the mirthful. History has

incorporated them in its bulky memorials, and their floating traditions are likely to outlive many generations.

Modern nations will condemn and deplore the lengthy and riotous carousals of the baron, the squire, and the knight of the shire, whose potations were generally of the most generous character; but it must be admitted that there was little semblance of hypocrisy in the wild conduct of these reckless old sensualists. The social ethics of the times recognized the hard drinker as a man of eminent respectability, and the appreciation of "society" was frequently obtainable by an unrestrained extravagance in the libations to Bacchus. It is even evident that comfortable sinecures were obtained and valuable public appointments secured by the judicious administration of a dram. Even to-day the overburdened pension list bears testimony to the lavish generosity of those gamesome old tipplers who were willing to alleviate from the public purse the impecuniosity of a bibulous and boon companion. Let it be added that the "statesmen" were equally ready to apply the same palliative to their personal financial ailments when disordered by Bacchanalian extravagances and other forms of unmentionable debaucheries.

But acuminated public opinion is gradually changing all that. By all sensible people sobriety is now rightly regarded as a necessary virtue, while confirmed drunkenness is wholly accounted a pitiable neurotic disorder and physical disease, hereditary or developed. Commiseration rather than reproach should be extended to the hapless individual who at times may fail to keep his potations within the bounds of restraint, when overmastered with the depraved constitutional craving. It is the germination and growth of the ancestral poison seed, and it is truly regrettable that science and surgery alike have failed to discover some certain antidote to the fatal heritage. It is presumable, then, under these circumstances, that the general trend of public opinion is in the direction of securing sobriety and favorable to temperance. With increasing experience and the wider and wiser acquaintance with human requirements obtained by a better knowledge of social conditions,

it might well be expected that sound temperance reform was making rapid and permanent progress. There is too much reason to fear that any such opinion is a delusion. There is but the smoothing of the surface—the concealment of the evil. Temperance is not in the ascendant.

For convenience and secrecy, intoxicants may be obtained and disguised as beverages, medicines, tonics, and other fanciful appellations that ingenuity may suggest, but they are provocative of argument and supply substantial reasons against the assumptions of increasing sobriety. The drinking carousals of our ancestors were open, riotous, and sociable; the prevailing habits of persistent tippling are secret, insatiable, and solitary. That stricture more particularly applies to the middle and aristocratic classes; there is, in addition, the saloon and boisterous bar-drinking of the artisans and lower classes. "Respectable" men of the pietistic persuasion and women greatly favor the secret-service system, and the necessity for concealment unquestionably aggravates the intensity of the evil. The insidious and seductive nature of the vice is far more objectionable and dangerous than the occasional frenzy of intoxication, because in the latter method there are considerable periods of abstinence. The confirmed tippler only interrupts the regularity of the bibulation by an enforced disorganization of the supplies. Long-established social customs also contribute to an aggravation of the evil.

Government statistics overwhelmingly show that, instead of abating, there is a continuous and extravagant addition to the revenue obtainable by the customs and excise from the liquor traffic. To this evidence of increased consumption have to be added the concoctions of the illicit grog-making and the publican's expansion with water and noxious compounds. Breweries and distilleries are multiplying with astonishing and increasing rapidity, and everywhere the evidences of the "trade" prosperity are abundant. The Stygian stream of poisonous and maddening drink flows freely along with increasing violence, bearing on its surface a black and loathsome mass of humanity.

"Beer shops are the curse of the country!" said Lord Beaconsfield, in a moment of inspired and impassioned utterance; and the accusation has been amply supported by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, who insisted that "every crime has its origin more or less in drunkenness!" In this instance Law and Politics are in agreement; and to these weighty utterances may be added the medical opinion, as supplied by Sir Andrew Clark, who, as a scientist and practising physician, declared that: "Alcohol is a poison. Health is always injured by it; benefited by it, never!" Similar and equally authoritative testimony besprinkles the utterances of many persons eminent in all departments of intellectual activity. Indeed all intelligent opinion is agreed that dipsomania is a tremendous factor for crime, pauperism, destitution, disease, and insanity—that our tippling and drinking customs are filthy, unwholesome, and altogether an abomination—and concedes the irresistible arguments in favor of immediate correction and ultimate suppression. But personal interest prevails, and only those with well-sustained fortitude are qualified to attack the gigantic iniquity.

People there are in plenty who, with considerable clamor and no scarcity of presumption, will advertise their opinions upon this complicated question; but their parrot-cry repetitions have been adopted, while their minds are destitute of any original, sensible, and practicable solution of the difficulties. The larger proportion of those who flaunt the tinsel title of "reformer," while posing with oracular mendacity, have entered the controversy with opinions already adapted and petrified to increase the clamor and confusion by applauding their own inane presumption. Another hindrance is the presumably sincere but sadly misinformed individual whose interference is invariably favorable to reaction and corruption. In addition to the foregoing aids to failure there are the bogus temperance reformers, who are indeed the hired advocates of the traffic and particularly dangerous by reason of their disguised hostility. The ranks of reformers are also rendered frangible by the intermixture of a feeble folk

whose aim in life seems to be the suppression of original ideas and independent opinion. They are less terrified at the deluge of deadly decoctions than alarmed at the increase of new and unfamiliar social aspirations that are always abhorrent because never understood. They would willingly throttle all original thinkers and stifle every beautiful conception that flashes from the procreant depths of genius. Some, indeed, are so timorous as to start in consternation with horrent hair and straining eyeballs when confronted with an unfamiliar thought or daring aspiration. Any proposal to discard the old and obsolete traditions is sufficient to prostrate their energies and paralyze their faculties. Such are not the materials from which progressive and successful reformers are made and fashioned by the forces of necessity.

But everywhere the party of reform has been beguiled by actions that invite defeat, and the movement has been industriously exploited by the faddist and the fanatic, the dotard and the driveler. To such an extent has this been so that many of the would-be prominent and authoritative teetotalers give utterance to harangues that are reminiscent of the wailing gibberish of the antiquated crone—spouting sentiments that bear a remarkable resemblance to the spasmodic splutterings of the village "natural" and the rural "dunce." The "professional" agitator and obsequious self-seeker have also played their part, while the rostrum has resounded with the "inspired" ravings of the ubiquitous individual who wets his cheeks with artificial tears and frames his face to all occasions. Indeed, in every action it is painfully evident that teetotalers of the common variety have particular and peculiar methods of insuring disaster and defeat.

Unfortunately for the organized temperance party, the managers of the propaganda have shown an unwarrantable tendency to identify their cause with the fortunes of a particular political party. They have ostentatiously, even offensively, paraded their political partizanship on the platform and at the polling booths, with results that should have been obvious to the dullest intellect. Sectarianism has turned their gatherings

into prayer meetings, and to such an extent that their organizations have become effete and offensive and have degenerated into silly mutual-admiration societies. The conventional prohibition orator has his circle of assertions, and while pandering to his paymasters he may never desert the familiar tirade. The animus displayed by rival organizations is considerable; their views are narrow, while their operations are absolutely futile. They cultivate cliques and coteries, being ever ready and eager to persecute and vilify, with the malignity of ignorance, all other reformers whose intelligence and propaganda are superior to their own. They mistake an anecdote for an argument, and become intoxicated with the boisterous, albeit meaningless, laughter of the crowd. Vulgarity dominates their vainglorious actions with attendant results that are wholly deplorable and disastrous: never an effort to instruct the people in the scientific and economic exploration of all social conditions, the desire being—for personal and party preferment—to pander to the ignorant prejudices of the unreasoning crowd.

Politics, sectarianism, and insatiable greed debauch the public conscience and pervert the general activity with influences for evil. From the "pillars" of the "trade" comes the liquorish lamentation about interfering with the "rights" of the people. Behind the mask we perceive the smirking sanctity of our Beer and Bible advocate, lusty-lunged and frantic in the effort to impose himself as the oracle of public opinion. But it will not do. His fulsome fervency evaporates and fumes in vain; his plagiarized pathos is sadly unappreciated by the ruined victims of his ample prosperity. The publican piles his profits on the degradation of his customers' homes, and the shivering wretches therein care not for the cant that custom apostrophizes as compassion.

But everywhere spreads the taint of this vast and pestiferous traffic. Its promoters and defenders develop their operations in the Houses of Parliament. They are secreted in the sanctity of the Establishment and are not entirely unknown to the Non-conformist conscience. Bishops are supplementing their

benefices by sharing the profits of the brewer, while, with maudlin sentimentality, they are professing to deplore the evils of the traffic. Pietists are bemoaning the increasing brutality with the wine-cup in their hands, and fashionable ladies titter and tattle insipid teetotalism while their eyes are sparkling with incipient intoxication. Rural deans and corpulent canons have lisped and mumbled much meaningless claptrap, while their fingers fumbled in their pockets with the newly-received distillery dividends and their thoughts went wandering in pleasurable expectancy to the probable increase in the returns for the ensuing term. The revenues of Church and State have somehow to be obtained, and the liquor traffic provides a convenient and established medium. Consequently, the "trade" shall not willingly be tampered with nor its security shaken. Politicians, parsons, and parasitical moneymongers generally have too great a personal interest in the success of the drink distribution to countenance any form of reformative interference. In many ways they are so deeply sunk in the still-stream mud that safety demands an intense alcoholic appetite to absorb the slime of putrescent production.

Hitherto gilded depravity has flaunted unchecked, while absurd and abominable pretensions have been countenanced and supported with nauseating pomposity and piously disguised mendacity. "Beer and the Bible" is a persistent phrase, a scandal to Churchism, and a sorry reflection upon modern Christianity that nowhere does drunkenness thrive with such virulence and vigor as within the pale of the Church. Christians may whimper about unconverted heathendom, but even there the greed of gain never culminates in opulent and titled brewers and distillers. Nowhere does the brandy-beaker circulate so constantly as in a gathering of churchmen in England, thereby occasioning much turbulence and violence; and the familiar wine-cup of the Christian always is replenished with sanctimonious regularity and ruin beneath the shadow of the cross.

And what of the future? Under the existing licensing system, or any possible arrangement of the present system that does not eliminate the element of personal profit, no reform

of any consequence can be ever accomplished. Reduction of hours and limitation of houses are fads that will have no beneficial effects. Permissive bills and local options are equally unsatisfactory, and never approach the evil. The entire system will have, of necessity, to be reorganized and new methods adopted to obtain the results desired. And it is well to understand that under the most favorable circumstances, and with all the progressive forces in operation, it will take many weary years and successive generations to correct and repair the social contamination. In many instances reparation may be altogether impossible. Man is tigerish in his alcoholic appetite, and having tasted the stimulant he craves for more. Debauchery becomes a delight.

The tendency of the trade, as revealed by recent exposures, indicates the creation of a gigantic monopoly entirely under the control of wealthy brewers and distillers. Such a scheme is a menace to the public interests and social morality. To gain the object, sectarianism is heavily subsidized and politics polluted. The remedy seems to present itself in the direction of municipalization, or some similar and well-regulated system entirely and directly under the management of the general community. But it is never to be supposed that present and tentative proposals are to be regarded as final panaceas for existent evils. They are only stepping-stones to still higher results and endeavors in the right direction for real progress. Municipalization offers many advantages unknown to the older forms of temperance propaganda. It destroys a dangerous monopoly and opens the door for further advances. Self-interest is removed, making progressive reformation possible. The important consideration of purity and quality of the liquors supplied would receive attention, and that would be an enormous gain. Much evil is caused by the terrible poisons produced by the prevalent methods of adulteration, and municipalization will correct all that. But, indeed, the certain and possible benefits presaged by the communal control are now beyond the theories of speculation, and are likely to result in a reformative progress and final accomplishment not now imaginable by the perverted reason.

Opposition to every scientific advance and social advantage may be expected and certain. It would be an absolute impossibility to evolve and establish any scheme of reform that will give universal satisfaction. That need never be expected while the public mind continues to be involved and tortuous in its reasoning processes—delighting in disputation and inviting contention. No unfamiliar proposals ever yet recommended themselves to the infinity of ignorance, satisfied an unreasoning fanaticism, or silenced the mad and devouring clamor of faction. The time and intelligence for that unimpassioned penetration and comprehension have not yet come, but the great and vast improvements suggested by the possibilities of communal control are sufficiently substantial favorably to attract the observant thinker. The demand is for the application of scientific methods to secure practical and absolute results, and the abandonment of all conventional and antiquated abortions whose promises, so vociferous and plentiful, have been falsified and discredited in every instance and particular. The cry of "abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State" has been wailing for many weary and unprofitable years in the wilderness of blighted aspirations; and present indications suggest that it may whine and whimper, unheard and unheeded, for all time. It is not necessary to discuss the details of such proposals; it is sufficient to know that they are impotent of good and ever foredoomed to ignominious failure.

The question of compensation to the publican has been raised, and it surely is a most unreasonable, not to say iniquitous, one. For what is he to be compensated? Surely not for the prevention of social misery and degradation. Surely not for having been permitted to prey upon human frailty by amassing fabulous fortunes through spreading disorder, desolation, and despair. As a general rule, the average drink-seller enters upon his career of infamy with but a slender capital, expanded by a subsidy from the brewer; and what are the ultimate results? In an incredibly short space of time he is able from the profits of the water-tap and vitriolic com-

pounds to become the proud purchaser of enormous portions of real property, and still maintain a respectable balance at the banker's. The prosperity of the publican is proverbial, and when the day of compensation arrives justice will not declare that he shall be the recipient.

But any alteration in the liquor laws will in itself do little for beneficial results. Social conditions demand other reforms of a general character and wider scope to precede and accompany temperance reform. Sobriety will only be insured and sustained by compulsory and universal unsectarian education —the dissemination of exact knowledge upon subjects of a purely practical and useful character. It demands and depends upon improvements in the social conditions of the disinherited masses, with some degree of security for obtaining the necessaries of existence by profitable and useful employment: some condition by which they will escape the present and perpetual terrors of poverty, even to starvation, and have secured to them the continuation of a fairly comfortable condition of life and existence. It will be necessary that coöperation shall supplant a ruinous anarchy of competition in the communal production and distribution of the necessaries of life, and industrial and commercial systems shall be established and conducted on scientific methods with a moral, reasonable, and justifiable basis; indeed, a system by which the beautiful and complete harmony of the universe will be applied to the homogeneous human society.

But time, perseverance, and persistent agitation and education will be required before even the least of these promised social advantages are obtained. The future is still shrouded in the fogs of faction and the darkness of disputation. Human vision is, at the best, but feeble, while the horizon is mantled in the mists of mental mystification. Hope and optimism whisper that progress is insured and certain, but when we again review the past career of humanity we are much disquieted. Progress may continue; yet without social reform of the most sweeping kind, and more than what is herein foreshadowed and suggested, our social system will not be made

perfect nor will reform continue. On the contrary, our kindred and successors will continue rushing onward to their doom with increasing momentum. Without general and substantial social reform and readjustment of economic conditions, all genuine temperance legislation is foredoomed to failure and condemned by experience. The efforts of the brave and unselfish workers in the cause of righteousness and humanity will continue to be futile and expended in vain.

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# NATURAL SELECTION, COMPETITION, AND SOCIALISM.

OF late years a decided change has taken place in the nature of the criticisms directed against the socialist philosophy. The objections now being brought forward are mainly biological. The change is partly due to the prowess displayed by the socialist economists in defense of their theories, and partly to their unanswerable criticisms of the existing social order. Their antagonists have been compelled to adopt a new line of attack. The battle has been shifted from the field of economics to that of biology. The brief for the defense has been handed over to the biologist.

Whatever judgment current opinion may pass upon the socialist philosophy as a whole, it must certainly be admitted that in the field of pure economics the socialists have more than held their own. And this might have been expected. Political economy is the science of human affairs; it treats of the production and distribution of wealth, states the economic laws that govern the production and exchange of commodities, and tries to reduce the business of society to an orderly basis. Just as the careful housewife adjusts her expenditure to her income, so the economist endeavors to influence legislation to like ends. The orthodox political economist is, therefore, essaying the impossible. He is trying to build up an orderly synthesis from a disorderly aggregation of objects; and, as a correct line of reasoning depends upon the establishment of an exact correspondence between thought and things, his efforts must necessarily prove futile. The systems of production and distribution must first be brought into harmonious arrangement before a true science of political economy can obtain.

The socialist economists, on the other hand, have made a complete analysis of the present system. In their investigations of the nature of value they laid hold of the only property

possessed by a commodity that could, under a reasonable system, serve as a measure of value. Starting with the fundamental proposition that labor creates all exchange value, they have elaborated a logical science of political economy. It is therefore not at all surprising to see the orthodox economists retiring from a contest in which they must necessarily be worsted.

Perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge, a complete answer to the biological objections to socialism cannot be given. Experiment alone is capable of furnishing the final answer. There is, however, a provisional answer, which can cover all but the theoretical objection. The argument of the biological critics, briefly stated, is as follows: The socialist philosophy, though apparently logical and consistent when judged from an economic standpoint, is in contradiction to the laws of life. Its exponents are fruitlessly contending against a law of Nature; they are founding their social structures on beds of sand. Man reached his preëminent position in the animal kingdom, the biologist argues, by reason of his cunning, his ferocity, and his imitativeness. In the struggle for existence, these qualities—which he shares in common with the tiger and the ape—have served him well; they have made him the superb animal he is. His prehensile thumb, his curiosity, the ferocity with which he resents injury, his sociability, and his wonderful capacity for seizing anything that will help him in the struggle for existence have secured his primacy and made him the lord of creation.

The physical and mental characteristics that distinguish man from all other animals are the accumulated results of a process of natural selection continued through long periods of time. Originally, they were simply favorable variations, brought into existence by a happy combination of the sexual characters of parents—the results of a process of sexual selection. The individuals in which these favorable variations were developed to the highest degree would be most favored in the struggle for existence, and accordingly would survive and reproduce their kind. Of their offspring, those

in which the favorable variations were again the most prominent would survive; and so, by adding the variations together, generation after generation, natural selection would eventually produce them fully developed as exhibited in man. Therefore, says the biologist, since the qualities that secured for man his primacy among animals are the accumulated results of a selective process that preserved the individual possessing them in the highest degree, he will retain that primacy just so long as the selective principle continues to operate; but any lessening of the rigid selection will be instantly followed by degeneration, and ultimately by extinction.

In the course of social evolution, continues the biologist, the old form of natural selection—which simply secured the survival of the physically fit—took on a new form. It changed to industrial competition, which secures the survival of the kind of man best suited for the building up of a civilized society. Brute force gives way to intellect, and ferocity to cunning; but the old struggle for existence—caused by the fecundity of Nature—still goes on. Socialism, therefore, says the critic, is suicidal. It proposes to abolish industrial competition, which is at the same time the form of the struggle for existence that created the organization of the social structure upon which socialism depends for its existence, and the incentive that moves to action the units of society.

Here, then, is the point at issue: is industrial competition the selective principle that created our society? The socialist says no. Such a theory cannot be reconciled with the fact that in all countries man progressed from a low to a high type before the advent of industrial competition, or that in some countries a high degree of civilization has been reached without its aid. In his opinion, industrial competition is an injurious product of modern times. He asserts, moreover, that its tendency is to lower the mental, moral, and physical standards of the race, to cripple the consuming power of the community, and to lower the scale of living; and that eventually it will, if allowed to pursue an unrestricted course, involve both capitalist and laborer in a common ruin.

The critics of socialism, in answering this indictment, acknowledge the cruelty of competition regarded from an individual standpoint—but nevertheless maintain that it is necessary and inevitable, and that the ultimate good derived from its operation far outweighs the present evil. The form of the struggle for existence that obtained in medieval times might, in their opinion, have been continued forever without the production of the kind of man required for the building up of a highly-organized society; that if continued forever it could only have produced a more gigantic knight—an exaggerated Cœur de Leon. They do not believe that any analogy exists between the civilized societies of to-day and the mushroom civilizations of the past. These latter, they assert, were simply the last stages of a patriarchal system in which a small class, after subjugating the remaining members of their society, had taken to themselves all the knowledge and culture of their times. These civilizations were based on chattel slavery; as President Jordan of Stanford very aptly puts it, "the physical perfection and culture of each Greek were made possible by the labor of ten slaves."

A comparison will show that no analogy exists, says the biologist. The old civilizations were founded on slavery: ours is based on freedom of contract; in ancient societies rigid caste lines separated the classes: in ours men pass constantly from one to the other—the sons of the laborers of one generation becoming the lawgivers of the next; the civilizations of old were simply extensions of the patriarchal system: ours is the result of industrial evolution. In olden times all the knowledge and culture of the day were reserved for a select few. The industrial evolution of modern society, with the introduction of machinery into all the branches of industry—with its steam power, its cheap newspapers, its cheap books, its cheap magazines, its free libraries, and its free schools—has made possible to all the pursuit of knowledge. "He who runs may read." The toiler of to-day enjoys privileges beyond the reach of a king of former times. There could be no advance on these earlier civilizations without a change in the form of

the struggle for existence, says the critic; and, as a result of economic causes, it changed—to industrial competition.

Now, though the line of reasoning thus put forward against socialism seems both logical and convincing, it contains several erroneous conclusions. The statement that industrial competition is responsible for the organization of society is certainly untrue. This organization dates back to the time when, following the line of least resistance, men found they could produce more, working at special occupations and exchanging their commodities, than when each worked for himself at a variety of occupations. The organization of society must be attributed to the specialization of industry, with its accompanying system of exchange. First the simplest division of labor, the learning of handicrafts; then the gathering of the artisans into guilds, the associations of the guild-masters and the rise of the trades-unions, the inception of the factory system and its gradual development, the gathering of large groups of workingmen into factories and the integration of masters into corporations and trusts: these are the steps by which the organization of society was effected—from first to last due to the specialization of industry. Consequently, the objection that the abolition of competition means the disorganization of society falls to the ground.

The arguments of the biological critics of socialism might be strictly true were their application restricted to cabbages and potatoes; but applied to man they are worthless. Man is not a vegetable, passively subject to the action of natural forces and reacting automatically upon them, but possesses a power of consciously reacting upon environment and partially molding it to his will. By virtue of this power he becomes, as it were, the architect of his own fortunes—the builder of his own physical, mental, and moral structures. It is therefore necessary that he have an ethical standard—that the conscious molding of environment may have for its ultimate aim the production of the highest type of man. The biological criticisms of socialism are therefore lacking, insomuch that they have not taken this power into consideration.

Looking at the question from another point of view, an examination of existing society will show that the unconscious, unregulated action of social environment has actually resulted in the setting aside of natural selection. This has been replaced by a perverse social selection, which divides society into at least four distinct classes. It preserves first the man of wealth—gained perhaps by no exertion of his own—who may or may not be possessed of the physical and mental attributes that would insure his survival under other conditions. As he is able to buy better brains than his own to manage his possessions, he is secure in the survival of his family; while the practise of tying up large estates in trust for the benefit of improvident heirs still further sets aside the operation of natural selection. The efforts of the "fool killer" are rendered abortive. In the middle class, the keenest and generally the most unscrupulous trader survives. In the working class, the man with the strongest body and the most slavish disposition is the one favored in the struggle for existence. And in the slums, normal persons, dragged down by hard conditions, are slowly exterminated, leaving the beggar and the thief to propagate their kind. It cannot be said that natural selection is responsible for the existence of any of these, or that they approach the type we should choose for our standard.

Looking at the question from still another point of view, if we allow, for the sake of argument, that industrial competition is synonymous with the struggle for existence, we shall find ourselves placed in a very peculiar position. We shall be obliged to assert that ninety-five per cent. of the business men of all countries are "unfit." Statistics compiled by the best authorities show that ninety-five per cent. of all business enterprises become bankrupt. This enormous percentage of failures must then prove one of two things: either that ninety-five per cent. of all merchants engaged in business are unfit, or that an injurious selective principle, which does not discriminate between the fit and the unfit, has arisen during the evolution of society. The latter hypothesis is probably the true one. The fact that many men, after failing in business

once or twice, eventually succeed can be explained in no other manner. What confidence can be placed in an automatic selective process that changes its judgment so readily? How can a man who has been twice pronounced unfit by industrial competition suddenly become fit? The only answer that can be given to such a query is, the man was always fit. Conditions, favorable or unfavorable, decided the question of his success or failure. Much evidence may be adduced in support of such a theory.

A hundred years ago the business of society was carried on by a multitude of small manufacturers, small storekeepers, mechanics, and farmers. Business failures were few and far between, and the commercial crisis would not for some time to come startle the world by its repeated visits. Now, judged by the standard of the biologist, the majority of the business men of civilized countries were at that time fit. Judged by the standard of the economist, free competition, in a community of small producers possessing a world's market, could not produce the evil results ascribed to it to-day. Competition between two small merchants with a world to exploit is a very different thing from competition between a small merchant and a gigantic trust, between a blacksmith and an implement factory, between a laborer and a steam shovel. Judged by the standard of the biologist, ninety-five per cent. of modern men of business are unfit. Judged by the standard of the economist, the centralization of capital, the concentration of industry, and the social effect of machinery have simply made it impossible for them to remain in business. They cannot compete.

The great selective principle of the biologist—industrial competition—is apparently in danger of abolition long before the socialist gets his innings. The gradual transformation of the methods of production and distribution must eventually end in the death of competition. The copartnership of two individuals in a commercial enterprise is the entering wedge; competition is destroyed between them. The amalgamation of such firms into corporations is a further step in the process

that finds its logical end in the trust. A national and international agreement between the trusts is the last step in the process that wipes competition out of existence, and with it the selective principle of the biologist and his objection to socialism. If, though not at all likely, the commercial system could be developed to such an extreme, society would then become an industrial oligarchy ruled by trusts.

A legitimate objection to the line of reasoning thus put forward must now receive consideration. While it is certainly true that competition is gradually being killed by the business of society passing into the hands of trusts, it is equally true that competition among their employees still remains. It therefore must be shown that under socialism some incentive to exertion would take the place of this form of competition. The complete domination of society by the trusts, with the destruction of industrial competition between them, does not necessarily involve the disintegration of society. So long as competition developed commercial and mechanical ability among the employees of the trusts, the business of society might be carried on for an indefinite period—provided no other disturbing factors entered into the calculation. Kings by divine right and their descendants ruled the world for many generations without any essential alteration of their characters. And, in like manner, industrial oligarchs might rule the world for long periods, provided the selective principle that formed the units of their society continued to operate. It is then absolutely necessary that in a collectivist society some incentive should move to action the masses of the people—that great majority who live always in the present, invariably preferring a small amount of proximate happiness to a large amount of ultimate happiness.

The exponents of socialism are addressing themselves to this task; they are trying to bring their economic theories into harmony with the laws of life. The old-time revolutionary beliefs have given way to an evolutionary synthesis. The modern socialist recognizes the fact that great social changes are worked out with much travail through long periods. Confident of the ultimate realization of his hopes, he is content for the

present to demand such political and economic changes as will better the immediate condition of his fellow-men. Along with this he asks for the perfection of the machinery of government and the State ownership of those industries which have attained national importance. These necessary steps taken, he leaves to the future to decide what next shall be done.

The answer to the final question—what under socialism will be the incentive to exertion?—takes on a threefold aspect. It may be stated as follows: (1) The problem to be solved is not a question of biology, but one of economics—that, whether or not opposed to the laws of life, the evolution of society is driving us to collectivism. It may be that, even as all other civilizations have contained within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution, so this apparent antagonism between the constitution of our society and the laws of life may likewise end in its disintegration. But, be this as it may, to collectivism we must go. (2) The examination of many industries conducted by the governments of different countries proves conclusively that the quality of work turned out by them is fully equal, if not superior, to the same class of work turned out by private firms. (3) The fear of dismissal and the hope of reward are the incentives that move to action the lower classes under existing society. The same incentives spur to industry those in government employ, and there is no reason to suppose the same incentives would not obtain under socialism.

The proper treatment of the first division of the threefold answer would require a critical exposition of the evolutionary forces that are causing the centralization of capital and industry. It would be necessary to inquire into the social effect of machinery to find out the limits beyond which the expansion of industry cannot go, and to speculate on the disastrous effects that are likely to follow the development of the Orient. To do this properly would require the writing of a voluminous work. We shall therefore have to be content with a general statement of the probabilities of the future.

The constantly increasing productivity of our national in-

dustries requires an ever-increasing foreign market, and each year adds to the enormous bulk of our exports to other countries. The consuming power of the home market is determined by the decreasing wage of the industrial classes, and by the lessening purchasing power of the American farmer. There is thus a steady increase in the surplus commodities available for export. This being the case, we are justified in asking the question, What shall we do when our merchants and mechanics have to compete in the markets of the world with the cheap labor of China and Japan? Large amounts of capital are seeking investment abroad, the nature of the capitalistic system of production and distribution—its one aim and object—being the production of surplus value. The constant lowering of the rate of interest in civilized countries forces the surplus capital to seek investment elsewhere. The spectacle of the scramble for the shares of the Lipton Tea Company, which were subscribed for three times over, and other like cases, show conclusively that capitalists are everywhere struggling for profitable investments. China—with its vast resources, its variety of climate, its splendid system of navigable rivers, and its hordes of cheap laborers—is standing on the threshold of a new era. There the unused millions of Europe and America will find ready investment. The great commercial nations are already taking the first steps to let loose an industrial scourge upon the earth.

And what is to become of the American farmer when the introduction of the automobile completes the work of the trolley-car and destroys the market for horses? What will become of the commercial traveler and the superfluous mechanic when the centralization of industry in the hands of the trusts does away with all unnecessary labor? There is but one answer: These economic conditions will compel society eventually to undertake the orderly arrangement of its business—to balance its production and distribution. It will be forced into socialism, biological objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

The second and third divisions of the answer may well be treated together. An appeal to known facts will certainly be

conceded the best answer that can be given to any question. Let us see, therefore, what light experiments in collectivism will throw upon the problem. The English navy is certainly the finest in the world; yet almost all its vessels have been entirely constructed in the government yards. Each ship, from keelson to royal truck, has been built by men in the service of the government. Each gun, from the one hundred and ten tonner at Chatham to the small arm carried by the marines, is manufactured in the great arsenal at Woolwich or in the government factory at Enfield. The clothing of both soldiers and sailors is made in the government shops at Pimlico, and the bread they eat is baked in government ovens. Here, then, is an experiment in collectivism conducted upon a very large scale. What light does it throw on the question at issue? An inspection of the dock-yards, foundries, factories, stores, and bakeries, owned and operated by the British government, reveals an army of artisans and laborers at work, successfully conducting the many operations necessary to the outfitting and maintenance of hundreds of thousands of men. The skill and efficiency they display and the quality of the work they turn out are fully equal, if not superior, to that produced in the yards of Armstrong at Keswick, or Carnegie at Homestead. The ammunition boots, for instance, supplied to Thomas Atkins at $2.50 a pair cannot be duplicated in private life for twice the money; and the clothes served to him by a paternal government at $4.75 a suit are as strong and serviceable as they are cheap. Indeed, a habit of selling his necessaries to envious civilians occasionally gets Mr. Atkins into trouble with the authorities, and at the same time pays a high tribute to the quality of his belongings.

Many illustrations of like kind can be accumulated from all civilized nations. The German telephone system gives the best and cheapest service in the world. The postal systems of all countries may be cited as proofs of the practicability of collectivism. Great Britain owns her telegraph and express systems, and almost all countries operate their police and fire departments. The function of education has passed from the

hands of the private teacher; and, if any further proof were needed, surely the successful application of the principle of the municipal ownership of public utilities would satisfy the most inveterate doubter.

Here, then, in different countries are some millions of persons in the service of their respective governments. They are ordinary, common people, subject to the same passions, virtues, and vices as the remaining members of society. They have also the habit of choosing lesser proximate happiness to greater future happiness, which distinguishes the large majority of their fellow-creatures. What, then, is the "incentive to exertion" that keeps them at work? What is it that makes Tommy Atkins accomplish forced marches in the heat of the Soudan, and causes his American brother to chase the elusive Filipino through fever swamps? Whence comes the rapid stride of the postman? Why does the fireman plunge into the flame and smoke of the burning building, and the policeman risk his life in the protection of the lives and property of others? Wherefore flies the pen of the government clerk over his paper? And why do the "builders of the ship"—the sawyers and the carpenters, the riveters and the boiler-makers, the machinist and the foundrymen and the blacksmiths—one and all, from the highest to the lowest, ply their vocations with such industry? Why? Because all are animated by the same incentives—the hope of reward, the desire of promotion, the fear of dismissal. It is, as John Stuart Mill remarked, "very much a question of education; a man may be taught to dig and weave for his country even as he has been taught to fight for it." And there is absolutely no reason why these incentives, which now move to exertion the people engaged in private and public enterprises, should not continue to do so in a collectivist society. Given a strong central authority, willing and able to enforce the laws, an authority that would have behind it all the force of public opinion, it seems reasonable to suppose that idle persons could be more effectively dealt with than under existing conditions. They might choose between work and starvation; there could be no other alternative.

There remains but one other point to be touched upon. If it be granted that, with a strong central authority established, the usual incentives that move to action coarser natures will obtain, have we any surety that higher forms of human endeavor will continue? Will the ripe fruits of intellect still adorn the gardens of an esthetic civilization? What incentive will cause a man to undertake, for instance, the immense labors necessary to achieve literary perfection? Is it probable that a man that could satisfy his immediate wants by a little bodily labor would be likely to undertake such arduous toil?

An analysis of the ambition that causes men to undertake such tasks will disclose the fact that it is a complex feeling, made up of many components. Probably the chief of these is the love of approbation—the desire to stand well in the eyes of one's fellows. Again, deep down in the heart of man is to be found the desire to leave some little mark upon the sands of time. The thought of annihilation, without even a fleeting remembrance remaining of his life and labors, is utterly repulsive. Wherefore it is that we find him undertaking all kinds of laborious tasks to perpetuate his memory. The pyramids of Egypt, built in the dawn of history to hand down forever the fame of some now forgotten monarch, are striking evidences of the strength of this feeling. The shepherd who burnt the temple of Diana chose infamy before oblivion, and throughout the ages are scattered countless evidences of the desire of man to leave his mark; yea, in our own time, mediocrity strives to perpetuate its memory by the erection of million-dollar tombs.

The love of power is yet another component of ambition. The centurion in the Scriptures said: "Lord, thou knowest I am a man in authority. I say unto this man, go, and he goeth; unto that man, come, and he cometh." And as it was with the centurion, so is it with all men—they love to sit in the high places. The desire for knowledge must also be added to the other feelings. Men have suffered torture, imprisonment, and even death at the stake in defense of the knowledge they thought right. The figure of Bruno stands forth from the

black night of ignorance that settled down over medieval Europe, a striking instance of the power of knowledge to move men to noble action. Haled before the Inquisition, he is informed that he has been guilty of heresy and is asked to recant. There are no witnesses, no accusers—none but the familiars of the Holy Office moving stealthily about him. The tormentors are in the vaults below. With none to sustain him, he cannot and will not deny that which he knows to be true. He is handed over to the civil authorities and burned at the stake. Galileo, imprisoned, and for the last ten years of his life treated with remorseless severity, for persisting in saying that which even his accusers knew to be true, and Milton, the blind poet, receiving in exchange for "Paradise Lost" the miserable pittance of five pounds, are also instances of the strength of this feeling. All the varied feelings here enumerated go to make up that complex emotion called ambition—the love of approbation, the desire to be remembered, the love of power, and the thirst for knowledge. It would be a bold man indeed who dared to assert that such an emotion was brought into existence by industrial competition.

On the other hand, history records many instances of useful lives and great talents crushed out or crippled by too harsh a competition. The brilliant Chatterton was compelled by ill circumstances to harness his genius and waste his splendid powers on the copying of deeds. Finally, after three days' starvation—too proud to accept alms—he died by his own hand in a lonely garret. Johnson and Goldsmith existed in penury. Shakespeare, the intellectual giant of the ages, lived harassed by debt and died a comparative nobody—a play-actor, a "fellow of the baser sort." To this list might be added the names of most of the literary celebrities of the past. With few exceptions they lived in misery, pandering to the humors of some patron, and died in poverty. Now, there is no reason to doubt that easy circumstances would have aided rather than hindered the development of their genius. No deterioration is visible in the later writings of those who, suffering in early life, at length reached affluence. The scornful name, "pot-boilers,"

applied by artists to the forced work turned out to keep the wolf from the door, and the appellation, "pen-trotter," applied to him who writes for the same purpose, signify the opinion of those best fitted to judge. The best work in literature and art is produced when a strong mind—the correlative of a well-fed body—has ample room to unfold its pleasant fancies. We need not in time to come fear a dearth of authors. Of the making of books there is no end, saith Solomon, and much wisdom is a weariness of the flesh.

In the Museum of Alexandria, before the birth of Christ, a bright constellation of geometers, astronomers, and physicists made discoveries and invented appliances that equal those of modern times. Two thousand years before the advent of industrial competition, Ptolemy produced his great work, "Syntaxis," which maintained its ground until displaced by Newton's "Principia"; Euclid prepared his great work; Archimedes, for two thousand years the greatest mathematician, discussed the equilibrium of floating bodies, discovered the true theory of the lever, and invented the screw that still bears his name; Hipparchus and Apolonius, the astronomers, Ctesibius, the inventor of the fire-engine and the water-clock, and Hero, the maker of the first steam-engine, were all members of that illustrious circle. Yet they were all in the service of and supported by the governments of their day.

To this evidence in favor of the socialist contention may be added that furnished by the high schools and State universities of our own land. The scientists and teachers who direct the operations of those institutions display as much efficiency and zeal as those engaged in private enterprises of like kind. They would resent with heat the imputation that employment under the government necessitated inefficient effort on their part; nor could any facts be adduced to support such an assertion.

Society does not pursue the even tenor of its way—from low to high, from the simple to the complex—in one straight, unbroken line, but, obedient to the law of rhythm, swings forward and back, or rather follows the curve of an upward

spiral. Society, like the units of which it is composed, learns only by experience. It tries first this thing, and then that, encounters unforeseen obstacles and retires, learns by bitter experience what is best, and so advances. As it has done in the past it will do in the future. The development of the commercial system will force experiments in collectivism upon it. That which is proved good will be retained, and that which is bad rejected. And so with much travail will man work out his destiny.

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## EARLY RETIREMENT FROM BUSINESS.

BENEFIT to the world at large is, I believe, rarely taken into account by a man when he is considering retiring from business; much less does this idea prompt him to such action long before he might otherwise consider the step. And yet this is a sufficient reason for a truly high-minded person, regardless of the honors that may easily fall to his lot as a result. Relief from the cares and responsibilities of business and the simple desire for ease are the almost universal reasons for retiring, and an American seems to think it wrong to consider this until he is long past middle age. And why? Certainly not always from the necessity of continuing in business or the desire for greater wealth, but mainly because custom has not led us to think of giving up active business early in life. Again, many men consider retiring from business as almost dropping out of the world. They look upon it as a perpetual interrogation point regarding the future disposal of their time. But if you can employ your abilities in a higher and broader sphere; if instead of "dropping out" you become a more important factor in the world; if, instead of being at a loss what to do with your time, you then begin to wish for days of forty-eight hours so that you may accomplish half what you wish; and if the associates and competitors you leave behind will be helped and your future work in the world will benefit a far greater number—there seems no reason not to abandon these long-standing ideas and retire from business as speedily as possible.

While it is almost certain that your services in any other occupation will produce an additional amount, you should have sufficient means to be free from the necessity of having to earn anything in this way—so as to devote yourself to your new labors unhampered. When this condition is backed by the practical knowledge and sound sense that a successful business man may be expected to possess on retiring, and the cus-

tom becomes universal, it will result in every intellectual field being cultivated to an extent never before imagined. It might be questioned why this result has not already been achieved to a greater extent in countries where there is a large hereditary leisure class. Inherited estates and titles are at once a limit, as their care and enjoyment are sufficient, with rare exceptions, to limit their possessors' usefulness in other directions. But an American business man, when he retires, usually has his capital invested in such a way that he has to devote very little time to its further care; and, being accustomed to a life of great activity and retiring only because of the all-round advantages to himself and everybody else, he is ready to go on with many years of earnest work—free from the worries and monotony of business. Conceive of the benefits to be derived from men of such ability and force continually entering the arena of statesmanship, the sciences, arts, literature, mechanics, and all their ramifications!

Those who have not had any special ambition outside of their business, but who are broad enough to retire for the benefit of those associated with them and to do something in a higher way, will soon be able to select a congenial sphere. For instance, there is a great philanthropist who, though very rich and an elderly gentleman, continues actively in business. He is a person of wide experience and philosophic mind. One of his greatest benefactions is perfecting, through his donations, the advantages of an institution of learning. He undoubtedly takes the view that his activity in business does not prevent him from pursuing his desires in this direction, and he might ask what more he could do if he were out of business. Let the institution referred to create a commercial chair and prevail upon this philanthropist to become a professor of what I firmly believe will be an addition of far-reaching value to the curriculum of every university: not the establishment of a "business college" branch, but the inclusion in the regular academic department of a course of lectures on the principles and practises of business from the first to the top round of the ladder. The advantages to many collegians who enter business

direct must seem evident, but I do not believe that the benefits of a business training to those who pursue professional careers are realized. And when, as is often sadly the case, they are unable to earn a living in their profession and have to turn in some other direction, they would have—if I may use the expression—a practical, theoretical education to enable them to enter business on an enviable footing even as compared with those trained in its intricacies from boyhood.

Nearly every intellectual business man has a more or less dormant enthusiasm or ambition to do or be something better than a mere money-making machine, but under the influence of custom has looked upon the devotion of his time and energy to his ideal as little more than fanciful; and so, unhappily, as the perfection and capacity of the machine increase the ideal is gradually ground into oblivion. But as the practise of retiring from business as early in life as possible became established, every man of mind and strong character would, almost with his entry into the commercial world, definitely select his later career and utilize his leisure toward preparing himself for this future occupation. Thus many would be fit to undertake advanced stages of work in fields where it might be supposed they would have to start almost as students; and it is easy to imagine courses in the post-graduate departments of all universities being adapted for retired business men whose new labors made it desirable for them to add such a groundwork.

In determining what amount of income it is practicable to retire on, let your earnestness in other directions have full influence, and do not consider so much what your annual expenditures may be now as what they were when you were perfectly happy on less. And the very fact of every one withdrawing from active business as soon as possible would leave fewer to divide its spoils and give those remaining a chance to accumulate more rapidly and retire much earlier in life than would be possible now from the profits in the same line of business. In answer to the question, If everybody retired on small incomes, what would become of the *great* philanthropists? it seems perfectly reasonable to assert, first, there

would not be the same need for them, and, secondly, there would continue to be inherited and other unavoidable wealth, such as: large returns to many in a short business career, the establishment of interests that would yield increasing amounts even after the active management had been left to others, and the emoluments resulting from discoveries and inventions that would legitimately and vastly augment incomes.

When to retire? is then reduced simply to a question of the fitness of the situation. It is almost the universal experience—in at least commercial as distinguished from railroad insurance, and other business interests—that individuals and concerns reach an apex of prosperity usually about the middle period of their existence. To seize this moment to withdraw would be almost chance rather than judgment; but, with the practise of giving up active business as early as possible once established as a custom, men would come more keenly to realize when the turning-point had arrived. At the height of success comes the temptation to branch out in new directions more or less connected with the lines on which success has been reached. Before this step is taken, if you have not been willing, or if it has not been feasible, to retire earlier, it is a good time to do so. After it is taken, whether successful or not, one should not wait until too deeply absorbed in the new responsibilities, or their failure to prove profitable destroys one's chance to retire; but gather the ends safely together, place them in the hands of juniors, and stop.

This article refers only to what I believe is commonly understood as "business men"—those devoting their energies and abilities to what, in a nutshell, is buying or selling practically the same things every day in the year and every year they are in business, whether it is dry-goods, groceries, insurance, railroad stocks, bonds, freights, or tickets, and every similar line. And, while it is written with especial reference to American business men, it is applicable to the world at large; so it seems reasonable to believe the whole world would become better and happier should the custom of business men retiring early in life become general. It would reduce the hurtful mental strain resulting from the forced competition

of business, and thus relieve it of its most sordid element; it would also free others from long years of drudgery by the opportunity speedily to advance to the higher and more profitable places, and then follow their former leaders in retiring.

The recruits from this source would result in all branches of government being composed of the ablest and most responsible citizens. Without the need of breadwinning, and able to devote ample time and thought to their work, the highest ranks of literature would be greatly increased. Amateur dabblers in science, now taking a dash at their hobby in a few hours of freedom from business but not from its worrying thoughts, would be able to devote perhaps twenty, thirty, or even forty years to their work unhampered, and under far better conditions than the majority of professionals of the present time.

In short, every business man retiring will have the advantage of a well-trained, sympathetic mind. Add to this freedom from the necessity of earning his living and the privilege of choosing a higher vocation, at least from an intellectual point of view—and entering this with a keen enthusiasm—and he should soon prove a power in the sphere of his new labors. Can any one question the accomplishment of grand results that might otherwise never be effected? Leading active business lives, Franklin, Edison, Prior, Lamb, and Stedman are names that casually come to mind of men that have achieved superb success in the highest fields. How many more like these would be developed who are now too keenly absorbed in business to turn their attention aside in these days of bitter commercial competition!

Finally, with special consideration to existing conditions, a vast amount of benefit will be added to the cultivation and improvement of mankind by those retiring from business (who do not become working forces) simply improving themselves by study and travel. In this way they will assist in producing the highest possible moral, economic, social, and intellectual results—equaling if not surpassing the dreams of the philosophers of old and the socialists of to-day.

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# THE FALLIBLE PHYSICIAN.

"It is impossible to calculate the mischief that Hippocrates has done by first marking Nature with his name and afterward letting her loose upon sick people. Millions have perished by her hands in all ages and countries."—*Dr. Benjamin Rush.*

WE cannot get along, it seems, without the doctor of medicine. In our reckless moments we may, with Macbeth, throw physic to the dogs; but when we are really ill we usually send for a physician. It is all very well to say, with the cynic, "I have no faith in doctors;" but in what or whom, then, have you faith? Despise the doctors, if you will; but pray suggest a rational substitute. Meanwhile, patent medicines multiply; quacks are on the increase; "Christian science" claims its tens of thousands; new "pathies" appear, flourish, and disappear; pseudo-science puts forth its periodicals; multitudes of educated men and women are turning to "psychology" for a solution: the impatience of the age no longer brooks the slow progress of the medical profession. All around us are the miracles of mechanics; the lightning is man's obedient servant; physical science is transformed; surgery has been revolutionized. Why does only the physician halt? Why must we be vexed with a mere suggestion of "the most splendid results" that "might be expected" if the human mind were directed to medicine "as it has been during the last century to locomotive and other industrial inventions?"

The bacteriologist, the biologist, the neurologist and his kind may answer such queries scornfully, or may mutely point to statistics—to tell their own tale about life prolonged, mortality lessened, smallpox and yellow fever suppressed, diphtheria checked, insanity soothed, and fevers aborted. Then the cynic, who knows that even the cold in his head must "run its course," in spite of *materia medica,* answers scorn with scorn and interprets the statistics in his own way. Hygiene and sanitation, the diffusion of intelligence, and the revolt against drugs have done more, he declares, to promote the

public health than has the whole army of M.Ds. *as such*—whose alliance with the new order is not an outgrowth of their art. He has no personal quarrel with them. He may even admit, with the author of "The Philosophical Dictionary": "Men who are occupied in the restoration of health to other men, by the joint exertion of skill and humanity, are above all the great of the earth." Yes, theirs is a noble profession, in intent and in assiduous endeavor. No one better knows their generosity, devotion, and sympathy. He would say with Montaigne: "I honor physicians, . . . having known many very good men of that profession, and most worthy to be beloved. I do not attack then; 'tis their art I inveigh against." And, having the leisure of a convalescent who waits upon Nature, he proceeds, in his unscientific way, to accumulate some curious evidence.

Yet first he stands ready to maintain that during the nineteenth century the principal progress in medicine, if effects alone are considered, seems to lie in the recognition of its ignorance, or, to put it more politely, its limitations. This recognition has been specifically expressed, not in the cure of disease, but in the growing importance attached to its prevention; not in the dispensing of drugs, but in dispensing *with* them. The physiologist has learned the human mechanism, and knows pretty well how the machine works; but he has yet to learn how to repair it. So, more and more, he has assumed the respectful and humble attitude of a mere auxiliary to Nature, which mystifies, contradicts, and baffles him at every turn. The mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms have been ransacked, until at last a Holmes was constrained to say: "The disgrace of medicine has been that colossal system of self-deception, in obedience to which mines have been emptied of their cankering minerals, the vegetable kingdom robbed of all its noxious growths, the entrails of animals taxed for their impurities, the poison-bags of reptiles drained of their venom, and all the inconceivable abominations thus obtained thrust down the throats of human beings suffering from some fault of organization, nourishment, or vital stimulation."

So far as Medicine holds to a modest attitude, and does not assert its pretensions as an exact science, my cynical friend is content. He is not unmindful of what prevention has accomplished, and is optimist enough to hope that the twentieth century may disclose some great truth that will reverse the current theories more effectually than latter-day research has upset medieval opinion. But urge upon him the triumphs of Medicine—its alleviation of human suffering, the immense erudition of its votaries, its identification with the great strides of the race toward truth and toleration—and hear him rail.

There is the company of wits who in all ages have had their fling at the physician, from Menander, who wrote, "I'm a dead man, for I've too many doctors," to the good-natured paraphrase of *Punch,* "Patients, patients, and the pill-box becomes a brougham." Voltaire defined a physician as "a man who pours drugs of which he knows little into a body of which he knows less." Another Frenchman has insisted that "the doctor is often more to be feared than the disease;" a satirist of the same nation puts it thus: "Nature is fighting with disease; a blind man armed with a club—that is, the physician—comes to settle the difference. He first tries to make peace; when he cannot accomplish this, he lifts his club and strikes at random. If he strikes the disease, he kills the disease; if he strikes Nature, he kills the patient." "A new doctor, a new grave-digger," and "A young physician should have three grave-yards," are proverbial in Germany. Petrarch declared that "Physicians alone are permitted to murder with impunity," and "A multitude of physicians have destroyed me" was the epitaph ordered by the Emperor Adrian. The Hebraic injunction, "Do not dwell in a city whose governor is a physician," has been neutralized by Dr. Wood's achievements at Santiago; but he has lent authority to the saying, from the same source, "No good doctor ever takes physic," by testifying before an army board that he himself never took medicine. The great surgeon, Ambroise Paré, was so far in advance of his times that he could modestly say, "I dressed his wound, and God cured him." The Italians have twisted this into: "God is the re-

storer of health, and the physician puts the fee in his pocket;" or, "God heals and the doctor takes the fee," as Poor Richard more concisely put it. And, "There are more old drunkards than old doctors" is recorded in the same almanac.*

To this list may be added the epigram uttered by Holmes, forty years ago, and which brought upon him the denunciation of many brother-professionals, who have scarcely yet recovered from the shock: "Throw out opium, . . . a few specifics, . . . wine, . . . and the vapors that produce the miracles of anæsthesia, and I firmly believe that if the whole *materia medica,* as now used, could be sunk to the bottom of the sea, it would be all the better for mankind—and all the worse for the fishes."

Montaigne has told us how he came by his "hereditary contempt" for medicine. "I always despise it," he writes; "and when I am sick, instead of recanting or entering into composition with it, I begin yet more to hate and fear it. . . . I let Nature work. . . . For I am afraid lest, instead of assisting her when grappled and struggling with the disease, I should assist her adversary and give her more work to do." And he did, in fact, live up to his disdain, through all the suffering that assailed him in his later years—dying, at last, when his time came, "without medical attendance," as we say nowadays when we wish to emphasize the plight of some poor wretch with no physician to ease his end. Our own Benjamin Franklin, who was a great sufferer, deliberately disobeyed the instructions of his doctors. His belief in the efficacy of fresh air and water marked him as something of a "crank" when measured by the medical opinions of his day; yet he cured himself of a fever by drinking plentifully of cold water—a course in keeping with the madness of delirium, according to the conventional attitude. It will be noted that Franklin's epi-

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* Vital statistics, it may be interjected, do not indicate the longevity of drunkards; but they show that the French army in the Crimea lost three surgeons for every officer, that the mortality of physicians far more than tripled that of the patients during the typhus plague in Ireland, and that the death-rate in England is twelve civilians and twenty-two doctors in each thousand inhabitants.

gram, "He's the best physician that knows the worthlessness of the most medicines," may have seemed severe when it was penned, but it is not far removed from the accepted truth of our own day.

The physician with a fine sense of humor may well be amused at the winding ways of his science. If we accept what Pliny tells us, the Romans worried along without medicine for nearly six hundred years after Rome was founded. Then physicians were permitted to practise, on probation, and were finally condemned and banished from the city. We are told that in Egypt "the physician for the first three days was to take charge of the patient at the patient's own peril and fortune; but, those three days being past, it was to be at his own." What Pliny said two thousand years ago holds good to-day—that "the most important science in practise amongst us, as that which is interested with our health and conservation, is by ill luck the most uncertain, the most perplexed, and agitated with the greatest mutations." The whole history of medicine is one of mutation—not merely the mutation of progress, but the changes brought about through the doctors of one generation repudiating the practise of their fathers, while the grandsons may revert to it in some particulars. Pliny has pointed out how, beginning with Hippocrates, and thence through the five hundred years ensuing, school after school overthrew the system of its predecessor. Yet Galen, who came after Pliny, had little but words of contempt for the doctors of his day. It took thirteen centuries more for Vesalius to tell the world what Galen did not know about anatomy; and we must not forget that though the much-berated Paracelsus preached against purgatives, and big doses generally, it was not till three hundred years later—in our own time—that physicians have taken the hint and "advanced" to these precepts of the sixteenth century.

On the whole, says my cynic, the progress of medicine may be compared to the pace of the tortoise; and there are even times when it resembles the movements of the crab. Like Lord Bacon, the latter-day layman finds in this science of med-

icine "much iteration, but small addition;" that it is "more professed than labored, and yet more labored than advanced—the labor having been . . . rather in circle than in progression." Is it strange that physicians themselves, overcome by a sense of their ignorance, have arraigned their own profession in terms that no mere layman may apply? Something more than a century ago, Sir John Pringle presided over a weekly meeting of physicians in London. They were sincere enough to discuss the subject "whether physicians had, on the whole, done most good or harm;" and their president, when appealed to for his opinion, said "they must first tell him whether, under the appellation of 'physicians,' they meant to include *old women;* if they did, he thought they had done more good than harm, otherwise more harm than good." Dr. Chapman, one of Dr. Rush's successors in the University of Pennsylvania, is thus quoted: "To harmonize the contrarieties of medical doctrines is indeed a task as impracticable as to arrange the fleeting vapors around us, or to reconcile the fixed and repulsive antipathies of Nature. Dark and perplexed, our devious career resembles the groping of Homer's Cyclops around his cave." It was only through occasional repetition by the few, during centuries, that the true state of affairs, unheeded by the many, has come to be generally perceived.

But science, from its very nature, must be conservative, it is urged; and medical science, above all other branches, must proceed with caution, judgment, and patience. It is only the immature or unbalanced brain that takes no account of coincidence, accepts evidence unsifted, and hastens to generalize from a few apparent facts. That is the dividing line between the scientist and the charlatan.

To this my cynic makes reply: The scientific method is, of course, the only one; but science need not overawe us. Sometimes it is shackled by pride and prejudice. It notoriously ignores credible evidence until it can explain the fact in its own way, as in the matter of the ascetics' stigmata; and often the facts must be forced upon it. Conservatism is all very well, but it is rather trying for the human race to suffer for a cen-

tury or so *after* a great discovery has been made, until conservatism sees fit to approve it and attach a scientific tag. Just consider the case of anæsthetics alone. Putting aside the use of soporifics by the Chinese, Arabians, and Greeks, the evidence that the alchemists of the sixteenth century understood the anæsthetic property of ether, and that certain eighteenth-century physicians recommended its inhalation—it was in 1800 that Sir Humphrey Davy experimented with nitrous oxide gas, and suggested its use in surgical operations. But the conservatives were in no haste. Excepting the few physicians who were seventy-five years ahead of their time, and who employed mesmerism successfully before chloroform was heard of, people suffered for almost half a century more until a Yankee dentist took it into his head to act on Sir Humphrey Davy's hint. But conservatism did not stop here. There were found physicians, as well as clergymen, who opposed the application of this heaven-sent nepenthe. Dr. Tuke tells us that in 1842, at a discussion by the Medical and Chirurgical Society, on an operation performed without pain under the influence of mesmerism (so called), a distinguished member of the profession, Dr. Copeland, asserted that the fact was unworthy of the society's consideration, because pain is a wise provision of Nature, and patients are all the better for it and recover more quickly.

A British journal, a quarter of a century ago, printed more testimony on this head: "Dr. Gull, in 1847, questioned the desirability of removing pain. Bransby Cooper was 'averse to the prevention of suffering,' which, as he thought, led to 'reparatory action.' 'Pain,' argued Mr. Nunn, in one of the London medical organs, 'is compensated for by the effects produced on the system;' and a Dr. Pickford wrote that 'pain during operations was beneficial;' while Magendie declared in the French Academy that 'it was trivial to suffer, and that an invention to annul pain under the knife was only of mediocre interest to surgery." John F. South, editor of "Chelius's System of Surgery" (1847), thus argued against the employment of ether: "I have considerable doubt of the

propriety of putting a patient into so unnatural a condition as results from inhaling ether, which seems scarcely different from severe intoxication, a state in which no surgeon would be desirous of having a patient who was about to be submitted to a serious operation."

So much for the conservatives. As for charlatanism, resumes the cynic, what constitutes a quack?—we may not say an empiric, lest it lead to confusion with empirical science. Cagliostro was unquestionably a quack; and Arnault, the apothecary, with his specific for apoplexy, belongs in the same category. Law, of the eighteenth century, was a charlatan, and so were Jean Argentier and Leonard Fioravanti, whose irregular methods have rescued them from complete oblivion. Yet it was a quack at Rome—one Asclepiades—who introduced the shower bath and preached the therapeutic virtues of cold water. Villars is hardly to be commended; yet, with his mixture of niter and Seine water and his injunction to sobriety, he probably did more good and certainly less harm than any dozen "regular" physicians of his day. And what shall we say of Paracelsus? Because he lectured in German instead of Latin, rejected Galen's ideas, and exposed the ignorance, pretensions, and greed of the medical fraternity and the pharmacists of his day, he was persecuted, ridiculed, and misrepresented. Paracelsus was only a "tramp" physician, and was not above seeking hints from barbers, blacksmiths, and old women; yet he cured or relieved diseases for which the "regulars" could do nothing, and his practical empiricism pointed the way to our wiser generation. The outcry against Jenner, who got the hint for his invention of vaccination from the Gloucestershire peasants, has been noted *ad nauseam*. As viewed by many of his contemporaries, Ambroise Paré, "the founder of modern surgery," was little more than a quack. He was only a barber-surgeon, and, though by far the greatest practitioner of his times, was treated with profound contempt by the faculty. The academics of his day had a very poor opinion of the great Sydenham, and it was a good many years after his death that he was dubbed "the English Hippocrates."

The wise men shook their heads when he declared that "doing nothing at all" was often the best course for his patient and his own reputation; but time has silenced their sneers and fully justified him. The name of Hahnemann is, for very many, still synonymous with that of charlatan; but, even if he *did* get his notions from Butler and Van Helmont, it is generally acknowledged that the public and the whole medical profession are eternally indebted to him and his followers for their ideas as to diet and regimen and their opposition to overdosing. Finally, there is Mesmer, who seems to have been a charlatan when measured by our modern standards, yet who is not to be wholly condemned for failing to understand what the French Commission not only misunderstood but blindly ignored. Mesmer is to be credited with directing the attention of science to a subject of the most profound importance, the potential significance of which cannot be overestimated. The celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, was moved by considerations of this sort when he said to his medical students: "Remember how many of our most useful remedies have been discovered by quacks. Do not be afraid, therefore, of conversing with them, and of profiting by their ignorance and temerity." Again: "In the pursuit of medical knowledge, let me advise you to converse with nurses and old women. They will often suggest facts in the history and cure of disease that have escaped the most sagacious observers of Nature."

On the other hand, physicians have readily fallen victims to some of the most fantastic ideas ever advanced by empirics. When John Brown, as late as 1780, declared that all diseases arose from excess or deficiency of excitement, and proceeded to cure them with opium and alcohol, his system was seriously and widely discussed, and many physicians accepted it. Early in this century it found vigorous advocates, and only forty years ago it was revived by Dr. Todd and his disciples. Before the Paris faculty had recovered from the first shock of mesmerism, Dr. Perkins, of Connecticut, caused an international sensation by means of his metallic tractors. It was several years before the theory of their inherent therapeutic value

was upset, and the true principle underlying the cures effected was made plain; and meanwhile numerous orthodox physicians in London gave their full approval to the fraud, while the medical faculty of Copenhagen published a ponderous tome commending the practise of Perkinsism. Thus it will be observed that even in modern times the discoverers have been denounced as quacks, and the quacks have been extolled as discoverers, and that even the valuable hints underlying some of the systems advanced by empirics have been inexcusably overlooked by scientific men. Arguments may be cited from medical authorities to show that Medicine has been tied too fast to tradition, and, on the other hand, that it has been too impulsive.

The restricted effects of medicine, *per se,* were observed before Burton's time. Burton himself wrote: "An empirick oftentimes, or a silly chirurgeon, doth more strange cures than a rational physician. Nymannus gives a reason—because the patient puts his confidence in him, which Avicenna prefers before art, precepts, and all remedies whatsoever. 'Tis opinion alone (saith Cardan) that makes or mars physicians; and he doth the best cures, according to Hippocrates, in whom most trust." This is not materially at variance with the enlightened medical opinion of our own times; but the ancient truth has filtered very slowly through the apprehension of the ages. Sir John Forbes, Sir John Marshall, Dr. Abercrombie, and others, variously recognized the inefficacy of drugs, the subordinate rôle played by the physician, and the difficulties that often make diagnosis mere guess-work; and "our almost absolute ignorance of the causes of some of the most fatal diseases, and the empirical nature of nearly all our best medical treatment," is admitted.

Yet, what is truism to us of to-day was rarely recognized at all by our immediate ancestors. "The traditional idea of always poisoning out disease, as we smoke out vermin," held full sway early in the nineteenth century, when physicians slew their thousands by drugging and debilitating them. Yet that was the "science" of the period. Typhus patients were

bled freely, and even when bleeding went out of fashion the vitality of the sufferers was lowered by means of depressing drugs. During mercury's reign, Dr. Chisholm gave 6,000 grains of it in one case. Bleeding, tartar emetic, and starvation were regarded as the rational treatment for lunatics. Old men threatened with apoplexy were lanced, cupped, dieted, purged, and otherwise weakened. Children suffering from convulsions were blistered, lanced in the gums, and stuffed with calomel. "The lancet is a weapon that annually slays more than the sword," declared Dr. Tully; and, on the other hand, it was averred that opium, for forty years, had done seven times more harm than good. To preserve health and prolong life, Dr. James Johnson, in a medical treatise, prescribed five grains of blue pill with one or two of aloes twice a week for three or four months in the year, with half a pint of compound decoction of sarsaparilla every day for the same period. When the medical mind was, at last, partly relieved of its delusion respecting drugs, the death-rate was greatly lowered; and in 1860 it was stated, on good authority, that the mortality from many diseases had decreased more than one-half. The improvement was not due to science, but, as one medical writer declares, "is to be ascribed wholly to increased care for the securing of healthy conditions of life for the sick, and to increased care that the physician do no hurt." It had gradually come to be recognized that, in innumerable instances, "the ingredients of the prescription were fighting together in the dark," and that "the milder forms of most acute affections will pass through their various stages and end in recovery without the assistance of a single drug." Thus is there new significance in the prophecy of Jeremiah: "In vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt not be cured."

For so many generations drugs have been looked upon as the natural food of sick men that it will take a long time to rid the popular mind of the notion. The wise physician is driven to soothe this morbid craving with nothing worse than a *placebo*. In time he will doubtless drop the astrological prefix from his prescription—when he happens to write

one. He may even decide that M.D., meaning doctor of *medicine,* savors too much of the semi-civilized period through which the science of physic passed to its approximate perfection. With reminiscent eye he may wonderingly review the calm statement of the nineteenth-century historian that, "of all the great branches of human knowledge, medicine is that in which the accomplished results are most obviously imperfect and provisional;" he will rejoice that his profession can no longer be challenged, within its own ranks, as "the withered branch of science." As for the twenty-four hundred disorders incident to the human frame, how nobly has Nature, no longer "marked Hippocrates," addressed herself to their diminishing!

Yet this, says our cynic, trenches upon prophecy, which is clearly unscientific. Our own petty present is full of problems, and one of them involves a nice calculation for the patient. We are told by a great man, who clearly pointed out the limitations of his profession, that, apart from foibles and fallacies, there has been from the period of Hippocrates "an apostolic succession of wise and good practitioners." That is doubtless true, only there are not enough of them to go around; whereas the other sort multiply and prosper. This is the patient's perplexity. He cannot always secure the services of an apostle, or even perhaps identify him; and he runs some awful risks. Voltaire, though he reverenced physicians, put the number of charlatans at ninety-eight per cent., which seems a high estimate; but what is the correct proportion? Nor does it seem good reasoning to maintain that the "apostolic succession," numerically insignificant, prevails in actual practise against the many. They may transmit the truth from generation to generation, but they do not leaven the loaf that the sick must eat. It does, indeed, terrify the timid to learn from the lips of an eminent teacher that Medicine has "but recently emerged from a state of *quasi* barbarism." For the question immediately arises, If this be true, what will posterity say of *our* science? Will it coincide with this startling utterance in a New York medical journal?—"The conviction has been

steadily growing in the minds of scientific observers that medicine is not a science, and that with the exception of surgery and sanitation it is not even a rational art."

It is all very well to smile when we read that burnt toad had not gone out of fashion in Cullen's time; that an American physician, well known half a century ago, prescribed the hoof of a horse for epilepsy; that our grandfathers have taken three drachms of calomel at a single gulp. But have we no analogies in our own day? Think well before recording a negative. In the blunders and disagreements as to diagnosis and treatment, in the contradictions respecting the simplest problems of nutrition, do we find, after three hundred years, this criticism of Montaigne altogether obsolete?—"In the maladies I have had, were there never so little difficulty in the case, I never found three [physicians] of one opinion." And as to "the advices they give us for the regimen of life," they "cannot give one proposition against which I cannot erect a contrary of equal force." There is yet another embarrassment—for women and children, at least. Fifteen thousand physicians in the United States—about one-eighth of the whole number—are engaged in the open practise of a system that even an amiable and well-bred opponent has variously characterized as "specious trickery," a "slippery delusion," "a mingled mass of perverse ingenuity, of tinsel erudition, of imbecile credulity, and of artful misrepresentation." Thus at one blow is cut off from intelligent consideration a fractional excrescence that nevertheless fattens on the public infirmity; for to doubt, in view of the foregoing dictum, that homeopathy is pure humbug, merely drives the doubter to a more terrible alternative. It makes one shudder to think that only fifty years ago the medical body was supported by such tottering legs that there were threats of its overthrow by this new-born monster. But the beast only scared practitioners into common sense by devouring the great bulk of the drugs—which, perhaps, poisoned the *psora* in its system. Content with that depredation, it suffered dehorning, and has gradually undergone a metamorphosis.

Yet, let us take heart. See the transformation of surgery since it abandoned balsams! From the leech has been evolved the physician, and medicine is giving way to physic. But while the science remains so uncertain, while its progress is largely negative and sometimes circular, and even its ablest exponents cannot unite, are we not justified in hitting at dogmatism wherever it shows its head, and demanding that there be some abatement of the *odium medicum?*

Thus rails the cynic, having "suffered many things of many physicians." Nevertheless, he feels in his heart that humanity can no more do without the doctor than it can suppress suffering; that—broad of mind and broad in sympathy, not chained to the past, not riveted to the present, mindful of his limitations, yet having and inspiring faith—the wise practitioner brings help and comfort to the afflicted. He cannot "heal," but he can impose the conditions and direct the forces that assist recovery; and he *does* prevent. Observe his zeal in suppressing epidemics, in fighting contagion, in enforcing vaccination; yet success along these lines is suicidal. Witness the progress of sanitary science in France, and the corresponding decline in the ratio of physicians to population from 510 per million in 1847 to 380 in 1890.

Pondering these things, and somewhat perturbed by so much scoffing, I sought out a great specialist of my acquaintance and laid bare my misgivings. Unfortunately, he was suffering from an attack of acute dyspepsia, for which he was taking—nothing at all. So he only smiled sardonically, and quoted Ecclesiasticus: "Then give place to the physician, for the Lord hath created him; let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him. There is a time when in their hands there is good success."

WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE LARNED.

*Barnegat Park, N. J.*

# OUR NATIONAL PECULIARITIES.

## I. The American Psychic Atmosphere.

THERE is one fruit of travel that has not yet been rightly valued: the power, gradually gained, to feel the psychic atmosphere of a country, almost from the moment of landing; to learn, by immediate perception, its peculiar quality and flavor. This sense of the psychic atmosphere is a total impression made directly on the whole character, mind, and will alike. It is something quite different from any generalizing of consciously noted details, whether of the natural face of the country, its people, or their ways and speech. It is an immediate inward sense, such as one has of a strongly-marked individuality, running before acquaintance or reasoned knowledge. More than this, it may seem contradicted by any and all direct observations afterward made, until some striking incident occurs to justify our first sense and the truth leaps out into day. Again, this direct perception may in turn contravene all old guesses and imaginings, gleaned from histories or books or other men.

The direct impression I received of the psychic life and breath of America was so strong, and of such singular quality, that I must put it on permanent record. But first let me furnish material for comparison, drawn from other lands.

To begin with one to which I am bound by the strongest ties: The assured belief of all books of Indian travel, and, far more than books, the settled conviction of Anglo-Indian society, is this—that India is dead. They tell us that the land is outworn and weary; that it has fallen into graceless senility; that the last golden fruit has been shaken from the pagoda-tree long ago; that even the best races are sunk in dreams that foreshadow the end of all things; while the land itself is an arid ruin, needing the mists of the night and the moon's pale luster to dim it into beauty. Yet the psychic impression one

receives from India itself is quite opposite; one feels, rather, that of all the lands of the earth India is the most electrical, seething with a lurid power that may break forth at any time, changing the whole face of her visible destinies: such an impression, in fine, as one might receive from a lake of liquid fire, creamed over by a brittle crust of lava.

Then, again, to take another instance: One's imaginings of Italy are the very contrary of all this. Here we have built up thought-palaces of beauty, art, and song; from the Mantuan's idylls to the marvelous dead of Santa Croce; the heroism of the Gracchi, and young Italy regenerate. Yet the direct sense of the land is one of weariness and want; something of that barren old age that comes over women in the tropics; a feeling of sadness, almost of despair; so that one would say: a country without hope, however glorious its past.

One more example: We have all heard much, in recent years, of revolutionary energies in Russia; of suppressed and menacing anarchy in France. Yet the land beyond all others in Europe that gives a feeling of dangerous unrest, of electrical storm feverishly brooding, is constitutional and much-drilled Germany, where outward things speak only of quickly gotten wealth and power most skilfully controlled.

A first impression of the psychic life and character of America, though very singular and distinct from all these, yet carried with it a sense of being strangely familiar. It was a morning of the Indian summer, on the Delaware, with the sparkle of the blue water, the orange-brown of the reed-beds, the golden-red of the autumn woods, and the luminous sky over all. Casting backward in memory, I recalled an almost identical impression about nine years ago, on passing through the Lithuanian forest toward Moscow. There was the same sense of freshness and young promise, of vigor and exultation; the same sense of clear-springing life, and of high hope for the future. And it may be that the presence of this psychic likeness led later to the finding of wonderfully close resemblances to Russia, even in outward things—the villas of Flushing, Long Island, suggesting the summer dwellings of

Tsarskoe Selo; the woodlands north of the Delaware recalling the country of alder and birch and pine from Dwinsk to Pskoff, and the sandy stretches southward, along the Austrian frontier; while the suburbs of Philadelphia, with their rich coloring, carry the clearest reminiscence of the outskirts of Moscow; and finally, the Hudson, laden with the ice-rafts of winter, brought back pictures of the Neva River, as it rolls toward the northern capital of the Tsars.

As the head of Ephraim was Samaria, so, undoubtedly, the head of America, in many ways, is the Empire City. And here, on all hands, we see immediate justification of that first inward and direct impression—of abounding force, young vigor, and power.

To begin with, it is strikingly true that the psychic atmosphere of their country overmasters the Americans; that they do not, in any sense, dominate it in their turn. As soon as one's eyes are withdrawn from actual observation of this stirring and energetic people, all sense of their mental and moral energies disappears completely. One is alone with a clear atmosphere of primeval power—a clear canvas, on which they have not yet painted a single strong thought, or passion, or emotion. Or, to use a better image, one is deep in a sea of shining waters, pouring upward from the heart of the earth; with nothing turbid or obscured, nor any colored trace at all of longing desires or ambitions, or the brooding of minds soaring or unclean. And this is equally true in the heart of commercial activities, a bowshot from the Battery; on Washington Heights, looking downward over the whole island; or among the woods, away up the Hudson, beyond the last dwelling on the beautiful river.

If there be any coloring at all on this clean canvas, it is some vivid trace of the vanished red-men—some breath of primeval forest life. From the Americans of to-day, no self-conscious energy has gone deep enough to leave a stain, unless indeed it be an occasional flavor of flirtation—what one feels everywhere in Paris, for instance, as a hot, stifling presence, perpetually suggestive, but here only an occasional wreath of

curling amatory vapor. Thus completely does the psychic atmosphere of this land dominate all men and their minds.

So strong and forceful a life-breath, we would naturally expect, must stimulate in all men a sense of personal vigor; a perpetual longing for power, and, at first, for power over material things. And this expectation is justified to the full. It has often been charged to Americans, and with an intention wholly unfavorable, that they are, beyond all the sons of men, eager for wealth—burning and consuming with the lust of possession. They do long for wealth, and, in one sense, I think, most rightly; for this longing is really a thinly disguised and ardent desire for power, not by any means a mere hunger for sensual enjoyment. Men long for wealth as a testimony to themselves of the power of their wills, and, if they are true men, not at all to minister to the lust of the eyes and the lust of the flesh.

And it is to be noted that here the great fortunes represent, in almost every case, a victory over material things; some audacious conquest of the desert leagues of space; something wrested from the tough earth, defying the secretiveness of the rocks; and not, as very often in old feudal times, a deft piece of political chicanery or some victory of force over the wills of weaker men. Hence, the respect for the men whose wealth represents triumph of will over matter—a very different thing from reverence for their wealth—is in reality a large and admirable thing; a just tribute to the powers of man, and containing the germ of something even more admirable to be revealed by the circling years.

Here, in New York, this sense of mastery over material things is evident on all hands. The resolute handling of wood and stone and iron is worthy of all respect, even though it is as yet, for reasons we shall presently ponder, quite devoid of any deep sense of beauty. In the still growing parts of the city, toward the north, hills and cliffs are brushed away as if they were heaps of sand. Even the towering buildings that now gauntly overlook the city are another victory over the material world; a victory over the destiny that made Man-

hattan too small for its future inhabitants, compelling them thus to build a second city in the air, above the first. It is not the height of the few completed buildings of the aerial city that makes them grate so harshly on our sense of comeliness and form; the true cause is their isolation. Even now the limitless vistas of the avenues may remind all who pass along them that they are, in a very true sense, travelers on a road leading from the infinite to the infinite; while the lofty buildings have a large and ample effect, as if the city were destined for dwellers ten yards high; or as if the builders had once been giants, and still dimly remembered their former stature.

Everywhere, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, all works undertaken and carried out testify to the same sense of power, of mastery over material forces: the continent-spanning railroads, bridges swung across broad rivers and waterfalls, huge buildings emulating Babel. Nowhere, since the best days of Egypt, have such large material powers and obstacles been handled with this successful daring, and indeed their whole treatment and conception are essentially Egyptian—only with the difference that iron and steam take the place of stone and water.

But this same potent life-breath, which has urged great undertakings, has led to a lavishing of energy in other directions also, which seem quite inferior and unworthy, or, at the best, are the mere turbulent overflow of an excessive quantity of force, which can find no wise and proper outlet. First among these wastes of force must be counted the tendency to heap up quite useless and purposeless ornament and decoration, merely for decoration's sake, and without the slightest regard to the proper laws that should make ornament beautiful. This surfeit of fancy comes out on all hands. One sees twenty different orders of pillars, hardly any of them conforming to the strict lines of beauty developed by the Greeks, and none of them obeying the first law—that a pillar must really *support* something, if it is to be beautiful at all, and not be a mere blot and excrescence. Then there are not lacking hybrid forms, and forms quite monstrous; pillars—where no pillar should be—beginning with a fluted shaft, a Corinthian capital half-

way up, a smooth shaft rising from this, and then a second capital, this time Ionic—the whole actually supporting nothing and ministering to no need beyond that of mere ostentation. And it is apparently the same need that leads to other extravagances; so that there are, for example, scores of patterns for silver ornaments on the backs of brushes and combs, hundreds of silver backs for tooth-brushes, and thousands of pretty toilet articles, bedizened in every way, indicating, if they indicate anything, a mere restless desire for change—for some new thing, however useless.

Yet one instance more: If the head of Ephraim is Samaria, the head of Samaria is, quite undoubtedly, not Remaliah's son, but Remaliah's daughter. And, in Remaliah's daughter, what we may gently call exuberance of fancy overpasses all limits. And this, not merely in dress, but in the accumulation of unnumbered useless possessions, supposed to be decorative, but in sober truth ministering to nothing but a mere unreasoned longing to possess. The laws that govern the beautiful in dress are part of the laws of life, as strict and imperative as any other of Nature's edicts. And the first law is this: only that dress is beautiful which gives outward and visible expression to beauty of form; or, to put the matter even more truly, which is a true embodiment and extension of the character of the wearer. There is for every individual a quite definite limit, up to which dress really heightens and brings out the form and force of individual character. The moment this limit is passed, every addition of ornament, whether in color or form, lessens and weakens the effect of the wearer's personality, and is, even from the point of view of personal attractiveness, a defect and impediment, not a beauty at all. And it is a matter of the finest instinct and discernment to know when this limit is reached for each person. The slightest transgression mars the whole effect. Hence the unfathomable abyss between dressing and merely wearing dresses. Whether the result of this fine discernment shall be beautiful depends wholly on whether the character faithfully expressed has in itself the elements of truth and reality—of profound conformity to the

lasting laws of life; for these alone are the fountain of all beauty.

Not many races possess this fine discernment; but the Polish women do, in a marked degree. With the most subtle skill, they mold and harmonize their outward adornments to their own genius and gift; and this gift is one of sheer attraction and enthralling fascination; potent, indeed, beyond all comparison, yet hardly, one would think, in harmony with life's profoundest power. The women of Paris have much of the same gift of fascination, but with less of the Pole's mental subtlety and intellectual power—with the consequence that color predominates at the expense of form, and the whole effect is shallower and more superficial.

Other real expressions of character in dress, and much more wholesome if less decorative, one finds in the old national costumes of the women of the mountain duchies of Austria, or among the southern Slavs, who still preserve the old life of their race. Yet, perhaps, the East could give better examples than any of these. I remember once seeing a woman standing beside a cottage of bamboo, thatched with reeds, among the mountains of Northern India. She wore a simple robe, or rather an unsewn garment of cotton, falling in folds of more than Grecian grace. On her head she was carrying a water-pot of red clay, and, as we passed, she raised her left arm to steady it. The pose was the perfect expression of supple strength, as the sun shone on her brown skin; and the sense of the beauty of the naked arm was such as no ball-room costume could hope to emulate. And the total effect was due entirely to the fact that the woman herself, daughter of Mahratta mountaineers and warriors, and her dress, with all its simplicity, gave perfect outward expression to the character of her race and her land, with all its weird and haunting glamour. Let us suppose, for a moment, that she had been tempted into wearing some Paris costume, even the least exaggerated. The crying disharmony of it is something too awful even to contemplate. And this emphasizes the truth that dress, to be fitting and appropriate at all, must express national and indi-

vidual character. To dress to be beautiful, it is further necessary that the character expressed should have the same elements of beauty; and by character one means the whole personality—outward form as well as inward force.

Of these strict laws, the daughter of Remaliah seems not conscious at all, for the doctrine of ornament for ornament's sake is a crying violation of their very principles. Here, as indeed to some extent the world over, women are materialists. They can only believe and find satisfaction in what is visible and tangible, making a direct appeal to the senses and sensibility. And for this reason they long to see all the force that is pouring into the hearts of Americans, all these waves of potent psychic life, made visible in a material shape. They long to translate inherent power into exterior possessions; to exhibit, in ornament and apparel, all these victories over Nature of which we have already spoken.

Here is a story that none need take to heart who do not identify themselves with Remaliah's daughter. The wife of one of our conquerors of Nature, hearing of a fresh triumph of her husband, broke out into open lamentation. The cause was this: she had signalized the gaining of his first million by wearing a set of sables brought from the Siberian woods at much outlay of treasure. And now she knew that the second million must be signalized in the same way—by a second set of sables, above the first. She was already quite uncomfortably warm, but now she anticipated the hot torments of Erebus.

These things are, as I say, a fable, having no application at all to whoever follows the true laws of dress. The whole trouble lies in this: that we have yet to take the step from mere fancy to true imagination; or, more generally, from the lower to the higher mind. For if human and divine wisdom have reached any certain result, it is this: that there are in us two minds, a lower and individual, and a higher and universal; and the latter only is truly human. And this division follows us through all our energies and powers. Thus, to the lower mind belong fancy and wit and reasoning; while, in the higher, these become imagination, humor, and reason, or the sense of

things as they really are. Imagination always proceeds from universals; fancy, on the other hand, always from particular facts. Thus the simplest dwelling—one of those Ionic huts of wood which were the beginnings of the world's best architecture—is a work of pure imagination, taking its rise from universal laws. It is a real extension and development of the habitable earth; and the axis of every pillar—if the house is to stand firm—runs true to the earth's enduring center. Every addition to it, which obeys the same great laws, will make for beauty, until we reach the Parthenon, every line of which follows the strictest and most absolute canons, which we are only now beginning to understand but which were familiar to the Greeks.

But if I, on the other hand, after building a house of stone, fall to admiring the Grecian pillars and begin to dot them, with sundry additions of my own, across the face of my completed dwelling, this will not be imagination at all, but the merest fancy, altogether of the lower mind, and which the lower mind alone can find beautiful and admire. Then, in pictures, all true art must be an expression of the universal varieties of life—either a making visible, in painting, of hidden, invisible realities, or a making permanent of what appears in outward life only for a little while. Everything else is a mere waste of good canvas and color, like so much of modern art.

In literature, the same thing; the true poet is he who, in his own heart, knows the heart of humanity—already possesses the universal life of man. Once possessed and known, he can give to it endless expressions, every one of which is beautiful, every one of which we shall recognize as true. The other way, mere observation and memory, is fancy, building ever new combinations of what may be facts, but are never realities; a result permanently unsatisfactory, and always paying the penalty of swift oblivion, in spite of even boundless cleverness.

The difference between wit and humor is just the same. Art is personal and hostile; humor is universal and generous. The one is, to laugh *at* somebody; the other is, to laugh *with* somebody. It is the difference between *Falstaff* and *Portia*.

Then, again, reasoning gives us our applied sciences, with their endless ministering to senses, and their terribly inadequate account of human life. To reason, we are yet, on the whole, greatly strangers. A part of it we may find in religion; a part in the best philosophers; a part, again, with the mystics and poets. For all these, in some degree, reveal life as it really is; and we accept them slowly, as we ourselves verify their revelation. This one truth they all reach, and we all must verify it: that real life is not for our personalities, for each against every other; but for universal ends, for the whole of mankind, for our real selves. These are laws of life, and we can no more violate them than we can violate the laws of gravity. The floods will flow onward; the higher the obstacles we build, the greater will be the devastation when our embankments burst.

And this seems to be the truth we reach about America. Here is a new land of boundless wealth; a large benediction of abounding power, pouring fresh from the heart of our mother, the world. A new race, recruited from the strongest and most daring of other lands, and free from all the fetters of the past that keep other lands in check: boundless beneficence of destiny, conferring almost limitless powers; conferring, also, great responsibilities.

Yet it would seem—I say it in a spirit the very reverse of unkindly criticism—that all the visible fruits of American energy indicate a desire to accept the powers while evading the responsibilities; to work with the lower, not the higher mind. And to this cause must be laid the fact that, with all these victories over material things, we find no true sense of beauty at all. No imagination, but only fancifulness running riot, bringing forth lavish ornament for mere ornament's sake: making for mere ostentation, which can only bring a fretting sense of unrest, by no means to be cured by fresh extravagances outstripping the first. And, for the same reason, we have abundant wit, but very little humor; wit, very brilliant and sparkling, it is true, and of such lavish quantity as the world has never seen; but bitter and caustic for the most part, and almost always relying for its effect on a triumph at some one's mor-

tification. Let whoever doubts this make a census of the comic papers for a week, and see how many of the stories and pictures and epigrams are based on the humiliation of some victim, or some one's loss or misfortune. Take one of the best of them—that story of the lynched man's widow: "But you have the laugh on us, for we've hung the wrong man!" Undeniably brilliant and admirable in its way; yet the crackling of thorns under the pot is, in its way, brilliant too.

Yet another practical application: how many of the dresses ordered in a week are destined to give a genuine expression to character and form; how many merely to outdress somebody else? How many of all these victories over material things, these conquests of the rocks and deserts, are achieved to benefit *all* Americans; and how many only to benefit one or a few, at the expense of all the rest?

These things are the laws of life, and are no more to be violated than the laws of gravity, however successful may seem their temporary violation. And they are as little matters of sentiment or sentimentality as gravity itself, but are far deeper and more lasting than this solid-seeming world. The beneficence of vigor and fresh young life, which is one's first and strongest impression here, is meant for all and must be given to all. If I have already built myself a weather-tight house, it is my duty, with any accession of power or possessions, to see whether any of my unnumbered other selves is left out in the cold and in need of just such a house, and by no means to ornament my own dwelling with borrowed fragments of Greece and Rome, whose true use and beauty I only dimly understand. And any failure in duty will bring its own penalty in unrest, insecurity, dissatisfaction; we do not build Bastiles to guard possessions honestly come by, which we mean generously to use.

The sincere truth of the matter is this: All this extravagance and ostentation and jealous appropriation of common benefits is not true to the American character, but, on the contrary, wholly foreign to it; a mere passing fever, largely imitation of other lands. It is not an excuse to say that we may find

unhealthy luxury and unlovely pageantry in older countries; for there they are admittedly the signs of the last degeneration of forces that were once full of vigor, making for the common good. And I think it is early in the day to find degeneration here.

If we could only feel that this sense of power, which leaps so deliciously in our veins, is really given us for the common good, we should be ready to conceive a destiny worth following. And we should find our instant reward in a larger power, instead of a growing sense of impotence and gnawing fear, which we vainly try to hide, from ourselves first of all, by heaping up visible possessions as an evidence, to ourselves and others, that we are real men. With greater power, we should find opening up to us a larger and nobler destiny, with conquests before us more worthy of our manhood, and among them, it may be, the conquest of the mysteries of life and death —of the vast spaces of shrouded darkness that lie round our visible life. The soul is the will, and the real and universal will in us is immortal—carries with it an instant certainty of immortality. Here, then, is a better destiny for America than the building of bigger houses and the wearing of finer clothes; a destiny opening up before us, altogether worthy of our honor and manhood; and in the attainment of which no power in earth or heaven can hinder us—unless, indeed, we unworthily hinder ourselves.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

*New York.*

## II. SOME ANTIQUITY IN AMERICA.

LET us leave the nineteenth century, and the hackneyed paths of the restless multitude. Let us go back to the fifteenth century—to the home of the Pueblo. It is difficult to realize that we are removed from an ancient and mysterious civilization, little changed for centuries, by but a few sandy leagues. The distance from Chicago to Santa Fé is about thirteen hundred miles, and only thirty-six hours by

rapid Pullman transit; yet we have journeyed to another world, so great are the dissimilarities. We are in a land where antiquity and romance wield a subtle witchery. We are in the wide domain of mystery, and there is enchantment in this lonely arid land.

There is some rivalry for precedence in antiquity between St. Augustine and Santa Fé, but history adjusts the matter. St. Augustine was founded in 1565 and is the oldest town in the United States. Santa Fé was founded about the beginning of the sixteenth century and must surrender the honor of a more ancient founding to St. Augustine. Waiving, however, authentic history, and judging the two very ancient towns with reference only to their appearance to-day, one would say Santa Fé is unquestionably entitled to any distinction of this kind. As a Pueblo civilization, Santa Fé is more ancient than history. When the Spanish invaders reached New Mexico they found Santa Fé an important Indian pueblo. How old was its civilization at the time of the invasion it would be impossible to say. The spirit of progress has little sympathy for sentiment and for the picturesque—neither time nor place for the relics of centuries gone. There is a quaint little street in the old Spanish quarter where one may extend the hand and exchange greetings with another upon the opposite side. San Marco, the old Spanish coquina fortress, with its moat and dungeons, and the little that is left of the Franciscan Monastery, tell the story of St. Augustine in other days.

But the processes of civilization have swept the past almost away, giving place to modern and costly innovations. Its palatial hotels, its handsome equipages upon beautiful boulevards, its shops and bazaars showing only handsome and costly wares, its courts and orange groves—all tell the story that the old is passing away. But time has played but a small part in Santa Fé. We hear the ringing of sweet bells at sunset and dawn, and almost fancy we hear the mission *padres* chanting the litany; and we turn half expecting to meet Coronado with burnished sword and helmet, and to hear the clanking bronze armor of Castilian conquerors-at-arms—so few have been the

changes here. There are some modern and handsome buildings in Santa Fé—but I do not like them; they are foreigners, with airs of intrusion and impertinence, and I trust will never usurp the ancient adobe around which lingers a charm that all rules in science and art cannot give. There is a large field for the archæologist and for the lover of the picturesque in and around Santa Fé. There is a great deal that is history lingering about this quaint old town, "The City of the Holy Faith," and there is a great deal too that is back of history. Like some dreamy picture from the Orient, the faggot-laden burro in his armor of strings and rags ambles up and down these narrow streets and by-ways, and with gait slow and measured he journeys many leagues with his picturesque burden; and plainly stamped upon his face you will read—

"My very chains and I are friends—
So much a long communion
Tends to make us what we are."

The Pueblo Indian, in his gorgeous, fantastic trappings, glides swiftly and stealthily apace over these ancient highways. The gay Spanish airs from the Mexican band in the plaza, the eternal blue of the skies, and everywhere the softly-spoken Castilian tongue—over all the halo of a tragic and romantic past—lure you to rest as by some sweet, sad lullaby. The old adobe palace, built during the fifteenth century, stands like some specter of the past, faded and dim with antiquity. It was the residence of Spain's ambassadors in the old days of vice-royalty, and Pueblo warriors in all the barbaric splendors of war-paint have sat in solemn and regal state within these ancient council halls. Since 1846 it has been the official residence of American governors. The rooms of the Historical Society and the Museum of Archæology are in this old historic building, and on these venerable walls hang heirlooms of a remote antiquity. Here are reminiscences of the days when mailed warriors conquered in the name of the Spanish Crown, and here are reminders too of a more ancient and a happier past—the old Pueblo days. This museum of the antique and the beautiful, and the historic plaza upon which it

stands, have been powerless witnesses to all the horrors of a city sacked and to the pathos of conquest and brave revolt. Here have been Spanish victory and the execution of Pueblo warriors. Here too have been Pueblo triumph and the burning of priceless Spanish archives.

San Miguel Church is never forgotten by student or tourist. It, too, is adobe, and was built in 1580 by the Pueblo Indians directed by the Franciscan friars. In 1680 it was nearly destroyed by the Pueblos who, in revolt against the invaders' tyranny, made aggressive assault upon Santa Fé and regained their ancient pueblo. In 1710 it was restored by the Spaniards, and so it stands to-day. In this old relic of mission days is the San Miguel bell, cast in 1356, and the faithful with crucifix and rosary have answered its sweet call to prayers for hundreds of years. The Pueblo's allegiance to the Spanish church militant and to the crown of Spain was not born of love and loyalty; it was allegiance *por fuerza de armas,* after all hope had fled and even their gods had forsaken them.

The Pueblo Indian is one of the picturesque street scenes of Santa Fé. Often you meet him upon the quaint little streets of this curious old town with his curios and wares, or his Indian woven basket filled with nuts from the *piñon* tree, or beautiful fruits from his own little ranch, all of which he offers you in the soft and musical Spanish. Most of the Indians seen in Santa Fé are from Tesuque, a pueblo nine miles distant; but Santa Fé is the Indian's Mecca, whether his pueblo is near or many leagues away. The tribal dress of the Pueblo is not savage, as we are likely to fancy. On the contrary, the purely aboriginal Pueblo dress, not deteriorated by civilization, is esthetic. The Navajo blanket, which the Indian wears with consummate skill, is often of texture costly and superb. The white shoes and long leggins of deer-skin, ornamented with fringe of the same, and the short kilt, like the Scottish dress of the Highlands, are certainly unique. Bright coral, silver, or turquoise beads, strand upon strand, wind round the neck and fall low upon the chest. The jangling bracelet and the gaudy ring tell the Indian's love of adornment; and, if it *is*

pagan, fairer hands flash and glitter with jewels than the swarthy children's of the cliffs and plains. This land of the desert—these arid plains need a touch of bright color. The Indian's pompous trappings, the dull gray of the ancient adobe and the mountains of snow, the sun that knows no cloud, the silence of a desert land, and the pathos of a conquered race—all are parts of one great symphony.

Nowhere shall we find Pueblo life, in all its ancient and simple Oriental beauty, so little changed by civilization, so untouched by time, as in the wonderful pueblo-de-Taos in Northern New Mexico. And nowhere shall we find a valley more fertile and fair than the beautiful valley of Taos. Here in two great communal adobe houses, five terraces high, surrounded by mountains and divided by the Rio de Pueblo—a stream as clear and sparkling as a mountain brook—live six hundred Pueblo Indians in all the quaintness of an ancient pueblo. The world cannot show a civilization, contemporary with our own, more ancient, more quaint and beautiful, than that of the pueblo-de-Taos. The only stairway upon the outside, and the only one upon the inside, of these mammoth Pueblo houses is the rude Indian ladder. At night it is drawn up and the great caravansary becomes a citadel. Their ancient pueblo is a kingdom of peace and happiness. Their crops are abundant and unfailing by irrigation; the deer and the bear are still in the mountains; the trout are in the cold, clear streams; and the invader no longer enters their peaceful valley. They are not protégés of our government, subject to violation of treaty pledges. They hold, not subject to taxation, the fee-simple to their lands by a grant from the Spanish Crown and sustained by Mr. Lincoln and the United States Congress. To emphasize further the confirmation of these grants, and as token of his friendship and very high regard for the Pueblo Indians, Mr. Lincoln sent to the governor of each pueblo a massive mahogany cane; and this is handed down from his predecessor to the succeeding governor of the pueblo, upon his election to office, as his staff of highest municipal authority and as a very sacred credential from the "great father."

What more beautiful picture could we paint than the young Indian girl in her mantle of bright colors, with her *tinoja* of water in perfect poise upon her head, crossing the beautiful Rio de Pueblo upon the picturesque Indian bridge and climbing the rude ladders to her fifth terrace home; or the tall, swarthy brave upon the high house-top at the first dawn of day, wrapped like a prince of the forest in his Navajo blanket, his swart face to the east—a worshiper of the sun!

The Pueblo Indian is preëminently conservative. He is tenaciously opposed to any innovation that does not maintain ancient precedent and time-honored tribal custom. When the indefatigable *padre* taught the Pueblo Indian the Ave Marias upon the rosary, it was the only concession, the only departure from very ancient precedent, that the Pueblo Indian has ever made; and the faithful followers of the Cross must have found arduous teaching from a primitive dialect, and from sun-worship and gods many, to the intricacies of a Latin liturgy and the abstruse and ponderous mysteries of Roman Catholicism. Could the dusky pupil comprehend total depravity? Were the mysteries of transubstantiation, justification by faith, and regeneration through the mysterious operation of the Holy Trinity clear to his pagan mind? And did he not feel grievously wronged and like taking the war-path when taught that through the downfall of Adam he, as part of the human family, became alienated from his God and accursed? And was he not scrupulous and wary, and did he not accede with deliberation when his cruel Spanish conqueror and usurper taught him that hardest but supreme over all creeds or law—forgive and love your enemies, and return good for the wrongs they have done you? Between his fetish-gods and ritualism would seem discrepancy incompatible, but not to the swarthy pagan whose gods are as numerous and varied as are his needs; neither did his ancient mythology become subservient to the new faith, nor serve him in inferior capacity. Whether in war or in the chase, whether in the feast-dance or in death, his first service is to his ancient gods.

As we find the Pueblo Indians to-day, so they lived cen-

turies ago. They take no cognizance of the restless life that lies not far beyond their peaceful domain, and he who sojourns here falls into the same peacefulness. Your exchequer may be irretrievably depleted, stocks and bonds may rise or fall—it matters not. If the heart must bleed, if there is loss or burden, it is not for to-day: it is only for some *otro dia.* These gentle folk, in their lonely pueblos, untutored save in their village folk-lore, know nothing of the treacherous arts of a more enlightened life—wherein are they not wiser than we? Happiness knows no criterion, nor do we attain to it through knowledge or estate. We make long pilgrimages, here and there a glimmer catch, and—'tis gone.

To one fond of mountain-climbing and of natural country, wild and forbidding, the trip to Harvey's Ranch is an incomparable novelty offering all that is unique. It is located in the northern part of New Mexico, and owned by a gentleman from Boston who came to this lofty perch some years ago to retrieve health and fortune. The altitude at this Alpine inn is ten thousand feet above the sea. We leave the stage station at eight in the morning without the traditional solicitude—what will the weather be to-day? We do not wonder what to-day nor yet to-morrow will be, for we have learned that the sun will shine and the skies will be blue. Anywhere east of New Mexico reference to the weather, in any one of its various forms, is the customary salutation. But in this fair land of eternal sunshine it would be incongruous.

The distance by stage to the foot of the mountains upon which the ranch is located is twenty miles. Your road lies through a wild but lovely cañon and over lonely mesas, the home of the gnarled and nut-bearing *piñon,* of the sand-storm and the cacti, of the Yucca plant and the prairie dog. You pass sleepy little Mexican ranches, cuddled low between mountains and mesas, and often señor of *la casa* will greet you with raised sombrero and the universal *"buenos dios."* You cross primeval bridges spanning some wild *arroya,* or the beautiful Rio Gallinous. Deep, clear streams and water-falls, even inconsiderable in size, are extremely rare in New Mexico.

I have seen more, both in substantial and picturesque form, upon this trip than I have seen elsewhere in the Territory.

Far out, and on our close approach to the mountains, is the home of a Yale University graduate who came to this distant and desolate valley, tired of science and philosophy, of languages, of classics, and the arts, to seek the simplicity of life. Here where the stately pines whisper softly and low, but waft no message from the outside world, he exchanged much learning, which doth make mad, for his dark-eyed señorita and picturesque adobe. Here at the feet of these grand mountains, and with old Baldy snow-crowned in the distance, we make halt for transfer to the burros, who finish the trip to the ranch—a distance of five miles. The coffee swings from the tripod, and we take light luncheon where the majestic Indian hemlock trees stand sentinel and the deer dart fleet as an arrow. It is picturesque to see sixteen little burros standing at your service—some to serve you with saddles and some with pack-saddles, or truck between burros; for all transportation from the foot of the mountains to the ranch, whether tourist and his luggage or heavy freight for the mountain inn, is made upon these faithful and patient carriers.

That five-mile burro ride, over a narrow zigzag trail and constantly upward grade of Alpine climbing, is inconceivably grand. We look over mountain peaks and ranges; we look down upon chasm and ravine—all clothed in the majesty of every shade and shadow of the pine and fir. At our feet, like a costly fabric, lie the moss and fern, the Alpine flowers and the kinnikinick. It is a royal road and right nobly does the brave little burro mount those lofty heights. We have left the world and human life below; we are ten thousand feet above their din and turmoil.

On the trail to the ranch is a large forest of the stately quaking-asp. The body of this tree is exceedingly straight and smooth—no growth of branches until near the top. When the frail satin bark is neatly removed, the wood is white and polished as ivory; and in this manner it is prepared for the numerous log buildings that constitute Harvey's hostelry—Delmonico's in an uncompromising, incorrigible wilderness.

There is nothing in this land of antiquity and the picturesque, even to the unprofessional in archæology, nor in all our journey from Santa Fé to Sitka, of more interest than the ruins of the cliff-dwellers. We need not journey to the Egyptian pyramids, nor study the ancient traditions of Greek and Hindu, to learn antiquity. These dwellings were antiquity in ruins; this country was old when Columbus knelt and kissed the soil of what he believed was a new world. The cliff-dwellings are numerous both in New Mexico and Arizona. They are always found in the high cliffs of wild and isolated cañons—by nature picturesque and beautiful, and natural fortifications. Until recent scientific research, made through the Smithsonian Department of Archæology, there has been a great deal of conjecture concerning them. They have even been supposed to have been the homes of a people diminutive in stature, like the dwarfs in nursery tales. This myth no doubt arose from visiting the dwellings and finding the doorway, or place of entrance, and communication between rooms, not higher than three feet, or little more than port-holes. The cliff-dwellings were not only homes: they were impregnable fortifications—a triumph over warfare. A battle executed in creeping posture, with an enemy crouched and entering one at a time this miniature doorway, would have been warfare slow and disastrous for the enemy.

The Pueblo Indians are authoritatively considered the descendants of these ancient cliff-dwellers. In their homes the place of entrance and communication between rooms is often the same as the diminutive doorway so generally found in the cliff-dwellings. In the art of pottery, as practised by these prehistoric peoples, their knowledge was evidently much the same as understood by the Pueblos; although it is the judgment of some connoisseurs and collectors of Indian pottery that specimens sometimes found by excavation are classical antiquity, and that the Indians of to-day have no knowledge nor art lore by which they can reproduce this ancient pottery—this lost folk-art.

The better acquainted we become with the Pueblos, the less mysterious are the cliff-dwellings and the less they savor of myth and fable. The cruel Apache and the cunning Navajo, Bedouins of the plains and foes traditional to the Pueblo, may have been more formidable in numbers and more skilled in the strategies of warfare and conquest than the peace and home loving Pueblo; and no doubt it was imperative to retreat from the fertile valleys to the bleak and barren cliffs of peace and liberty. These patient dwellers of the cliffs were athletes, and there seemed no reservation to their patience. They cut their wigwam and lighted their council fire where the eagle soars, and where the cruel Apache and the treacherous Navajo could not reconnoiter nor lurk in ambush. Undoubtedly this manner of building was their garrison. These human homes were cut in the high cliffs to meet the exigencies of war and conquest, and it would have been precipitous climbing and military tactics indeed, however well-equipped for aboriginal warfare, to have invaded their garrison—their castles of the cliffs.

As we wander through these picturesque ruins, these pathetic homes of antiquity, abandoned and untenanted for centuries, we are bound by the subtle spell of mystery and pathos, of solemnity and tragedy. No page tells their story, no dim picture hangs on memory's wall; but these homes—the little fire-place and the walls darkened from its faggot smoke, the imprint of a human hand, the curious niche in the rude wall, where perchance some idol or quaint bit of pottery stood—speak of a humanity. Centuries have gone and centuries will come; but these wild, rugged cliffs will forever hold their sweet, sad story.

Congress should defend from the maurauder and his vandalism, and so far as possible from the encroachments of time, some of these prehistoric cliff-dwellings—the homes of a people in possession of our country, by hereditary and legitimate right, hundreds and perhaps thousands of years before the white man invaded their ancient forests and primeval hunting-grounds. They are only rude hovels cut centuries ago in

the high walls of these wild and lonely cañons; but they are memorials of a vanished people, whose only history and only legacy are these tragic and picturesque homes of antiquity. No skilled arrow-maker, as many moons ago, upon some lonely perch of the cliffs, fashions his arrows for the chase. No longer that swart face, upturning to the morning sun, worships its brightness. No swarthy, dark-eyed maiden darts like the chamois down the steep and narrow trail, with her *tinoja* of water well poised upon her head, so gracefully erect. Neither does she loiter at the cañon stream, nor listen to the soft, low song of the water. Nor does she sit at her dwelling door, the faggots burning brightly within, watching as the moon climbs up the mesa, just over the valley below, for her Indian lover whose dwelling is in the distant cañon wall. All is desolate and forsaken—only the hooting of the ill-omened owl, and the cry of the eagle as he soars on his lofty flight, are heard on these lonely crags to-day. The ancient arrow-maker and his people, the maiden and her lover, have been in the happy hunting-grounds for hundreds of years.

We have crossed the sandy desert. We have reached the painted city—a water-carved metropolis. We cannot describe the Grand Cañon of the Colorado; even a genius in art will never reproduce its awful grandeur. Statistically, we can say that the length of the Cañon is from Utah to California, and that its greatest grandeur culminates in northern Arizona. From brink to brink, across this chasm at its greatest width, it is twenty miles. The greatest height of its walls, from water's edge to rim, is six thousand feet. Within this tremendous chasm are hundreds of intricate side cañons. Their walls are formed in strata and of every color known to the chemist's skill. The Colorado River winds through these cañon walls from Wyoming to the Gulf of California. The width of this river is four hundred feet; its depth two hundred; the speed of its waters thirty miles an hour. And were it upon the sea level, and navigable, it would be one of America's greatest rivers. But this does not give the smallest conception of the grandeur and wondrous beauty of the Grand Cañon of the

Colorado. It stands matchless and alone as earth's greatest marvel. I have stood upon the beautiful Anahuac. I have looked down from the Castle of Chapultepec upon that valley, so peaceful and fair, where Cortez, with saber and cross, marched in pitiless conquest upon that weak monarch of the Aztecs. I have seen the glaciers of Alaska, the splendors of the "ice world," in all their chaste purity. I have seen the sunlight glint and play upon those mighty walls of ice until I ask: Is this the "city that lieth foursquare;" and are these its outer walls of pearl and ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, and other precious stones? I have seen the Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone—watched the sun rise upon its gorgeous sides, and in that early morning hour have seen the eagles circling around their nests built upon the lofty crags of those pinnacle walls. I have seen the peerless little Yosemite, a gem without a flaw. But I had never stood in the presence of such awful grandeur. In the solemn majesty of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado there is no language—no word—you can utter. You stagger and are stricken speechless by its immensity. To see it as I have seen it, under the sheen of bright moonlight, it is unearthly; it is a glimpse of the infinite world, and the voice of the Creator speaks to you and in tones infinitely greater than you have ever heard.

As we look upon this labyrinth of metropolitan thoroughfares—these princely avenues and boulevards with solid fronts of massive walls, six thousand feet high—we fancy there must be hurried footsteps and the rush and pell-mell of an impetuous city multitude; for it looks like some great metropolis, where traffic had grown to such tremendous proportions and real estate to such fabulous values that it had become a necessity to use the most rigid and undeviating economy in ground space. Hence these noble structures and these painted walls, six hundred stories high. Again, we fancy it is some princely domain of the gods, or the realm of monarchs and kings; for here are castles and palaces lordly and grand, sculptured from every tint and color of an artist's brain—and from their lofty pinnacles we look down upon a broad and noble river as a

winding thread full ten hundred fathoms below. Here are stately cathedrals and cloistered monasteries, somber and gray; bastiles, with dungeons deep and dark; fortresses and citadels, with turret and tower in all the radiance of color reaching to the blue of high heaven. We look for a court tournament of swiftly-darting gondolas—a carnival resplendent in the escutcheons of royalty and gala with banners of regatta day. We listen for mounted knights in plumed helmet and imperial armor, studded with glittering gems. We look for grand dukes and duchesses, for noble lords and ladies with courtier and page. We listen for strains of sweetest music and the dance. But there comes no echo of revelry; these princely halls are silent. We look for a slow and solemn procession of sainted monks and gentle-faced nuns, who have pledged the vows of the monastery and, in the somber habit of their ancient order and with crucifix and rosary, chant the Ave Marias softly and low as the chimes from the high abbey tower call to vespers. And we listen for the captive's lowly prayer from the dungeons deep and dark. But there comes no answer from this pageant of our reverie; we hear only the restless, ceaseless dashing of the wild waters. This is a city not made with hands, whose inhabitants no mortal eye can see. We have parted from the peace and majesty of the Grand Cañon—the masterpiece, unparalleled in Nature; and our conception of Him who dwelleth not only in the most humble flower that grows low at your feet, but in the wildest and grandest cañon of earth, is more lofty.

FRANCES HART.

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# THE EXPANSION OF FARM LIFE.

NARROWNESS is perhaps the charge most often brought against American farm life. To a certain extent this charge may be just, though the comparisons that usually lead up to the conclusion do not always discriminate. Country life as a whole is often compared with city life under the best conditions; or, still more unfairly, the less desirable features of country life are likely to be placed in parallel with the more attractive phases of city life. It must be remembered that there are degrees of desirability in farm life, and that at the least there are multitudes of rural cases where bright flowers still bloom, where the shade is refreshing and the waters are sweet. But, granting for the time that in the main rural life is pleasant, less rich, less expansive than city life, we shall urge that this era of restriction is rapidly drawing to a close. There are forces at work that are molding rural life by new standards, and the old régime is passing. We shall soon be able to say of the country that "old things have passed away; all things have become new."

This statement may seem too optimistic to some who can marshal an array of facts to prove that bigotry, narrowness, and the whole family of ills begotten by isolation still thrive in the country. It is true that our picture is not all of rose tints. But what of that? If it were not true there would be no farm problem; the country would have to convert the town. The fact remains that rural life is undergoing a rapid expansion. Materially, socially, and intellectually, the farmer is broadening. Old prejudices are fading. The plowman is no longer content to keep his eye forever on the furrow. The revival has been in slow progress for some time and has not yet reached its zenith; indeed, the movement is but well under way. For while the new day came long ago to some rural communities and they are basking in a noonday sun, yet in far

too many localities the faintest gray of dawn is all that rouses hope.

The fundamental change that is taking place is the gradual adoption of the new agriculture. "Book-farmin'" is still decried, and many "perfessers" have a rocky road to travel in their attempts to guide the masses through the labyrinth of scientific knowledge that has been constructed during the last decade or two. This difficulty has not been wholly the farmer's fault—the scientist would often have been more persuasive had his wings been clipped. But there is a decided "getting together" nowadays—the farmer and the man of science have at last found common ground. And while the pendulum of agricultural prosperity shall always swing to and fro, there are reasons for believing that an increasing number of farmers have rooted the tree of permanent success.

To enumerate some of these reasons: (1) Thousands of farmers are farming on a scientific basis. They use the results of soil and fertilizer analysis; they cultivate, not to kill weeds so much as to conserve moisture; horticulturists spray their trees according to formulas laid down by experimenters; dairymen use the "Babcock test" for determining the fat content of milk; stock feeders utilize the scientists' feeding rations. (2) The number of specialists among farmers is increasing. This is a sign of progress surely. More and more farmers are coming to push a single line of work. (3) New methods are being rapidly adopted. Ten years ago hardly a fruit-grower sprayed for insect and fungus pests; to-day it is rare to find one who does not. The coöperative creamery has not only revolutionized the character of the butter product made by the factory system, but it has set the pace for thousands of private dairymen who are now making first-class dairy butter. (4) In general the whole idea of *intensive* farming is gaining ground.

This specialization, or intensification, of agriculture makes a new demand, on those who pursue it, in the way of mental and business training. This training is being furnished by a multitude of agencies, and the younger generation of farmers

is taking proper advantage of the opportunities thus offered. What are some of these regular agencies? (1) An alert farm press, containing contributions from both successful farmers and scientific workers. (2) Farmers' institutes, which are traveling schools of technical instruction for farmers. (3) The bulletins issued by the government experiment stations located in every State, and by the Federal Department of Agriculture. (4) Special winter courses (of from six to twelve weeks), offered at nearly all the agricultural colleges of the country, for instruction in practical agriculture. (5) Regular college courses in agriculture at these same colleges. (6) Extension instruction by lectures and correspondence. (7) A growing book literature of technical agriculture. (8) More encouraging than all else is the spirit of inquiry that prevails among farmers the country over—the recognition that there is a basis of science in agriculture. No stronger pleas for the advancement of agricultural education can be found than those that have recently been formulated by farmers themselves.

If this regeneration of farm life were wholly material it would be worth noting; for it promises a prosperity built on foundations sufficiently strong to withstand ordinary storms. Yet this is but a chapter of the story. Not only are our American farmers making a study of their business, bringing to it all the resources of advancing knowledge and good mental training, and hence deriving from it the strong, alert mental character that comes to all business men who pursue equally intelligent methods, but the farmers are by no means neglecting their duty to broaden along general intellectual lines. Farmers have always been interested in politics; there is no reason to think that their interest is declining. The Grange and other organizations keep their attention on current problems. Traveling libraries, school libraries, and Grange libraries are giving new opportunities for general reading, and the farmer's family is not slow to accept the chance. Low prices for magazines and family papers bring to these periodicals an increasing list from the rural offices. Rural free mail delivery promises, among many other results of vast

importance, to enlarge the circulation of daily papers among farmers not less than tenfold.

The really great lesson that farmers are rapidly learning is to work together. They have been the last class to organize, and jealousy, distrust, and isolation have made such organizations as they have had comparatively ineffective. But gradually they are learning to compromise, to work in harmony, to sink merely personal views, to trust their own leaders, to keep troth in financially coöperative projects. There will be no Farmers' Party organized; but the higher politics is gaining among farmers, and more and more independent voting may be expected from the rural precincts. Farmers are learning to pool such of their interests as can be furthered by legislation.

It is also true that the whole aspect of social life in the country is undergoing a profound evolutionary movement. Farmers are meeting one another more frequently than they used to. They have more picnics and holidays. They travel more. They go sight-seeing. They take advantage of excursions. Their social life is more mobile than formerly. Farmers have more comforts and luxuries than ever before. They dress better than they did. More of them ride in carriages than formerly. They buy neater and better furniture. The newer houses are prettier and more comfortable than their predecessors. Bicycles and cameras are not uncommon in the rural home. Rural telephone exchanges are a new thing, but the near future will see the telephone ordinary furniture of the rural household; while electric car lines promise to be the final link in the chain of advantages that is rapidly transforming rural life—robbing it of its isolation, giving it balance and poise, softening its hard outlines, and in general achieving its thorough regeneration.

This sketch is no fancy tale. The movement described is genuine and powerful. The busy city world may not note the signs of progress. Well-minded philanthropists may feel that the rural districts are in special need of their services. Even to the watchers on the walls there is much of discouragement in the advancement that *isn't* being made. Yet it needs no

prophet's eye to see that a vast change for the better in rural life and conditions is now in progress.

No student of these conditions expects or desires that the evolution shall be Acadian in its results. It is to be hoped indeed that country sweets shall not lose their delights; that the farmer himself may find in his surroundings spiritual and mental ambrosia. But what is wanted, and what is rapidly coming, is the breaking down of those barriers which have so long differentiated country from urban life; the extinction of that social ostracism which has been the farmer's fate; the obliteration of that line which for many a youth has marked the bounds of opportunity: in fact, the creation of a rural society whose advantages, rewards, prerogatives, chances for service, means of culture, and pleasures are representative of the best and sanest life that the accumulated wisdom of the ages can prescribe for mankind.

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## THE INNER LIFE OF THE SETTLEMENT.

SINCE 1889, when the first "settlements" in the United States were quietly established—the Neighborhood Guild of New York, the College Settlement in Rivington Street, New York, and Hull House, Chicago—eighty such associations have had their beginnings in our large cities, and the idea of friendliness as opposed to patronage in dealing with the unprivileged classes, which they try to express, might seem to be well understood. There are two striking indications that this is not entirely the case: first, the tendency of non-residents to gauge the efficiency of the work done in a given locality by the size and costliness of settlement houses, their mechanical equipment in the way of libraries and gymnasia, and the seating capacity of lecture-rooms; second, the hallucination that "the settlement spirit," spoken of in awed tones as if it were a mysterious will-o'-the-wisp needed only to light a few devotees through dark streets and alleys, is other than a ray of light proceeding from the Source of all life and light—the infinite Love that rules the universe.

In dealing with the assumption that a fine building or group of buildings always denotes truly prosperous work, it must be borne in mind that the first aim of settlement residents should be to create an agreeable home atmosphere of cordiality toward those who come within their gates and to know something of these guests in their own homes. In a free library elsewhere, the proof of its success would be found in the number and quality of the books borrowed and the average number of people going there to read. The librarians would of course, when asked, give advice as to what books to select, but would not be expected to take the personality of the borrower, primarily, into account. The settlement librarians should first recognize this personality, evince a friendly interest in the selection of books, and if possible know individually, or through other residents, something of all library frequenters in their homes.

The highest test of success would be the number of people reached according to their varying needs, in this personal way, through the library as a means. The same standard applies to all the mechanical equipment. It is desirable that every settlement should have a large hall for general entertainments; but, again, the real criterion of its deep-rooted power for good must lie, not in the fact that such an auditorium is occasionally the scene of a large gathering, but that some of their poorer neighbors go to the house each day to see the residents as personal friends and are in turn visited by them on the same basis.

In this personal relation lies the distinction between the settlement ideal of helpfulness and work along purely institutional lines. It requires more than a college education and more than a scientific interest in social questions to be a successful settlement resident. There must be the recognition that the wisest knows very little; that science is only a means to an end, and that end the development of the human race; and that, while one may teach, one can also *learn* many lessons from those born in the world of poverty and pain. Let us work together for our mutual benefit; not the good for the sinful, the learned for the unlearned, but each for the other, and all for good. This is the spirit that makes such a home (as homes elsewhere) a living force. Good grammar, good clothes, and refined manners, *versus* bad grammar, patched garments, and bluntness of speech, make a gulf between human souls hard to bridge. These surface distinctions removed, all differences would be swept away in many instances. The man that lives unto himself, delights in pleasures of sense, and values culture simply for culture's sake, has no more of the spirit that makes a true man—and does more harm, having greater scope—than the poor man living selfishly in a coarser way. The woman moving on a sense plane, or a purely intellectual one, having money to spend for adornment, has more surface charm and may be a higher product of the animal kingdom than her impoverished sister, but is not necessarily superior as a force for spiritual good. Her very accomplishments, regarded as an end rather than as a means of social service

and spiritual development, are no better than mental trapeze performances, without power to uplift.

Superiority of character is shown in ability to control the animal nature and place the intellect at the service of the soul, not of the senses. Judged by this standard, are the rich and the poor so very far apart? Above all things else, people need to think of one another—regardless of externals—as human souls. There must be less worship of the material and more awe of the spirit incarnated in all men. This is not an argument in favor of ignorance: it is a protest against the ridiculous assumption of superiority of the few who know a little over the many who know less. If we imagine ourselves as regarded by the eyes of infinite Wisdom, our common sense, if we have any—our sense of humor, if we possess a lingering spark—will forbid the mental attitude of patronage that those who live in good houses and wear good clothes commonly feel toward those who do not.

This spirit of aloofness finds illustration in a graduate of one of our best colleges for women, gifted as a linguist and very popular in her own social circle. Deciding to spend the winter in a settlement, she was asked to call upon a neighbor whose baby had fallen ill, take some broth, and make a friendly visit; whereupon this gifted being of many tongues wanted to know what she should say, seeming to regard the errand as an expedition into an unknown world, and the mother she was to visit as a peculiar creature, physiologically and psychologically unlike herself. She was told to use the same social tact that had made her popular in her own set—the tact that consists in putting self in the place of another and adapting a conversation accordingly. The languages she commanded were dead indeed, to her, since she could not speak in any one of them the language of the *heart*. Think of one woman not knowing what to say to another, because she is ragged and ill fed, when that other is the mother of a sick child!

One reared in luxury naturally feels ill at ease amid the wretched surroundings produced by false social conditions—must realize that careful study is necessary to right them; but surely a child of God, born of woman, is never so entirely

transformed by environment as to be less than divinely human! Reason and love can always find a common meeting-ground. To those who contend that it is impossible for them to descend to the level of an unlettered point of view, it might be suggested that since high culture demands a degree of development of the imaginative faculty, which admits of the interpretation of thoughts and feelings beyond personal experience, it is perhaps lack of true culture rather than an evidence of superiority that prevents a feeling of fellowship with the poor and simple. The inner life of the settlement teaches the college-bred, the traveled, the rich in all intellectual opportunities, in a spirit of kinship to give of what they have to those less fortunate: recognizing the fundamental equality of human beings, not only in theory but in fact, and recognizing also that brilliant mental attainment has lasting value only when it develops the spiritual nature of man, as expressed in the power to love and serve. "Love: he knows not life who knows not that." If this basic principle for all life were thoroughly understood, settlement living would not be regarded as an abnormal ebullition of zeal; since it is the manifestation of a desire to render and receive friendly service, which is the foundation-stone of true home life anywhere—the "Golden Rule," which alone affords a practical solution for the difficulties in which, with shortsighted selfishness, we entangle ourselves, not realizing that "we *must* live for others if we would live for ourselves."

That settlement workers meet with discouragements cannot be denied. It is doubtful, however, whether they encounter more rebuffs or spiritual indifference among their poor neighbors than the earnest-minded rector of any denominational church meets with in a fashionable quarter of a great city. The clergyman's life lies externally along somewhat different lines—he is not, for example, obliged to teach any member of his congregation physical cleanliness; but is he more certain of the spiritual whiteness of his flock, or that, to whatever stage of spiritual development they may have attained, their "moral growth" is perceptible from month to month? Moreover, if any individual, however lofty in estate, were obliged

(as are the very poor) to have his daily life examined and criticized by a committee; his general conduct "sat upon;" reports made upon his advancement in proportion to his opportunities; his insincerities, inconsistencies, vanity, and vain-speaking tabulated; last year's lies balanced against this year's lies, acted or spoken: how well would it fare with that man? Let those who grow weary and discouraged over the apparent "lack of results," after a single year of settlement teaching and living, reflect. Has their own relative development, intellectual or spiritual, been so great—have they made such wise use of wider opportunities—as to justify impatience and sharp criticism?

A philanthropic (?) individual recently complained because a woman whom she had been serving with soup and advice for a season at a diet kitchen continued in thriftless ways, and she announced that she had "no patience with poor people—they were so stupid!" It was her idea, apparently, that the subject of her wrath should have been inoculated with virtue through the instrumentality of bean broth. To expect a group of factory girls to become proficient in any branch of learning at a bound, or clubs of street boys to behave like polished gentlemen, is certainly equally absurd; yet an approach to such abnormal attainment is frequently demanded by the thoughtless. The evolution of humanity is a slow process; but that the poor improve less rapidly than the rich, in proportion to their opportunities in any direction, is not true. The time must surely come when it will be recognized as disgraceful ignorance for affluent Americans to know more of the manners and customs of the Japanese than of the habits of life and thought of the laboring people who surround them—when "I did not understand" will no longer be accepted as an excuse for wilful ignorance. Normal settlement living is recognizable as a main factor for enlightenment "on both sides." It is "the open door" through which all "classes" may pass to meet as human beings, and on that common level learn to understand, respect, and help one another.

May Brown Loomis.

*Castile, N. Y.*

# EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

## I. Women as School Officers.

IF woman has any place in the affairs of the State, it is pre-eminently that place which shall keep her in constant and active touch with humanity from the cradle to the full-fledged citizen. There should be no break in this relation; it should be intimate, continuous, permanent, universal. And it is an unreasonable and an unreasoning condition, if not positively intolerable, which has permitted a different order of things so long to prevail, unchallenged, in a free and enlightened, civilized State.

Where slight intelligence exists, and where there is no intelligence, where supreme selfishness prevails, and where civilization is practically unknown, woman occupies a secondary and slavish relation to her physically stronger lord and master. It is no surprise, therefore, that in countries where such conditions are found woman fails to receive the respect and recognition that the steady advance of modern thought and modern ideas in the more progressive State is gradually, but none the less surely, according to her. It is unfortunate that this condition exists, not so much on account of the immediate effect on the individual as the ultimate deleterious effect upon the State as such. The best guaranty of a permanent, incorruptible national life must be found in the active and ever-present contact of its best minds and purest lives in the affairs of the nation. If the right of way of the best classes actively to participate in such contact is denied them, for *any* reason, then must follow a distinct loss of some of the beneficent influences that assist in making up the ideal State. And do we not find some of the best minds and purest lives among the women of the land?

The undoubted trend of recent events in this country, and in some of the countries of Europe, when rightly understood,

indicates unmistakably that the time is not far distant when the influence of woman in the home will be so far modified, enlarged, and extended as to include her active, aggressive, and official coöperation in the affairs of public education. This is as it should be, and as it should have been long ago. She is admirably fitted by nature, by inclination, and by sympathy for this work. For many years she has assumed, successfully, the work of giving instruction in the lower grades in the public schools of the land. And her co-worker of the sterner sex shows small disposition to compete in this part of the educational field with her. She has demonstrated by actual tests, not only her ability to teach in these lower grades but her superiority over her brother in teaching in this particular class of work. She has done more: she has proved her superior fitness for the work of school *officer* on many occasions. And she has done this, in some instances, in the face and in spite of a strong adverse sentiment. Actual and successful trials of women on school boards in several of the larger cities of this country and in England have established the fact of her efficiency and worth in that relation. Tradition and prejudice still linger to deny her the influence and position to which her capabilities entitle her in the educational affairs of the State. Yet public opinion is moving in the right direction—sluggishly, it may be, but certainly; and the demand that opportunity to engage officially in this work be made universal is not far removed from the present time.

It is now generally conceded that woman is the natural teacher of youth, both in the home and in the lower grades of school work. She is the guardian and conservator of the forces that make the future citizen. Why, then, contend that she is disqualified to act officially in a relation in close proximity to the instructional powers of the State? Why grant her superior fitness for the one relation and deny *in toto* her fitness for the other? What is the logic of such a position? Wherein is the consistency? What is the verdict of actual trials? We shall soon see. In the experiences reported the question is to be divested of all matters of mere sentiment, and

all forms of the question of the natural right of woman to participate in the affairs of government are ignored. We take the position that greater efficiency in our public schools is not only possible but certain, by keeping them under a strong mixed supervision of the sexes. Some definite data are submitted herewith that strongly sustain this position.

The School Board of New York City has had several intelligent, capable, painstaking women upon its force. They have always been in a large minority, yet they have accomplished a great deal for the New York schools from several points of view. They have been thoroughly and enthusiastically interested in the work for which they understood they were appointed. A lady that served on this board for three years says:

"The women performed the same work on the board as the men, only it was conceded that they were more regular at committee meetings; and, as they were free during the morning hours, they visited the schools more thoroughly. They visited every school in the city, and gave from five to six hours a day for six days of the week to the school work. On Saturdays they received visits from the teachers. Naturally, such intimate knowledge of the schools enabled the women to understand the problems relating to the schools in a way that the men could not understand, and, therefore, their advice was sought by many of the male members. They performed much detailed work and visited the school buildings most thoroughly; *i.e.,* they would feel that no visit was complete unless the cellar and its sanitary arrangements were thoroughly examined, and it was even known that the women went on the roofs and examined the conditions there. Many hours were given by them to the examination of instruction, discipline, ventilation, etc."

When this very intelligent woman was asked, "What was the result, if any, of such detailed work on the action of the respective committees, or of the entire school board?" her reply was as follows: "The women performed much of the work that the men might have performed, and yet *there were many moral questions and matters relating to the sanitary condition that were brought to the women commissioners that would*

*not have been brought to the men.*" The words italicized are most significant, and indicate as nothing else can, except the disagreeable facts, the superior usefulness of women in some phases of the work belonging to school board officers.

If the foregoing statement is considered in connection with another statement from this same lady's co-worker, of the opposite sex, we have a strong showing, in plain language, of the real value of women as school officers. And the mention of this gentleman's name would be ample guaranty of his intelligence and trustworthiness. He says:

"During the four years I was connected with the Board of Education, there were not less than two, and at times three, women members of that body. The work done by them was excellent, but on somewhat different lines from that done by the men. They were, in the first place, quite as faithful—more so, in fact—than most of the men in attendance at the meetings of the board and at committee meetings. They did well whatever work was required of them, and were particularly useful on investigating committees, their freedom from business cares enabling them to go more deeply into the history of cases and the facts bearing upon the subject than most of the men could do. You could trace throughout their work the distinctive difference between the feminine and masculine methods—a failure to generalize, not using such broad methods in handling subjects as the men. This, however, was beneficial to the work done, for it supplied just what was needed; namely, systematic and careful detail work on the part of some one. This the women, in their faithfulness and devotion to work, fully and completely brought out; and then upon that the whole board acted—in a somewhat broader manner. There was one thing that was always most gratifying: you could always depend upon the promises made by the women; no political or other influences controlled them to the injury of the interests charged to them. On matters affecting *the morals of the teachers*—always a most dangerous subject to deal with—the women did particularly good and important work. It brought about many unpleasant situations. The men, as a rule, sought to cover or 'hush up' the charges on the theory that any recognition of their existence would, in itself, be harmful; the women insisted upon an investigation *always*, though not a public one. The effect of the position assumed by the male members was most baneful."

This very intelligent gentleman's judgment is significant, because it is formed from experience with woman's work on school boards as a co-worker for a common purpose—the advancement of the cause of popular education. "I believe," says he, "the influence of women on boards of education is desirable; it will tend to elevate the character of the work done, will stimulate the efforts of teachers, and only result in good to the cause of education."

The School Board of London has several women members. They have been members of this body, continuously, since December, 1879. There is no disposition to dispense with their services. In October, 1895, out of fifty-five members comprising the London board, four were ladies. Lord George Hamilton, the late chairman of this board, in a recent public address used the following language with reference to women on the school board for London: "As this is the first time I have had the pleasure of being associated with ladies in an administrative capacity, I should like to say that there is no part of the work of the board which is more efficiently performed, where authority is better maintained, and where the amount of work done in the time consumed is greater than in those committees on which the ladies serve."

Women have been officially connected with the public schools in Massachusetts for many years. There are now serving on the school boards in that commonwealth fully one hundred women. In a letter from the office of the State Board of Education, it is observed that "the service of women on the school boards in Massachusetts is, on the whole, regarded as *satisfactory and desirable.* This inference is made because where women are placed on the school boards the communities do not abandon the practise of electing them." Some of the elements of their strength in such service are suggested by the same authority as follows: "Many of the women who serve on school boards are cultured ladies, with a certain amount of leisure and a deep interest in educational themes. They can, therefore, give greater attention to school affairs than is possible for many men. Most of our teachers are women,

and it is thought, where women serve on school boards, certain classes of school conditions become better known and receive better attention because there are women serving as school officers."

One-half of the school committee of Melrose, Mass., are women. This numerical relation has existed for more than twenty years. A gentleman who has served as chairman of this committee for ten years writes: "It is my opinion that it is desirable to have women on the school committee. They are useful in visiting the schools, especially those of the lower grades, and, considering their previous training and opportunities, are quite as efficient and useful as men."

A gentleman residing in a suburb of Boston, and who has a national reputation as an educator, says: "It is common in Massachusetts and Rhode Island to have women on the school boards. The Massachusetts State Board of Education has had two women members for years. Three members of the Boston school board are women. There are several women city and town superintendents in Massachusetts. One of the supervisors of the Boston schools is a woman. *In all the cases* that have come under my observation, I think the women are doing *good service* and the schools are better for their work."

The mayor of a lumbering city in the northern peninsula of Michigan informs the writer that the most valuable member of their school board is a woman. He adds: "Teachers, as a rule, are young girls, and many times it is necessary for them to confer with the school board in delicate matters, which they would hesitate to do with a board composed entirely of men. But with women on the board it is easy for them. Besides, women are natural educators, and, while I would not think it best to place business matters under their control entirely, I think no mistake will be made in giving them a strong representation on school boards."

Several members of the Board of Education of Chicago have been women. They have always coöperated with their colleagues in the school work toward the betterment and elevation of the educational forces at their command. A letter

from the office of the board is to the effect that "these women have been in sympathy with our large corps of teachers, and it is doubtful if we will ever return to the day when our board will consist of men alone. These ladies have contributed greatly to the success of our primary schools, especially."

As supplemental to the foregoing relative to the Chicago board the following terse statement from Superintendent E. Benjamin Andrews, of the Chicago public schools, is especially pertinent: "Few women are as valuable as men in purely business matters. But women are usually better than men in handling personal and social questions. And they are equally good in purely pedagogical matters. A board of any size should include some women."

Miss Estelle Reel, former superintendent of public instruction for Wyoming and now superintendent of the government Indian schools, herself a person of large experience in educational matters, gives it as her opinion, founded upon observations made during her experience as a county and State superintendent, that "it is wise to have women on the school board as well as men."

The Superintendent of Public Instruction of Kansas says that "many women have served on school boards in our State, both in the cities and in the country, and, so far as I know, their services have been very satisfactory."

Philadelphia has had few women to serve on its school board. The superintendent says that "those who have been elected have been intelligent women with advanced ideas on the subject of education, and have discharged their duties with credit to themselves and to their position."

The Milwaukee school board had one lady as its sole woman member for about two years. She was a person of intelligence and experience and a recognized influence in that body. She was especially valuable as a member and chairman of the visiting committee. When the board was reorganized and the number of members reduced one-half she was not reappointed. The board is entirely composed of men at present.

The city of St. Paul, Minn., has never had any women mem-

bers on its school board, although the mayor has been requested to appoint them. A member of this body, a physician of eminence, says: "Personally, I think the presence of a few good, sensible women on the board would be a great benefit."

Women have been elected to serve on the school board of Detroit. A woman member who had served six years declined a renomination. She says that she had given as much time to this work as she could, without remuneration. The fact that she was acceptable for a renomination would indicate that she was efficient in her work as a school officer.

Several other large cities have never had women on their school boards, and of course they have no experience to submit. In country districts, however, where school boards are usually small, the opinion seems generally to prevail that good, strong women make good school officers and are in demand; that the chief weaknesses are to be found not so much in sex as in personality. This, too, is the judgment of county and State superintendents, who presumably are in a position to know, both relatively and comparatively, the value of women in this particular field.

It is worthy of remark that the consensus of opinions received from all quarters and from all sources is to the effect that women add to the efficient administration of our public schools whenever and wherever they have been placed in official relation to them. And this judgment has come, mainly, from men that have been brought into official relation with the women and "know whereof they speak." It has always come from those able to form opinions from an intelligent and practical point of view. And there is no evidence that mere sentiment prompted a single opinion, nor is it likely that any exists.

So far there has been no attempt to submit definite data or statistical information which would tend to sustain what has been hereinbefore stated. Indeed, it is claimed that the question does not admit of such demonstration. It is not a question of figures, and mathematical proof is impossible. We cannot measure the efficiency of school work in dollars and cents, nor is the amount of learning obtained established by adding

long columns of figures. This is not the true basis of forming a just estimate of the merits of this question.

If the moral character of teacher and pupil has been enhanced; if their physical welfare and comfort have been improved; if sanitation, ventilation, and discipline have been more nearly reduced to a common-sense basis; if the school curriculum has become more practical and better adapted to the needs of the pupils; if, in short, the expenditure of public school money for the cause of public education has been more economically administered, but not niggardly, then may we claim some real value in having women as members of school boards. This has been done, as the verdict of experience and the judgment of educational experts most amply establish. To ask or expect any more direct or more definite data of the foregoing contention is unreasonable and preposterous. No one in quest of the facts desires it.

DUANE MOWRY.

*Milwaukee, Wis.*

## II. SEX IN EDUCATION.

SINCE colleges have been open to women, a question that has demanded much attention from educators is whether the higher education of the sexes should be the same. This was the principal subject of discussion at the recent meeting of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, at Cambridge, Mass., and the conclusion appears to have been that, in view of the important difference between the practical lives of men and women, there should be, in President Eliot's words, "a real, essential, and wise difference" in their education. This will naturally be understood, whether so intended or not, as a proposition to specialize the education of women.

"How profoundly different," exclaims President Eliot, "are the functions of the woman and the man! . . . Look at the great mass, and is not the function of the woman between

twenty-five and forty-five deeply different from that of the man? I say that education should regard function. Therefore, must it not be that the right education of a woman, or of women in general, should be different from that of men in general?" Again he asks: "Should not education prepare for environment? How different is the environment through life of every woman from that of every man! Are we not all sensible of this profound and eternal difference in environment? Therefore, must we not all think it probable that there should be a difference in education corresponding to that difference, that inevitable difference, of environment?"

These conclusions are in accord with the tendency of current ideas regarding education—that the training of the mind should early begin to have especial reference to the future career of the student. But, with all due deference to the wisdom and experience embodied therein, I venture to take exception to them. Specialization is indeed the order of our modern day, and there are sound economic reasons for it. I do not question the desirability of a certain degree of specialization in undergraduate college work; but the principle of specialization is surely carried too far when applied to the education of women as a class. Women, in fact, are not a class. They have as many distinct tastes, talents, "functions," and "environments" as men have. Their education "as a class" should not be such as to limit their choice of careers, for that would be a step in the direction of restrictions anomalous in a republic; yet such limitation inevitably results from specialization founded on supposed differences of function between man and woman.

In considering this question of the education of women, a few simple facts need to be noticed: First, that education should not be too closely adapted to function—that specializing may be overdone; second, that the functions of the sexes are not so "different" as they seem—many things being wrongly identified with motherhood that do not belong to maternity as a function; third, that man and woman, unlike in physical function, are yet alike in their social, economic, intellectual, and

esthetic activities with relation to the species. Father and mother, united in the physique of their child, are also united in the mental and moral evolution of the race.

In supplying the demand for more and more thorough and specific knowledge, our colleges have at last reached an extreme—where education does not simply clear the ground and free and balance the mind, thus making possible the exercise of individual powers in some original direction, but, by foreseeing the future "environment" or "function" of the boy or girl and specializing with that in view, restricts the development and exercise of the energies by just so much. Specialization is practised to the detriment of the peculiar originality of American genius. The ability to turn his hand successfully to a number of different tasks is a noticeable characteristic of the American, and has been of great practical value to him in the conquest of the New World. Any American can mend a sail or a shirt, fix a box cover and nail it on, boil a potato, sharpen a stick, or dig a hole in the ground. At a pinch he can repair a bicycle or a pump. In traveling in older countries one is struck with the helplessness of the average man when confronted by a practical problem out of the range of his ordinary day's work. Oriental races tend even more toward specialization, and extreme development in but one direction is the result.

This development is, of course, evolution; but it has its limits, where further differentiation in the same line, though for a time it may continue to profit the community, begins to mean the decadence of the individual. When, for example, the members of one family devote themselves generation after generation to one branch of industry, though bringing it to the highest degree of perfection, they abort their capabilities in other lines, and also become dependent on the demand for their one product—like the summer tramp whose "trade" was shoveling snow. One hears of a Chinese doctor, the descendant of many generations of physicians, who is so skilled as to be able to diagnose a disease by peculiarities of the pulse. But, having been trained for nothing else, in the absence of demand

for the medicine man this exquisite specialist would compete at a disadvantage with Sam Lee, his uneducated countryman, the laundry expert, who in turn goes down before the Melican jack-of-all-trades.

If modern education tends, as it seems to tend, toward some such extreme specialization, the versatility on which we pride ourselves will be lost. Extreme specialization of individual talent is well enough in a very populous country like China, and would be better than "well enough" if, at the same time that the individual is perfecting his powers in the one direction, the race might go on differentiating in all directions—the full development of each talent being attainable by progressive specialization. But there is apparently a neutral relation between differentiation of the one and of the whole. Limiting the scope of the individual limits the possibilities of the race. If, by a narrow education, the one is rendered less adaptable to changing conditions, the other must gradually lose its plastic quality. Inability to cope with changing conditions, and to turn its hand to different arts, will eventually become a more marked characteristic than the perfection of its one art, and its progress will be at a standstill. The fewer persons there are in a community, the more versatile each must be; but the activities of such persons are restricted by lack of time and strength, and the development of new arts is thus checked. In a teeming population, on the other hand, where there is a man or a class of men specialized to meet each demand, the development of arts is checked by the narrowness of the individual career. In each case the scope of individual activity is limited, and the race accordingly falls short of the highest achievement.

Now, while the especial training of the man or woman to fit a given niche in the community has obvious advantages it is a mistake to begin the process of specialization too early. The tendency now is to push back the period of specialization into the lower grades of undergraduate work; it is even proposed to make the entire college course elective—thus forcing the energies forward in one channel toward a previously de-

termined environment and functioning. This system will, I think, find its own limitation in a future lessening of the demand for specialization, now so prominent a feature of our social and economic life.

The educators at Cambridge found themselves unable to decide just what should be the distinctive features of woman's education. This, indeed, is where the practical difficulty comes in, and it does come in here because the ideas denoted by the familiar term "woman's function" are at once too narrow and too broad. Woman's distinctive function is maternity—too narrow, because her usefulness is by no means confined to those years "from twenty-five to forty-five" when her "function" is so profoundly different from man's; on the other hand, too broad, because along with the physical function we lump a lot of activities not physical and by no means distinctive of woman. In general the studies regarded as especially suitable for women are those which directly or indirectly have to do with the health and training of children. This is, of course, all very well; but here the dangers of specialization begin. In order that she may not miss the career for which she has been educated, we must add to her curriculum such studies as will make her more attractive to men, and thus increase her chances of marrying. More specialization!

Any such plan is based on the false idea that sex-distinction —a subjective one—renders individuals radically different in their adaptation to certain pursuits or trades: the idea that women can be so much more useful to the race as nurses, cooks, and teachers than in any other employment that it is not worth while to train them for any other. That profound difference of function, before which the male educator starts back with a deep salaam, is maternity, of course, and nothing else. Maternity is a physical function, however, and the education suitable for it is not that of a trained nurse, a teacher, a cook, or a chemist, or a hygienist. Woman is fitted for motherhood when she is fully matured and healthy, and she can no more be "educated" for successful motherhood by any special course of study than a man can be. A man, provided he has a strong,

healthy body, is not better fitted for the "function" of paternity by knowing how to build a house, raise the food, and make the furniture for his family. Then why should a woman necessarily know how to keep house, cook the food, make clothes, and nurse? These extremely useful accomplishments are, I firmly maintain, merely by accident associated in our minds with maternity, and educating women in those lines is not educating them for their special "function."

The sole reason why the nursing and feeding and hygiene of families are considered the duty of mothers is that heretofore no one but the mother would attend to these things. They are supposed to belong to that "function" on which so much sentiment is annually wasted, merely because they are not—like the work of the architect, the builder, the plumber, the miller—specialized. The versatile woman a few generations ago not only made the butter and cheese, but ground the meal for her children's food and spun and wove the wool for their clothing. She now cooks and washes, cleans the house, makes the clothing, or sees done under her own roof all these things, at great expense of individual effort. This residue of woman's work is not specialized because it is too poorly paid, and it is poorly paid because it has always been done by the wife and mother, who, without special education for the work, without taste or aptitude for it, has nevertheless done it in her haphazard way rather than let it go undone. Now, one way out of the obvious difficulties of the present situation would be specially to train women as a class with reference to these labors loosely associated in our minds with maternity, producing in our country several millions of specialists all in the same line; another and more sensible way would be to educate them broadly with a view to developing individual talents, withdrawing the now unskilled labor of the majority from competition with those who, having a natural aptitude for domestic work, might advantageously make it a specialty.

Who can tell when, if ever, the future wife and mother ought to begin that mysterious course of preparation for her peculiar career? As a matter of fact, young women with few

exceptions do not turn "impassioned" to the study of cooking, nursing, and housekeeping, until sad experience has taught them that they must. Their minds revel in the abstract. "Pure mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy,"—such, says Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, are the favorite pursuits of college women. However, there is no danger that they will "leave all poetry and philosophy for men," nor that men will abandon the exact sciences now that women have taken them up. Whatever interests men interests women, because, different as they are in their subconscious lives, their conscious lives are largely similar. The "environment" of women is not, in any large sense, different from that of men; on the contrary, it is the same, and cannot possibly be otherwise. It may be said of two brothers that their environment will be different when they grow up, but it cannot be said of a woman and the man she will marry. If any one thing may be infallibly predicted of the woman and the man, it is that marriage will make a unit of their environment. Then, in view of the uncertainty as to what the environment of a given woman may be, whether she marries or not, if she intends to adapt her education to the requirements of her future career her aim should be, not adaptation to any particular condition, but the broadest *adaptability*. Such, indeed, is the lesson taught by woman's past. The peculiar evolutionary conditions that have made her man's complement have developed the quality of adaptability to environment. Her versatility is a most valuable attraction. In order to preserve this versatility, if any difference be made between the education of men and of women, that of the latter should be even less specialized than it now is. The training of the woman, for the above reason, should be as broad as possible. Let her have the education that will freely develop her mind, promote the versatility and elasticity of her powers, and not restrict her choice of a career by peculiarly fitting her to the imagined requirements of motherhood.

The education that society may reasonably give its members is that which will render each one a more efficient laborer. The man and the woman, in their function as propagators of

the race, are alike members of a vast organism, and if education could render them more efficient members it would probably be the duty of society to educate them with reference to this function. And why confine this special education to the woman? Is it possible? Physical function is a matter of the subconsciousness and is only indirectly affected by education of the intellect. Through the subconscious mind man and woman are linked with the eternal, creative Mind of the Universe. Their functions as propagators of the race are forever determined, and their hearts will not be turned from their first love by education. No imaginable system of specialization can gild the refined gold or paint the lily of Nature's sexual handiwork. What is it that makes this propagation of human life a matter of such transcendent importance? It is, of course, the evolution of the race—the erection, through the higher development of individual life, of loftier mental and moral planes.

The climax of all this development and reproduction, the goal of evolution, is, after all, the individual. Each man and woman, physically a segment of an unbroken circle, is at the same time a spiritual individual, and as such a finality. Each man and woman, besides being the means of promoting the evolution of the race, is entitled to enjoy the fullest individual development for its own sake. Men, indeed, frankly avow themselves individualists—this is the meaning of their work for work's sake and for the joy of achievement. They have ceased to find the fruition of their powers and their highest honor in keeping up the numerical integrity of the race. They do not profess to labor for posterity. They have turned over the responsibility of the population question to women. How holy is maternity! How unique the function of woman as guardian of the sacred fire of life! How dreadful the danger that she may fail of proper education for her unique function! Women, to fulfil this ideal, should have been left behind in the evolution of self-consciousness; but, could one look into the soul of this symbolic and representative being, the same highly-developed individuality and the same need of self-re-

alization would be found as in the man's. Different as their physical functions are, as human beings man and woman stand on the same platform. They aid each other in the social and intellectual work without which human beings might as well not have been born, and the full realization of the eternal Self is their common destiny.

Education should not be regarded solely as preparation for labor. As an economic measure, it of course has its *raison d'être* in the increased efficiency of the social factor. But the question has aspects other than utilitarian ones—aspects plain enough, but seldom dwelt upon. The highest development of the individual is, after all, the supreme object of existence, and the good of the individual is the supreme object of social institutions.

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## III. NEW ENGLAND GIRL GRADUATES.

WHILE trying to account for the larger number of girls in comparison with the number of boys in his school, the principal of one of the best equipped high schools in Massachusetts recently informed me that the girls were not expected to work—that they came to school and then stayed at home until they were married. It impressed me as strange that a teacher who for four years had watched, with almost fatherly solicitude, over the girls in his classes should know so little of their lives after graduation. Because of this incident I have thought it worth while to arrange for publication some facts concerning the economic and social conditions in New England, with special reference to the girl graduates of the high schools.

Although, according to the census of 1898, there are in the New England States 2,960 more boys than girls between the ages of five and eighteen, yet the girls graduated from the high schools outnumber the boys. The reasons assigned for the general excess of girls over boys are: (1) that boys have

a stronger natural desire for independence; (2) that they are more impressed with the desirability of getting to work and getting ahead; (3) that they are discouraged by the lack of apparent practicality in the high-school courses of study; (4) that parents are less tender of their boys; and (5) that boys more often drop out by the way because they cannot easily keep up with their studies. Though this last reason has been scouted by some boys of my acquaintance, it is nevertheless a fact that, in the grammar and high schools, the girls as a rule stand higher in their classes than the boys.

But, aside from the motives that actuate individuals and tend to increase the proportion of girls to boys in high schools, there is a main fact that further explains the situation. Work that was once done in the home is now done in the factory or workshop, and as yet the opportunities for work outside of the home are less abundant for girls than for boys; thus, girls having become the larger sharers in the leisure that the introduction of machinery has created during the last hundred years, great changes have been brought about in the conditions of life for them—more fundamental changes than have been wrought in the conditions of life for boys. Not only have industrial conditions made it possible for New England parents to send their girls to school instead of keeping them at home to work, but—the standard of intelligence, especially for women, having risen—parents feel that for social considerations it is incumbent on them to give their daughters education. Moreover, they perceive that economically education for girls is a good investment.

As a result of their increased opportunities, girls have developed new attitudes of mind. The thought of marriage, which was all absorbing to a girl of eighteen in the last century, has in this century, from the time when Mary Lyon exchanged the store of bedding, table linen, etc., that had been set aside for her future housekeeping for board at school, claimed a steadily decreasing share of a young girl's attention. In the course of considerable inquiry, I have learned of but three or four girls who have married within a year of their

graduation from the high school. Furthermore, on looking over the records at the city registrar's office, Boston, I have found that out of 483 women married in January, 1898, only 59 were under twenty years of age. As 29 of these were employed as domestics, waitresses, tailoresses, dressmakers, etc., and as for the most part the remainder married teamsters, carpenters, and salesmen, I have concluded that few if any were high-school graduates. Girls who have spent three or four years in high-school study and companionship desire something more than an early marriage. Moreover, they object to staying quietly at home. Even when there is no present necessity for self-support they usually become restless, and want, not only to do something interesting, but to be, in a measure at least, independent.

While investigating this subject I tried, in March of last year, to obtain information as to the whereabouts of the girls graduated in recent years from several high schools. The most interesting list I received was from a country high school, where the class of 1895, numbering nine, consisted entirely of girls. Of these, one was at college, one at a normal school, and a third at a kindergarten training-school; one was employed as a stenographer, one as a book-keeper, one as a telegraph operator, and three as teachers. A class graduated in June, 1898, from a high school in a wealthy suburban town in Massachusetts numbered fifty, of which thirty were girls. Fourteen of these were at home, for one year at least; seven were at college and two at a kindergarten training-school; one was at a normal school of gymnastics, one abroad, and five unaccounted for were probably at work of some kind. A class graduated the same year from the classical course of a high school in a large manufacturing city numbered sixty-five, forty of whom were girls. Of this number, eight were at home, ten at the local training-school for teachers, six at business colleges, three at colleges of liberal arts, three at normal schools, three were taking post-graduate courses, two were at kindergarten training-schools, one was studying music, three were engaged in office work, and one was tending store. Of

the three post-graduates, one was preparing for college, one for a library training-school, and one for the city training-school for teachers. The class graduated at the same time from the English course of the same school numbered (including nine boys in the manual training course) seventy-nine, thirty-eight of whom were girls. Eight of these girls were at home, six were at business colleges, three were taking post-graduate courses, one was at a training-school for teachers, and one was at a seminary; three were employed as stenographers, three as book-keepers, three as clerks in stores, and one was teaching in Nova Scotia. The whereabouts of nine girls in this class could not be learned; of this number, two were colored and the remainder poor Irish girls.

Comparing the lists given with that of a class graduating from a classical high school, including thirty-three girls, twenty-one of whom went to college, I at first thought that they did not justly indicate the proportion of girls going from high schools to colleges; but, on consulting the report of the Commissioner of Education, I have decided that the lists are, even in this particular, fairly representative. Considering the number in attendance at normal schools, city training-schools, schools of music, art, and elocution, and business colleges, it is evident that nearly one-half of the girl graduates of the New England high schools receive further education of some kind.

Of the women in normal schools and colleges of liberal arts, the greater number become teachers, librarians, journalists, or helpers in philanthropic enterprises. Of those in scientific schools, many become teachers, others chemists or architects; and of those in professional schools a limited number win success as doctors, lawyers, and ministers. Of the women studying music, painting, sculpture, and elocution, more become teachers than successful artists; of those in business colleges, nearly all become accountants or stenographers and typewriters. Of the girls who do not receive further education, a few become helpers at home or devote themselves to society, and the remainder go to work, usually in stores or offices.

In comparing the occupations of girl graduates from the

New England high schools, I have found wide differences. These variations, however, do not take in such extremes as are indicated by the occupations of their parents. Looking into the faces of the girls of a city public high school, a stranger cannot tell which is the daughter of a clergyman or of a college professor, which the daughter of a motorman or of a hack-driver, which the daughter of a banker or of a judge of the supreme court, which the daughter of a laborer or of a waiter; but, if he would take the trouble to glance over the books in the principal's office, he would find recorded in the column of occupations of parents, not only the vocations indicated, but almost every conceivable profession, business, and trade. Although there may be no marked distinctions in the faces of the girls, in their dress, or in their manners, yet the difference in their prospects for life is measured largely by the difference in their homes.

With a high-school education alone, a girl cannot at once secure a remunerative position in any line of work. If she take up teaching, it must be in a small country school; if she go into an office, even with such an equipment as a high-school commercial course offers, she can be, at the start, no more than an indifferent book-keeper or stenographer. Usually some sort of training must be received, or some sort of apprenticeship must be served, before she can earn enough for self-support. Though the occupation of the father may not indicate the mental status of his daughter, it is usually an index of his ability to give that daughter the further advantages she must have in order to compete successfully with her classmates. For professional work, such as that of a physician, a lawyer, or a teacher in advanced schools, a girl must have special training, which cannot be secured without means; but for success in such work as book-keeping, proof-reading, and stenography, where right mental habits are more essential than simple learning, a girl possessing the requisite amount of intelligence and energy, given maintenance at home for one year, may be independent.

It may be noted that, in the lists of high-school graduates

I have received, none are named as engaged in domestic service or in trades or manufacturing. From social considerations, domestic service is out of the question; even if high-school graduates were willing to enter such service, it is doubtful if New England housekeepers would care to employ them. Twenty years ago, girl graduates of high schools often became milliners or dressmakers, or engaged for a time in some of the higher grades of manufacturing; but these occupations are becoming more and more unpopular with such girls. The confinement incident to millinery and dressmaking count against these trades; and, again, the social consideration conflicts with factory work. As is well known, sixty years ago the work in the New England cotton-mills was performed by the daughters of the native farmers; to-day mill work is for the most part given over to the foreign portion of the population, and factory work of a higher order, such as shoe-stitching, where the materials worked are of considerable value and where really skilled labor is required, is left for the more intelligent girls who have had no opportunities for culture.

Some of the occupations, not yet mentioned, open to girls of intelligence and education, are pharmacy, dentistry, decorative designing, landscape gardening, photography, type-setting, proof-reading, and scientific nursing. A girl need not now conclude, as did Lucy Larcom sixty years ago, that there is nothing but teaching for a girl who wants to use her brains as well as her hands; and yet, in spite of the fact that it is increasingly difficult to meet the requirements of school boards, teaching is still the occupation that appeals most strongly to educated girls. In these days, when cooking, sewing, sloid, and gymnastics are branches of public instruction, it offers a varied and attractive field.

But, under present conditions, just what may educated girls expect by way of remuneration for their work? The average pay of women teachers in Massachusetts is $51.41 per month of actual service, which is about $12 a week. Comparatively few girls are able, in any line of work, to earn more. This is the maximum usually paid in stores to women in charge of

departments. With book-keepers and stenographers the maximum is much higher, but beginners usually receive considerably less than this sum. A teacher in a short-hand school said: "We think we are doing well if we start the girls at eight dollars, and then they work up to twelve or fifteen." Although the wages paid to book-keepers and proof-readers usually come within these limits, yet there are exceptional instances where women in business receive considerably more. The highest salary, within my knowledge, paid to a woman book-keeper is $40 a week, to a stenographer $35, and to a proof-reader $21. For court reporting, girls are paid at even higher rates; but the work is not constant, and a part of the proceeds must be given to an assistant. Graduates of training-schools for nurses rarely take cases at less than $15 a week and board, the maximum being $28—depending upon the character of the disease and the sex and age of the patient. The number of women that win success in the higher professions is too small to call for any extended consideration in a paper dealing with the average prospects of girl graduates of high schools.

In business, as regards wages, a girl, at the start, often has an advantage over a boy; but, like *Hamlet,* she may speedily complain: "I lack advancement." It is one thing for a girl to compete with a boy in school, and quite another thing for her to compete with him in business. In many cases the fault lies in her own lack of application. A teacher in a business school complains that the girls lack pluck—that they have not the courage to fit themselves for superior work. A less considerate lament comes from a woman in charge of a large department in a business house, where it was decreed that a certain part of the work that had been done with the pen should henceforth be done with the typewriter. Machines were put in, and the girls were given an opportunity for practise; "but," said she, "they wouldn't take the trouble to learn."

Mindful of such incidents, the friendly adviser tells girls that to succeed like boys they must abandon themselves to their

work as boys do. In actual life, however, something very different is expected from girls than from boys. For instance, a brother and sister are at work in the city, and word comes that the mother of the two is dying. Both hurry home; but if on their arrival it develops that the mother is likely to live three or four weeks, the boy bids her good-bye and goes back to his work, while the girl awaits the end. It is tacitly understood that, while business demands the boy, the home demands the girl; and this brings us to a consideration of the most perplexing part of the problem. While thoughtful girls hesitate to give up the liberty of their girlhood, they think complacently of marriage as presumptive. Looking thus upon their work as temporary, they cannot well give themselves wholly to it. Want of application in business is sometimes ungraciously thrown at girls, and they are blamed for not doing what in the face of the traditions of their homes and their books they cannot do—for not doing what no rational human being would in sober earnest want them to do. The solution of the difficulty is only found when a girl comes to see that earnestness and application in business will not only result in advancement there, but will better fit her for whatever cares and pleasures life may bring. This uncertainty of a girl's continuance in work is, I suppose, largely responsible for the limitations to her possibilities of advancement, and these limitations in turn operate against the full development of her abilities. A girl who sees that she can never get beyond a certain point in a business is not likely to exert herself to become acquainted with the further details of that business; she will give her leisure time and extra strength to pleasure, or, if ambitious, she will cultivate music, art, or literature, not only because these things are attractive but because they help her socially and may be of practical value when her business career ends.

But, in some cases, lack of just advancement is due to a want of insight into the situation and a lack of courage in girls to ask an increase of salary. A lawyer who was paying a young woman $15 a week to look after his office work said: "I wouldn't let her go at any price; but don't you tell her I

said so." There is an increasing demand in business offices for trustworthy, agreeable, efficient girls; and such girls may well ask an adequate return for their services.

In discussing the prospects of girl graduates of high schools from the economic standpoint, I have considered business life somewhat at length, this aspect of the situation being perhaps the least understood. The truth is, girls are making their way but slowly in business; nevertheless there are, in New England, women who are succeeding not only as clerks but as florists, as commercial travelers, as real-estate agents, as retail merchants, and as overseers in factories. I may mention one notable instance of business success won by a woman, who is now president of a company owning a large cotton and twine factory, which, as treasurer of the company, she managed for some years. As manufacturing and trading offer to men the largest and most remunerative fields, so doubtless these same departments, as they open up to women, will become, from a financial standpoint, on the whole the most promising.

Reviewing, however, the motives that influence girl graduates of high schools in choosing an occupation, I have concluded that the pecuniary consideration, which to a boy is usually paramount, is of secondary importance. Girls whose parents have been able to send them to the high school generally feel under no immediate obligation to assume the cost of their maintenance at home; they are content if they can earn enough to gratify their increasing desire for clothes; and, in making their choice of an occupation, they are influenced largely by the attractiveness of the work and the social position it assures. As already stated, certain lines of work are tabooed by high-school graduates. In their effort to keep up appearances among their classmates, girls from poor homes are apt to acquire a certain false pride, and in the end to be guided by false standards. The fear of social opprobrium is even a stronger factor in their decision than distaste for disagreeable work. A high-school graduate in a shoe town will stand behind a counter in a crowded dry-goods store, receiving not more than five dollars a week, when she might earn per-

haps twice that amount on piece-work in an airy shoe-shop, working fewer hours and, because of the mechanical simplicity of the labor, having more freedom of thought while at work, and being free to read or study in the pauses of intermittent employment.

With girls of greater ability and larger opportunities, the social motive is equally strong, and this explains to a certain extent why so many girls choose teaching. The social position of a teacher is somewhat better assured than that of other working-women. This is especially noticeable at summer hotels, where the chaperon who has in her party a typewriter or book-keeper sometimes thoughtlessly adds to the difficulties of the situation by saying to her charge, "My dear, it isn't necessary to tell the people at the hotel that you work." There is still prejudice in some minds against girls whose work brings them into contact with business life. Referring especially to teachers as contrasted with business women, a teacher must come up to a certain clearly-defined standard with regard to mental ability and training, and her profession is a certificate of her character; but with girls in business there is no assured intellectual or moral standard. In certain circles a book-keeper or proof-reader is not recommended by her occupation; if, however, she should happen to be the recipient of a salary of a thousand dollars a year, and the fact should become known, it is likely to count in her favor.

The craze among girls for "art" is one of the interesting phenomena of the times. In this choice the social motive is also influential. Many mothers say to their daughters who hate piano practise, "If you can play well you will be invited to more places." On the other hand, there is a surprising number of girls who really love art—who long to be musicians, artists, elocutionists, or actresses, imagining that such accomplishments are easy as well as beautiful. Thousands of New England girls dabble in artistic work, and a considerable number settle down in earnest to make for themselves a "name." In the representative musical conservatory of New England there were, in March, 1899, about 850 New England girls; in

the largest school of oratory there were 228; and in the two leading art schools, not including the Massachusetts Normal Art School, the New England girls numbered 139. But, as implied elsewhere, the majority, even of the more gifted of these girls, have to support themselves by teaching; and the chances of practical success in these lines, even as a teacher, are too remote to commend them to average girls, who are likely to be dependent on their own exertions for support.

In this discussion of the present situation in New England I have tried to make plain, what is sometimes overlooked, that the new conditions in the life of girls are the reasonable result of economic changes. The prejudice that long treated serious study as unbecoming in girls has given way, and the prejudice that in some quarters still regards serious work as undesirable for girls is as surely yielding. Indeed, the necessity of education and work for girls is the inexorable fact that is asserting itself. As for the peculiar difficulties with regard to the wages and social position of working-girls, which in the present transition period are somewhat disturbing—when the girls themselves acquire the common sense and courage that are sure to come as a result of practical experience, these will disappear.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HEINE.

# THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV. SEPTEMBER, 1900. No. 3.

## DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES.

### I. IS SOCIALISM AN ELEMENT OF "BRYANISM"?

THAT the political forces under the leadership of Mr. Bryan show a dangerous, or at least an important, tendency toward socialism has been stoutly affirmed by the opposing press and politicians ever since the beginning of the campaign of 1896. However largely this charge may be regarded as the mere recklessness of epithet that characterizes so much of partizan discussion, yet it has gained wide credence. Such a belief is very "catching" because most people think along the line of least resistance, and it is much easier to believe statements that are commonly heard, especially if they are portentous of evil, than to disbelieve or disprove them. But sweeping, indiscriminate assertions of this sort are sometimes found in pretentious articles by conservative writers. One late contributor to a prominent magazine cries alarmingly that "municipal socialism [meaning public ownership of lighting and water works, etc.] will inevitably lead to State and national socialism." Another writer in a periodical of wide repute and the steadiest habits rounds up "the extravagant socialism led by Bryan" as "a body of voters who demand free coinage of silver, government loans on farm produce, government currency to the amount of $50 per capita, government ownership

of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, gas-works and electric plants, and finally the abolition of the Executive and the Senate and the substitution of an Executive Board chosen by the House of Representatives from its own numbers."

Perhaps the most unfair and misleading fault of these reckless conservatives is their indiscriminate use of the words *radical* and *socialist.* The demands just quoted, and which were cited in proof of the "socialism" of the followers of Bryan, are copied from the Populist national platform of 1892. None of them may fairly be called socialistic, though all of them, excepting that for public ownership of railways and other "natural monopolies," may fairly be called radical, or mere vagaries. The three vagaries of loans on produce, per capita currency, and change in the form of government were copied from the Populist platform of 1892, which is not now the party law. They were adopted in the beginnings of an organization in which the least steady men and the most extravagant notions naturally got the first hearing. They are not now orthodox Populist doctrine; and it is about as fair to represent them as such as to charge that Mr. McKinley is now in favor of free coinage of silver at the old ratio because only a few years before his nomination for the Presidency on a gold-standard platform he publicly demanded the restoration of silver to its former free-coinage status. The proposition to abolish the Executive and the Senate and lodge their functions in the House of Representatives is virtually a proposal to change from the Presidential to the Cabinet system, which is so "English" that it should give no umbrage to present conservative circles. The Democratic party never has advocated the demands quoted, excepting that for free coinage of silver.

The Populists, who favor public ownership of railways, are chiefly confined to the distinctively agricultural States, and are in the main practical farmers. There are very few socialists in these States. In 1892, when the Populists had their most radical platform, the socialist candidate for President received 21,191 votes; and they were all cast in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania,

where Populism has never been able to get a foothold. In 1896 the socialist candidate for President received 36,416 votes. Of these, Connecticut furnished 1,227, Illinois 1,147, Massachusetts 4,548, New Jersey 3,985, and New York 17,677; and all of these States gave overwhelming majorities against Bryan, the Populist candidate. In Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Texas, all of which went strongly for Bryan, only 172 socialist votes are recorded. Mr. Bryan was nominated by both Populists and Democrats, but their platform contained no socialist declarations. The socialist platform of that year defined socialism—what is now meant by the word—in its demand for "redistribution of the land and of all means of production, transportation, and distribution to the people as a collective body." It seems to me that it is essential to a rational discussion of present political conditions to keep this distinction in mind. The real socialists were the first in the field this year, with a candidate of their own kind for President; and they fiercely and truthfully denounced Mr. Bryan as an individualist.

State ownership of railways is persistently bundled up with the tenets of socialism by writers against "Bryanism." It is advocated by Populists who are mainly farmers and owners of their farms, with an anti-socialist end in view. The almost exclusively agricultural States are their strongholds, and these are great distances from the general market to which the vast surplus of their staple products must be transported by the railways. In the sharp competition with like products of the whole world, the cost of this transportation is of vital interest to these Western farmers. Long experience has convinced them, rightly or wrongly, that relief from excessive and inequitable freight charges, to say nothing of the inevitable pernicious influence of private railway corporations in politics, can be secured only through public ownership of the railways. They believe that this is necessary to successful private ownership of their farms, the private ownership of railways being naturally monopolistic and incompatible with the principle or practise of competition. The long-standing examples of pub-

lic ownership of railways in the countries of Continental Europe have not been regarded as socialistic; on the contrary, this policy is generally regarded by its advocates as a necessary expedient for insuring the free play of competition in other industries—in short, as a defense instead of an invasion of the competitive system.

These exceptions apply also to the classification of public ownership of municipal lighting-plants, water-works, and street railways as socialism. This policy is quite generally in vogue in countries where the competitve system is most firmly established and has the freest exercise; and it is upheld by conservative statesmen and parliamentary bodies. It appears to be growing in favor among all classes. The English Parliament, for example, has restricted the conditions under which tramway and municipal lighting companies may be chartered with the intention of facilitating the assumption of these functions by the municipalities themselves. It really seems like invoking socialistic bogies for the mere exhilaration of getting scared at them to include the demand of the Bryan platform of 1896 for a graded income tax in the list of frightful examples of Democratic socialism. It is barely worth while to recall that such a tax has been sustained in England by Conservative and Liberal parties since 1842 without being regarded as a socialistic measure or even tainting either of the great parties named with socialism. And the same may be said of the support of the income tax in this country from 1863 to 1872. Mr. Gladstone went so far as to contend that an inheritance or decedent tax is just, on the ground that the right of a person to hold and control property during his lifetime, being a conventional right, does not imply the right to control it after death; but that laws permitting the descent of property to relatives are based upon public expediency, having in view the duty of the citizen to provide for the support of his natural dependents so that they may not become a public charge after his death. Yet Mr. Gladstone was not classed as a socialist or a radical, or as having radical tendencies. If favoring municipal ownership of the so-called natural monopo-

lies is to be called socialistic, then Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, notably, and the leading men of all England must be called socialists, and the great municipalities of England are socialistic. And so if a considerable demand for State ownership of railways in this country is socialistic, then the governments of the principal countries of Continental Europe have long been socialistic. If the Democratic demand for a graded income tax makes socialists of Democrats, then Mr. Gladstone and Beaconsfield were and Salisbury is socialistic.

Thus it seems that in view of actual facts and tendencies we are past the stage of calling names and raising scare-heads; and already triumphant socialism may confidently ask, "What are you going to do about it?" Would it not be more hopeful and quieting and altogether saner and safer for our conservatives, who are "in a state of mind" over the fancied approach of the monster, State socialism, to look upon public ownership of the so-called natural monopolies as in effect a flank movement against, rather than a surrender to, their arch-enemy? Is it not a wholesome recognition of the truth, as well as safer, to regard this policy as a necessary *modus vivendi* outside the borders of State socialism? The other alternative seems to lead more likely and more quickly into the dreaded darkest interior. Public ownership of municipal industries is pronounced good where it has been most tried; and, if this good thing is a step within the confines of socialism, why should progress into the full interior be bad? Why indeed would it not be better? Verily, it seems that the nervous conservative is proving too much. Moreover, if public ownership of railways is to be condemned because it is socialistic, what is to become of our post-office and even our public-school system? It is perhaps trite to observe that there is no practicable industrial ground separated by a technical or definite line from the field of general coöperation or socialism. Our Constitutions, national and State, when first put into operation, stepped out of the strict confines of individualism. We have here a question of utility, of expediency, of progress to deal with; and we have had it from the beginning. The question is not whether

we should go outside the limit of strict individualism, but how far and how fast we may safely go.

In 1896 Mr. Bryan carried most of those States known as the "Solid South," and the States west of the Missouri River, with the exception of California and Oregon. From the present outlook his prospect of election this year depends upon the general support of those sections of the country. With the exception of the "silver States"—Colorado, Montana, Nevada, and Utah—which cast only 350,000 of the 6,506,835 votes Mr. Bryan received in 1896, this is a distinctively agricultural region, and in this respect may be differentiated from the States carried by Mr. McKinley. Furthermore, Populism is strongest in the exclusively agricultural States of the Western plains. These States are distinguished by the large percentage of the farmers who own the soil they till. Tradition, history, and reason sustain the theory that this class of people will oppose political radicalism, and in particular State socialism, more generally and obstinately than any other class, excepting the few very rich, when fairly confronted with it. These people will become more conservative as they develop and increase their property interests, relatively at least to the people of any other section or class.

Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan's audacious opportunism, of the facility with which he catches political sentiment of the hour and turns it to his own account, yet he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a Democratic ancestry; and this quality still inheres in the Democratic party in the main. Having observed Mr. Bryan's political beginnings and evolution, or, as others would put it, his evolutions, from the standpoint of a near neighbor, I have no doubt that he is a positive anti-socialist. And, whatever his political eccentricities, he is not a radical. He has given no sign that he favors public ownership of railways; neither has the Democratic party, and there is no likelihood that it will favor such a policy in its next national platform. Its platform of 1896 contains no socialistic plank. That platform was an outburst of resentment against

the old parties on account of their broken promises and abortive attempts to embody party creeds in legislation. In the twenty years from 1874 to 1894 the people sent decisive Democratic majorities to the lower house of all but two of the ten Congresses covering that period; and they were elected upon specific issues—that of a low tariff being particularly prominent throughout the period. Under our clumsy and contradictory system of "checks and balances," these Representatives were barred from executing their commissions, fresh from the people, by hostile and previously chosen Executives or Senates. In the one (or perhaps two) of these Congresses in which the Democrats had full sway, with a fellow-partizan in the chair, they illustrated the incompetency if not the break-down of party government by doing nothing but to turn long-suffering popular disappointment into hot resentment.

The hard times were the occasion rather than the cause of this first outbreak of national economic passion of 1896. The basis of the Western farmers' movement that developed the Populist party was a demand for reform in the administration of railways. By 1896 the net accomplishment of the remedial Interstate Commerce Commission, after a trial of ten years, was the complete demonstration of its imbecility. Cheated anti-monopoly, in the West especially, was looking for a sign and ripe for a Messiah; and it gave ready ear to the siren voice of free silver and its silver-tongued prophet. The demand for free silver was inspired more by a retaliatory spirit than is generally supposed. Here at least was a chance to offset the unjust tariff and transportation tribute so long and so despotically exacted by Eastern capital by paying off Eastern creditors with a cheapened dollar. In the peculiar circumstances, the ethical quality of this expedient was not so bad as its economic quality. It would be, over again, Samson pulling the temple down upon himself as well as upon the Philistines who tortured him. However short-sighted was this free-silver equalizing scheme, it was thoroughly human.

The great body of Mr. Bryan's supporters—the farmers of the West and South—have no thought of instituting or ad-

vancing socialism. On the contrary, they are in a campaign for overcoming obstacles to competition and individualism in all the ordinary industrial pursuits. Free silver has been virtually dropped—or, more accurately, it has fallen by its own weight. But it may be consistently and plausibly contended that it would be unwise to put "'Bryanism" in power next fall because it would be unwise to seem to encourage a revival of the silver question, which will be a nominal though it cannot be made a real issue in the campaign; or because business, so lately recovered from prostration, might shrink in timid fear of the radicalism which has been so much exploited, or of any political change whatever; or because the cause of civil service reform might fare even worse than it has fared under the present, or would fare under a succeeding Republican administration. For "Bryanism," standing as it does for the extension of government business, is singularly if not wantonly inconsistent in refusing by its attitude of devotion to Jacksonian spoils to make rational preparation for increased governmental functions. The fear expressed in some quarters that, in the hands of an administration characterized by Mr. Bryan's facile opportunism, the reforms that he and his party stand for would be set back rather than forwarded, may be worthy of consideration. But with its chief strength in the great agricultural region of the country, where its partizans are prosperously paying off mortgages and adding to their broad acres, is not the seat of "Bryanism" in fact at the antipodes of socialism? Thus far radical, paternalistic, or socialistic laws are only on the statute-books of those States which are relied upon to go most strongly against Bryan.

The controversial arenas of politics and religion are at present strikingly similar. The stiff conservative—who insists that an income tax, or public ownership of a certain class of industries, such as are here specified, is bad because it is socialistic, and will lead to general socialism—is in the same position as the religious preacher who insists that any departure from the letter of Calvin's Institutes or the Westminster Confession is heresy, and if countenanced would lead to the de-

struction of the Christian religion and the Christian Church. But the Protestant Church has preserved its life and insured its growth by the immemorial policy of yielding up dogmas as they have worn out or become untenable and replacing them with timely teaching. The political teacher or the statesman who disregards, or undertakes violently to obstruct, plain political tendencies, because to him they seem radical, is obsolescent. For fear that the Bible would be discredited, conservative ecclesiasticism decreed that the earth must nevertheless be flat after science had demonstrated that it is round; that it should still be fixed in the center of the universe after its heliocentric movement had been proved; that geology was a satanic fraud and evolution a vain device of the wicked. "Conservative" carriers violently obstructed the building of the first railways, and laborers cried out against the introduction of machinery lest they should be left without work. But infant damnation and predestined election of a part and perdition for the rest of mankind are now discredited, or only whispered in the darkest places; the earth is universally round, and that it "do move" there is none to dispute; geology is an exact science, and evolution a universal working hypothesis; railways do the carrying and machinery the manufacturing of the whole civilized world. Yet the priests of the Christian religion proclaim that the Bible is more generally accepted, the Christian Church stronger, and the Christian religion more widespread and useful than ever before; men are employed by thousands in transportation where they were employed by units before the railway came; and labor is far more steadily employed and better paid since the use of machinery became general.

The most salutary progress has come in the best way through the concession by ruling conservatism of an inch where radicalism demanded an ell. Where the inch is too long withheld the ell is apt to be seized with revolutionary violence. The ruler, whether an individual or a party, who does not concede the inch in such a case, lest the ell be later demanded, is no conservative; he is a fossil and a fool. At the present outlook

it does not appear that "Bryanism" if put in power would take even the inch. The inherent individualism of its controlling component, the Democratic party, at least would stand in the way.

What is erroneously and insidiously called socialism in the Populist and Democratic parties is a popular determination to do away with the inequitable and oppressive industrial advantage held by corporate combinations of capital, aided by laws such as protective tariffs and lack of proper laws to compel railway corporations to deal fairly and equitably with all alike. These people have no mind to take away unjust gains from the favored classes, but only to prevent them from making such gains in future at the popular expense. This is not socialism, in kind or degree, in letter or in spirit.

General socialism is a millennial ideality. In this country the obstructive character of our complicated lawmaking machinery, the all but controlling power over legislation of capitalistic combinations, and above all the inherent conservatism and individualism of the people, stand in the way of radical or socialistic legislation. It will be impossible for socialism to dominate or greatly influence legislation under our bi-party system. It will have to wait until its partizans become numerous enough to form an influential group in the national legislature, as under the German parliamentary system. As a conservative who has dwelt in the midst of an important group of our alleged socialists, namely, the Populists of the prairies, from their beginnings, I have to confess to a much greater fear of public injury through the difficulty or impossibility of securing needed laws and administration along progressive lines than through radical or socialistic measures. We have not had protective tariff laws because, as some contend, they are socialistic, but because they are essentially paternalistic and monopolistic, and therefore the very opposite of socialism.

It is true that the more emotional portion of Mr. Bryan's followers, incited by great political provocation, have made a noise about it far beyond the warrant of their numbers or their dangerous propensities. General Grant tells a story in his

memoirs which admirably illustrates this phenomenon. When he was encamped with a detachment of soldiers on the Texas prairies, one night they heard "a most unearthly howling of wolves. To my ear there must have been enough of them to devour our party, horses and all, at a single meal." To settle a dispute as to the number of the brutes required to produce this all-animating noise, Grant and a skeptical companion, "who understood the nature of the animal," rode out to the scene of the orgies. The hero of the greatest war of the century confesses that on the way he was so frightened that he was on the point of insisting that he ought to go back to camp to take care of a sick friend. But his experienced companion pushed him on to the test—which resulted in finding that the whole noise had been made by *two* wolves; and it is said that they were coyotes at that.

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## II. THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY BY LEGISLATION.

THE widespread spirit of unrest in the labor world at present manifesting itself in strikes is a socio-economic phenomenon upon which we cannot look with indifference. The object of these strikes is, in many instances, the securing of an increase of wages, and in others a decrease in hours. The problem of increase of wages we will not discuss, except incidentally, in the present paper, reserving it for future discussion, and will confine this inquiry to the question of the decrease in working hours. The length of day generally asked for is, in most lines, the eight-hour day; this is particularly true in industries making large use of machinery. The proposition of a change to an eight-hour day involves fundamentally two questions:

(1) Is the end, an eight-hour day, desirable?

(2) What means are best adapted to the attaining of the end proposed?

First, then, as to the end; for if that is undesirable, the question of means need not be considered. In the consideration of this question, many elements must needs be taken into account; yet I think they may fairly well be grouped under three heads: (1) Economic effects, (2) Physical health, and (3) Social health. The economic effects will be considered, very briefly, with reference to production, wages, consumption, price, profits, and trade.

According to Francis A. Walker, "there is little doubt that all the successive reductions in the working-day which have thus far taken place among certain laboring populations have resulted in an immediate gain to production, while they have led to a still further gain in the productive power of the generation following." Sidney Webb concluded, as a result of careful study of the statistics of the movement in this direction, that a general shortening of the hours of labor may slightly decrease the average productivity per worker, but will, by absorbing a part of the unemployed, increase the total production of the community. In 1860 the general secretary of the Masters' Association stated as "a fact that cannot be disputed that the production under the eight-hour system that has been introduced into the South Yorkshire district is greatly in excess of what was ever produced when the men worked twelve or thirteen hours a day." It is, therefore, reasonably safe to conclude that, from the standpoint of production, the eight-hour day is not undesirable.

According to the best authorities wages generally are more likely to be raised than lowered, though it is possible they may remain stationary. Between 1800 and 1840 the skilled artisan in England had succeeded in reducing his hours of labor about twelve a week, and wages rose 12½ per cent.; since 1840 the ten-hour day has been reduced to nine, and wages have risen still higher. New York State witnessed, in 1887, 256 strikes for shorter hours, and in every one of the trades where a reduction of hours was obtained a positive increase in wages is also reported. In 1860, six years after the enactment of the ten-hour law in Massachusetts, as a result

of an argument made before the legislative committee by Edward Atkinson, who had always been an active opponent of the law on the ground that its operation was injurious to the workingman (as they had to work for one-eleventh less than similar laborers in other States), the legislators ordered the Labor Bureau to investigate the hours of labor and wages paid in Massachusetts, the other New England States, and New York. This was done, and the result was as follows:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In Maine, | - | average hours, | 66⅛; | average wages per week, | | | $7.04 |
| " New Hampshire, | | " " | 66 1/7; | " | " | " | 7.44 |
| " Connecticut, | | " " | 66¼; | " | " | " | 7.81 |
| " Rhode Island, | | " " | 66 ; | " | " | " | 8.01 |
| " New York, | | " " | 65¼; | " | " | " | 7.57 |
| " Massachusetts, | | " " | 60 ; | " | " | " | 8.32 |

The result of this investigation—proving as it did that the average wage in Massachusetts was sixty-five cents more for 5½ hours less labor per week than the average in Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York—was far more eloquent than any words Mr. Atkinson could utter.

According to United States Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, the result of shortening the hours is found to be almost universally beneficial to the wage-earner.

Again, it has been argued theoretically and proved empirically that the adoption of the eight-hour day is followed by an increase in consumption. And this is natural, for one of two things has always resulted: (1) higher wages in proportion to production, or (2) the same amount of wages distributed among a larger number of men. The new demand for labor would increase the demand for commodities. On the other hand, the same remuneration to the same number for shorter hours gives them greater opportunities for developing their intellects and tastes, which in turn lead to a higher standard of living, or, in other words, greater consumption.

As to prices, "no effect will be produced upon prices generally," says Webb, "but some variation may result in some particular commodities." This could readily be deduced from the fact previously shown that the equilibrium between production and consumption, or supply and demand, is not disturbed.

Profits, of all variants, are most likely to fall. But profits, as commonly though perhaps not scientifically considered, are made up of insurance for risk, remuneration for superintendence, and interest on capital; and, as the first two would probably not be disturbed, the fall would be in loan interest. "The main permanent results," says Walker, "are likely to be a rise in 'real wages' and a fall in the normal rate of loan interest." And Webb says, again: "The aggregate payment for wages will almost certainly be larger and that for interest on capital smaller than before." This may be accounted for largely upon the ground of the increase in intelligence among the laborers and the resulting advantage to them in the play of forces.

Trade in the home market would be increased by reason of the increased demand for commodities, and it would not be likely to injure our export trade. The first conclusion is based upon what has already been shown with reference to consumption, and the second upon the fact that similar reductions in this and other countries have not so resulted. In the case of England, its foreign trade in textile exports especially increased. Even now in England the cotton-spinner works fewer hours than his foreign competitors, and, what is particularly to the point in our discussion, he finds competition keenest where hours are shortest (in Massachusetts), not where they are the longest (in Russia).

Having shown that the eight-hour day is not only economically possible but economically desirable, we will consider the question from the standpoint of physical health; and upon this phase of the question I cannot perhaps do better than to quote Dr. Richardson, who has summed up the matter very briefly and forcibly in the following words: "Muscular as well as mental kinds of work demand limitation of hours. Among those of us who have studied this subject most carefully there is, I believe, little difference of opinion. Taking it all in all, we may keep our minds on eight hours as a fair time for work. We may consider justly that a person that works hard and conscientiously for eight hours has, for health's sake, done what is near the right thing;

and in some occupations the eight-hour rule is absolute for health."

While the case for an eight-hour day is thus extremely strong from the point of view of physical health, it is even stronger from the standpoint of social health. If you compel men and women to work so long each day that they have little time and energy left for thinking, they will remain unthinking animals. Wider education is, at once, cause and effect of the eight-hour movement. In fact, the real force that gives vitality to the movement is a spontaneous longing for a brighter, fuller life, and a deep conviction that shorter hours of labor will serve this end. Men and women who toil for wages are growing tired of being only working animals. "They wish to enjoy as well as to labor; to pluck the fruits as well as to dig the soil; to wear as well as to weave." On all sides there is an expansion of life. New possibilities of enjoyment—physical, intellectual, social—are being more and more realized by the masses. Among all classes of laborers the demand for leisure is becoming keener, because leisure means more to them. At present, part of the laborers are overworked and have not time for enjoyment and culture; and the other part have no work—hence neither the means nor the spirit for recreation or education. The former are working anxiously, almost frenziedly, lest they should be thrown out of employment, and the latter look longingly for employment. Shorter hours would accord better with the interests of industry and, what is far more important, with the betterment of mankind. I am inclined to think that we may safely assume that the majority will be willing to admit that the long hours so generally worked in many trades inflict serious injury upon the social health of a community.

We may sum up our argument as to the desirability of the end as follows: In the ultimate analysis the wealth of a country depends upon the intelligence of its people; and, as attested by the public documents of all countries that have adopted the eight-hour system, it has had a beneficial effect upon the intelligence and character of the community. Those

nations and those classes of a nation which stand highest in the social scale are those whose wants are most numerous. What Adam Smith calls the "extent of the market" finally determines business prosperity and industrial progress—in short, all economic movement. Now, the "extent of the market" is governed by the normal consumption of wealth by the masses, and the consumption of wealth in any community is determined by the general standard of living in that community; and the standard of living is ultimately determined by the intelligence, the habits, and the character of the people. Therefore, whatever tends to increase the wants and improve the health and habits of the masses must necessarily tend to increase the consumption and production of wealth and thereby conduce to industrial advancement.

The creation of capital is due to the energy and intelligence of the whole body of workers of a country. Where these qualities are, capital will be found. Where they are absent, capital does not come into existence.

The question as to the desirability of the *end* may, with reasonable safety, be answered in the affirmative. What of the *means?*

There are three possible means for attaining the end, *viz.:* (1) voluntary concession by the employers, (2) insistence by the laborers, and (3) legislative enactment. The first of these we may dismiss as being a thing for which we cannot reasonably hope, inasmuch as employers, with very few exceptions, have always opposed this and similar movements. Why they should oppose such movements has already been suggested in the conclusion that profits are, more than any other factor, apt to suffer. But why they are opposed is a question for them to answer, and one with which we are not directly concerned—so long as the *fact* is that they are opposed.

The laborers may act independently or by combination. Acting individually the laborer can produce no greater effect upon the hours of labor in a highly-organized industry than he can upon the tides; hence, if anything is to be accomplished by the laborers they must combine. There are three possible ways

for them to combine: (1) a combination of the unemployed, (2) of the employed, and (3) of both. The first combination is not workable, because they have not the money to maintain an organization that would be effective. The second is better, and the third is the strongest possible. But as a matter of fact the "unions" have rarely been successful; for, as peaceful means, such as petitions, conferences, etc., have almost invariably failed, the men have in the last resort appealed to force. Yet strikes have as a rule failed in attaining their object, and even where they have succeeded it has been at immense cost, financially, and not infrequently in human life.

We have but one means left, which is by the action of society through legislation. This has theoretically and empirically an immense advantage over the other means; for, as a matter of experience, legislation upon this question has been almost invariably successful. "There was never any legislation adopted in any country in the world," says one writer, "that has yielded such good economic fruit. It is the one species of legislation which has never failed, and its results are limited only by the extent of its application."

In England the improvement in the condition of the laborers and the absence of injury to the capitalists were so marked that this legislation grew rapidly into public favor. Such was the unexpected result of the ten-hour bill of 1847, both upon the social condition of the people and the business prosperity of the community, that Sir Robert Peel, Earl Grey, Sir James Graham, and other statesmen who had spoken against the bill rose in their places in the House of Commons and openly apologized for their opposition, and later John Bright admitted his "mistake in opposing the bill." These are extremely valuable, not only as examples of manly frankness but also as evidence in favor of the beneficent workings of the law. Such was the operation of the bill that after twenty-seven years' experience under it a law was passed in 1874 reducing the hours of labor still further. It is in those portions of the country where short-hour legislation has had its effect that exceptional industrial progress is found. And along with

industrial progress has gone *pari passu* improvement in the intellectual and moral condition of the laborers. In commenting on the attitude of the English laborers toward the Union during our civil war, notwithstanding the unfriendly attitude of their government toward us, a well-known American writer uses the following language: "We in America owe more to the results of such legislation than we have yet learned to realize." In commenting upon the effect of labor legislation, so conservative and practical a writer as Webb makes the following statement: "In no case has the legal adoption of the eight-hour day resulted in any economic disaster." It is manifest that the most feasible way of establishing the eight-hour day is by legislation. The answer of experience in favor of eight-hour day legislation is ample and conclusive. Wherever such legislation has been tried its success has more than satisfied the expectations and sustained the claims of its most sanguine friends. We are advocating no untried experiment.

Before leaving the subject I wish to consider a question often raised by opponents of the law—"Is such legislation within the proper sphere of State activities?" It is not my purpose to discuss this question theoretically; for, in my judgment, the test of legislation is not its conformity or non-conformity to metaphysical dogma, but to the requirements of expediency. Legislation is a matter of practical work. That law is best which works best, just as that knife is best which cuts best. In other words, the end for which a knife exists is cutting; the end for which a law exists is the welfare of the people. Perchance it is a gross interference with that metaphysical entity, liberty of contract, for the State to say how many hours a day a man shall work in a certain trade; but it is an equal interference with his "liberty" for the State to prevent him from working as he pleases with phosphorus; yet it does, provided such method is grossly more injurious to health than another. The justification is to be found in its results. *Salus populi suprema lex.*

In advocating eight-hour legislation I do not wish to be understood as asserting it to be a panacea for all social and

economic ills. I am conscious of its limitations. There are some things it will do and others that it will not do. There are some lines of industry to which it would no doubt be inexpedient to apply it, but there are those to which experience has shown that it is fully applicable; that is a matter to be determined after a careful examination of all the facts in the case. Our proposition—the Eight-hour Day by Legislation—is, therefore, at once progressive and conservative; its end is the welfare of the community; and the means are, as shown by experience, best adapted to the attaining of the end.

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# MONGOLIAN *VS.* CAUCASIAN.

## I. China's Defensive Strength.

IN matters military and naval, China is bound by traditions as old as the very stones in the great Chinese wall. She has bought a great deal of modern war material, but she persists in using it according to the tactics of her ancient wise men and chieftains, who fought with pike, lance, and bow and arrow. I am not referring to that portion of the imperial Chinese army which is equipped with the weapons and military skill of modern warfare, for this force does not represent China as much as the military training of a small portion of her soldiers by German and Russian officers. If there are twenty-five thousand men in the imperial army capable of bearing modern arms, properly equipped with commissariat, surgical and transportation facilities, there are no more. The army boasts about four times as many men fully equipped and trained for service, but the army has not the means of moving them, or of keeping them in supplies and ammunition during extended marches; and there is no available force in the empire that could be deployed to open and maintain a line of supply against the harassing attacks of the allied forces. If the European officers in command of this army would be given free hands, the entire force would take up a defensive position behind the walls of Peking. If some Mandarin, ignorant of strategy, is suddenly appointed to the generalship—and this is to be expected—it will only be a question of time when this army, the only actually mobile force of China, will go to pieces in an aggressive campaign against the allied forces.

As long as the Chinese soldier thinks his general knows something about war, he will fight; but if he has the least suspicion of his incompetency, he will bolt. When he is fighting in the trenches, nothing but an iron discipline will prevent him from getting up and making grimaces at the enemy in the

belief that it will tend to scare him off. That he exposes himself to the fire of the enemy every time he bobs up is a minor consideration with him. In making faces at the "foreign devils" he has honored a time-worn custom, and the mere fact of his having done so is dearer to him than any move of strategy by which he might defeat the enemy. His military training consists to a large extent in bow and arrow practise, but, as Lord Beresford observed when he was inspecting the Chinese army, it is not so much a matter of hitting the target as to assume, in launching the shaft, the "proper" attitude. The Chinese drill-master does not care how well his men shoot, but the manner in which they recline and hold their bows is incomprehensibly dear to him. Instead of wearing a sword at his side, the Chinese "brave" wears—an umbrella. If it rains, up goes the regimental umbrella; and thus a whole army corps will march even if the bright colors of their paper umbrellas attract the attention of the enemy. The "sword" is generally fastened at the end of a seven-foot pole of heavy, dense wood, and this weapon is used in the manner of a lance and a pike combined. In many cases the soldiers have been furnished with modern rifles and accoutrements, but the viceroys of the interior report that they have the greatest difficulty in inducing the men to keep the weapons, which they consider inferior on account of their small size and strange mechanism. The men are used to the guigal, a sort of musket of the old flint-lock pattern, but several times heavier, and having a one-inch diameter smooth bore. It takes two strong men to hold the gun on their shoulders, while a third shoots it off. It roars like a cannon and kicks like a mule, and the bullet is likely to hit anything between heaven and earth except the target aimed at. Nevertheless, the Celestial soldier wants the guigal because it looks formidable and makes a sinful noise. In Chinese warfare the object seems to be to scare off the enemy rather than to kill him off. When finally modern arms were imported for the imperial soldiery, no less than fourteen styles of rifles were distributed among the army; so that it was necessary to use a large variety of ammunition, which became

inextricably mixed between the different divisions. A Lee-Metford man would try to jam Mauser cartridges into his gun, while a Mauser man would be struggling with Lee-Metford ammunition.

There is no compulsory military service in China. Every man is hired at a rate varying from six to eight cents a day. On this pittance he is expected to clothe and board himself. A large proportion of the soldiers are married, and carry their wives and children around with them from camp to camp. If recruits are wanted, a signboard is put up in front of the colonel's tent, which seldom fails to draw the rabble of the city. The sergeants select the fittest-looking ones, and from these the colonel, sitting inside the tent in a red rocking-chair, picks his men. The test is simplicity personified, but not very thorough. The applicants are required to lift a bamboo pole loaded with weights at the ends, aggregating about 135 pounds, and those who can lift it over their heads are given 25 cents in "recruiting money" and enrolled as soldiers of the empire. It is not difficult to understand why the military strength of China has been reduced to one of passive defense, and why it is not possible for her to take the aggressive even if strategy demanded it. The organization of her army forces shows how helpless she really is in spite of hordes of fearless fighters.

The Chinese army properly consists of two main divisions, which, after a fashion, may be regarded respectively as the regular and the irregular troops of the empire. The smallest but presumably best drilled part is the so-called army of the Eight Banners. This army specially appertains to the Manchu dynasty, the reigning family of which organized it more than two hundred and fifty years ago. The nationalities composing the banner forces are three in number; namely, Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese, the last consisting of the descendants of those natives of Northern China who joined the Manchu invaders during the period of their contest with the Ming dynasty in the early part of the seventeenth century. Each nationality bears the Manchu designation Ku-sai. The banner division is in fact a Peking institution, with branches and offshoots in

the various provincial garrisons. A certain number of the adult males of the force receive pay as members of some of the military corps into which they have, from time to time, been incorporated, in addition to their pittance as soldiers of the banner. The current annual budget set aside for the banner force is between six and seven million dollars, but a considerable percentage of this money finds its way into the pockets of thieving Mandarin commanders. If this money had been properly expended since the war with Japan, which furnished the impetus for the reorganization of the banner force as it is, the Eight Banners of China might have been able to muster about a hundred thousand well-armed and fairly well-trained men, with commissariat and transportation departments. As it is, only about one-fourth of this number can be relied on to render effective service; and, led as they are by German and Russian officers of skill and experience, these 25,000 banner men are in a position to face an equal number of the allied forces with a fair chance of success. However, if the foreign officers in command should refuse to fight against the invading troops of their own people, which is not improbable, it would fare badly with the banner men; for, although there are many competent native non-commissioned officers among them, and a fair sprinkling of subalterns, yet no staff of Chinese generals could be formed capable of matching the military strategy of the allied forces. Outside of fighting this the finest arms of the Chinese Empire, the question of disposing of the rest of China's vast provincial army is merely a question of killing men by the thousand as quickly as they are thrown forth into range of the guns of the allied forces.

The provincial army, then, is the national arms of the empire—the vast aggregation of irregulars—in contradistinction to the banner force, as being a Manchu institution nurtured into growth by the reigning dynasty. There are more than half a million of these troops scattered throughout the provinces of the empire, and the estimated cost of their maintenance is about twelve million dollars annually, with allowance, of course, for the traditional "rake-off" for the Mandarins. They are divided

into land forces and marines. The entire army is an absolutely effete organization, discharging the duties of sedentary garrisons and local constabulary, but superseded, when active service is required, by the "braves" who correspond to our volunteers, and are enlisted and discharged according to the needs of each province. The officers of the irregulars are usually invested with rank as "expectants" of appointments to commissions in the regular service. The commander-in-chief for each province is the reigning viceroy. The force is armed and trained according to his ideas. If he is a progressive man —which few of them are—you may find the better part of his troops furnished with modern fire-arms and tolerably well drilled; if he is hostile, as most of them are, to Western civilization, only a small percentage of the troops will be found to possess efficient arms. It is safe to say that out of the half million irregular troops there are probably less than fifty thousand bearing modern weapons and capable of using them with discipline in the field. The army is scattered throughout no less than eighteen provinces, comprising an area considerably larger than the United States; it is cut up into eighteen divisions, commanded by eighteen viceroys, and it is so lacking in commissariat and transportation facilities that it would probably take over half a year for its various divisions to collect at a central point for the purpose of forming a united main attack. There is, however, not the slightest prospect of such a move. The viceroys are mutually jealous, and, as they are independent of one another as well as of the Peking government, it is not likely that any concerted action on their part will take place. Only a few of the viceroys governing the northern provinces are kindly disposed toward the Manchu dynasty. The government well knows that it cannot rely on the viceroys in the southern provinces, as they are only anxious for the extermination of the Manchu dynasty; and if they are to turn their troops to any account they may be found on the side of the allied forces, in the hope that their ultimate victory may insure a new and better government. In times of war the irregular army is officered by 16 generals, 64 lieutenant-generals, 280 colonels, 373 lieu-

tenant-colonels, 425 majors, and about 500 lieutenants and non-commissioned officers.

Both the regular and the irregular troops consist almost entirely of infantry and artillery. Cavalry is lacking on account of the difficulty of securing suitable horses in the coast provinces, but the Chinese officials insist that the irregular army includes a force of forty thousand mounted warriors stationed somewhere in Manchuria. Like the general run of Chinese estimates given to foreigners, this number is doubtless much exaggerated, and the alleged cavalry is presumably little more than a horde of reckless, but undisciplined, Tartar horsemen. Outside the unorganized numbers of "Boxers," which are not to be feared even if the report be true that they have been permitted to arm themselves at the Chinese government arsenal, the mentioned divisions of China's army practically constitute what may be regarded as her defensive strength on land.

Although several modern ships have been added to China's navy since her disastrous war with Japan four years ago, it is, in fact, more of a navy on paper than anything else. If the list were cut down to the really available vessels of war, which could be despatched against the fleets of the allied forces with some reason for making a show, the Chinese squadron would be reduced to little more than a "light luncheon" for the armor-plated palate of the allied navies. In spite of her new torpedo-boat destroyers and her new cruisers, mainly German built, China could not hope successfully to fight any one of the foreign fleets now anchored in the bay of Pechili. As a British naval expert said upon his recent return from an inspection of the Chinese naval forces, "in case of war it will only be a question of what foreign Power will bring up the vessels of the Chinese navy as prizes."

There is no reason why China's naval strength should be in this pathetic condition, for the government has spent money enough to warrant a fair result—had the work of building up the navy been intrusted to honest men instead of pilfering officials, who have lined their own pockets with treasury ap-

propriations. The Kiangnan arsenal is an exception. It was built by British engineers for the Chinese government, and is to this day superintended by an expert from Elswick. No Mandarin fingers were permitted in the pie. The constructing company had free hands, and were successful in establishing the only modern and completely equipped arsenal in China. It was built as much with a view of supporting the work of rebuilding the navy as for making ordnance and fire-arms for the army. The arsenal has an engine department capable of turning out marine engines up to three thousand horse-power, and an iron ship and boiler yard, containing a slip upon which has been built an iron cruiser of two thousand tons with a speed of fourteen knots. There are, in addition, a small-arms factory, manufacturing Remington rifles, the production of which amounts to two hundred a week, but which may be increased to at least one thousand on demand; an iron and brass foundry, which has turned out castings up to thirty tons each; a projectile department, with a daily capacity of five tons, ranging from the six-pounder shell for field guns up to the eight-hundred-pound shell for Krupp rifles; an ordnance department making guns up to forty tons, and equipped with a variety of boring and turning lathes; a steam hammer striking a blow of one hundred and thirty-five foot-tons; and a furnace that will admit work one hundred feet long.

There are several other arsenals in the empire, but most of them are managed by Mandarins; and, although the work turned out by foreign engineers in charge of the various branches of the production is, as a rule, up to the standard requirements, yet the Mandarins have been known so to interfere with the processes of manufacture as to make the output of the arsenal worse than useless. Thus, while the French fleet was off Tamsui—a British official is responsible for the story, which has the earmarks of authenticity—the 27-centimeter Krupp guns in one of the shore batteries had been trained on the "Gallissonière" at one thousand yards' range for several days. At the first shot from the French cruiser, all the Chinese artillerymen fled except one, who succeeded in discharging three

guns before a shot struck him and blew his head off. One of the shells he fired pierced the ship and remained imbedded in the woodwork, failing to explode. The vessel went to Hongkong, where with infinite precautions the shell was removed and opened. It had been manufactured at the Foochow arsenal and contained—charcoal! The maker had, of course, been paid for gunpowder and pocketed the difference. Already in the present uprising we hear of Chinese shells that refuse to explode, and there can be no doubt that a large percentage of the projectiles made at the arsenals in charge of Chinese officials have been dishonestly compounded.

The Chinaman's idea of fortified defense is substantial but ancient. He believes in mammoth instruments of warfare, and huge walls as thick as they are high. There are probably not ten Chinese in Peking at this moment who have considered the danger to themselves of what they consider their main defense, namely, the great city wall. Here are twenty miles of stonework, with toppling towers and threatening buttresses behind which about two million people are hiding in the belief that the walls are strong enough to keep out the "foreign devils." A volley of eight-inch shells would bring down the strongest tower on the wall, and the tower in falling would do far more damage to human life and property in the city than the bursting of the shells. Every time a projectile strikes the wall some part of it is bound to give way, and the falling fragments constitute the chief danger to the inhabitants. When the French bombarded Canton their shells caused the greatest havoc whenever they hit the walls and brought down portions of it. Accordingly, the French gunners concentrated their fire on the towers, with the result that the city was demoralized after great loss of life among the inhabitants. Nevertheless, Canton built up her walls anew, being evidently as little disposed to learn from the "foreign devils" by experience as it is natural for the Chinese to be.

Although the forts are a factor in China's defense, they are probably her weakest spot. Exceedingly well gunned as some of them are, and occupying strategic positions of great im-

portance, when the fighting begins in earnest China will have so few thoroughly drilled men to send against the allied forces that it is doubtful if she could spare her best men to hold forts that, for the most part, would capitulate in the end from lack of provisions and storage. It is, however, likely that a few of these forts will be held; and, unless the allied armies succeed in cutting off the Chinese supplies, they may find heavier ordnance behind the fortifications than they are able to put into the field. The lack of transportation facilities, and the impossibility of opening a line of communication and supply in the face of the allied forces, will presumably seal the fate of even the most powerful of these forts.

In a critical survey of China's war material one is invariably struck with the stern way in which China will order ships and guns and ammunition, and the ridiculously childish fashion in which she, with a few exceptions, turns her war purchases to use. She is not afraid to spend two million dollars on a cruiser, but she is liable to put the ship in charge of some Mandarin who may never have been aboard a man-of-war in his life, who is sea-sick as long as the vessel is in commission, and who must depend on the junior officers for the management of the duties that properly belong to his office. A Chinese admiral squatting on the forecastle deck playing dominoes with the sailors is not an uncommon sight. An admiral has been known to beat a sailor out of all his money and then turn to the quartermaster asking him to advance the man some money on his pay-roll so as to enable him to take up the game again! Wherever foreign officers and instructors are superseded by Mandarins, a similar state of disorder obtains. And this is unfortunate, for if there is any one great nation that has every incentive for maintaining an efficient navy it is China. Her seamen are among the hardiest in the world, she has many natural harbors and navigable rivers, and she has a large seacoast to defend.

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## II. Philosophic Basis of Chinese Conservatism.

THE religious or philosophic systems that have exercised the greatest influence upon the Chinese race are Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism; but Taoism has done more to fossilize the Chinese mind than the other two combined. Taoism had for its founder and expounder the celebrated Lâo-tsze, who was born in the year 604 B.C. It takes its name from "Tao," or "The Way," expressing not a Being, or Divinity, but rather the personified divine *mode of action* as seen throughout creation. Tao is the divine operation of things, and from it all things flow. Yet Tao, while producing all things in earth and sky and sea, never does anything! Tao accomplishes results in the government of the universe "by doing nothing." Thus Taoism as a philosophic system is the *philosophy of doing nothing;* and whoever models his life after the plan of Tao is acting upon the surest of foundations. "Tao does nothing; so there is nothing that it does not do." In this dictum, found in the texts of Taoism, may be discovered not only the kernel of this ancient Chinese philosophy, but the origin of modern Chinese conservatism and opposition to Occidental civilization and science.

The highest virtue that man can possess is the imitation of the ways of heaven; and if the world be ruled and sustained by Tao, and if vegetation sprouts and stars shine with no visible *effort* on Tao's part, then men in their daily vocations ought to imitate Tao's method of inactivity, and do nothing! It is action—doing; aspiring after new things—that violates Tao and produces all the miseries of mankind. Only a return to Tao's methods—to absolute passivity—can ever regenerate the human race.

Such is the gist of the Taoistic philosophy, and the Chinese sages point backward to the remote time when perfect virtue and happiness reigned because of the rule of Tao in all human affairs. "Paradise" was the state in which men then lived—

a state in which knowledge was never sought after, and in which neither virtue nor vice prevailed, because men did not strive to alter their condition. Thus the early paradise of the Taoistic system was an existence characterized by "doing nothing," resulting in the continuance of order and blessedness.

The ninth book of the "Tao Teh King," the Taoistic classic, thus pictures primeval man:

"The people had their regular and constant nature; they wove and made themselves clothes; they tilled the ground and got food. They were all one in this and did not form themselves into separate classes: so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies. Therefore, in this age of perfect virtue men walked along with slow and grave step, and with their looks steadily directed forward. On the hills there were no foot-paths nor excavated passages; on the lakes there were no boats or dams. All creatures lived in companies, and their places of settlement were made near to one another. Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds; the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long. Birds and beasts might be led about without feeling the constraint; the nest of the magpie might be climbed to and peeped into. Yes, in the age of perfect virtue men lived in common with birds and beasts and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family. Equally without knowledge, they did not leave the path of their natural virtue; equally free from desires, they were in a state of pure simplicity. In that pure simplicity their nature was what it ought to be."

It has been back toward this primeval paradise that the Taoistic apostles have ever tried to direct the Chinese people; and their age-long efforts, while not resulting in a revival of the primitive Chinese "Eden," have nevertheless fossilized and stereotyped the civilization of China to such an extent as to raise an almost insurmountable barrier against the influx of Western learning. The primitive Chinese "Eden" was a state of happiness in which men had no desire after knowledge or change; when they were virtuous without knowing virtue, and simple without realizing their simplicity. They lived, or existed, in accordance with Tao—doing nothing and desiring nothing. But, as soon as this state of passivity or inaction was violated, in later ages, by a striving after knowledge; when

men began to try to set up governments and rulers; when they commenced to think and learn: then it was that Tao's quiescent ways were set aside, resulting in social chaos, vice, suffering, and political turmoil.

Thus we see that government itself—the very laws that control the body politic—grew out of the sin of *activity,* according to Taoism. Says the "Tao Teh King": "Allow all things to take their natural course and admit no personal or selfish consideration—do this, and the world will be governed." Perhaps no quotation better than this reflects the practical working of Taoism in every age among the Chinese. "Acting without action is what is called heaven-like" is another Taoistic axiom firmly fixed in the Chinese mind, expressive of the best method of living and accomplishing things.

The Taoistic philosophy has been practised by kings as well as by philosophers. The greatest rulers of the Middle Kingdom have been those who "did nothing," as faithful disciples of Lâo-tsze; for the dictum was ever ringing in the monarch's ears: "If a prince proceed to active movement he will lose his throne!" The ruler's power falls and the people are rendered unhappy by every attempt at *active* government; therefore, for a king or prince to "sit down and do nothing" is the highest and best way to govern. This is Chinese Taoistic philosophy, pure and simple, applied in high stations, and no doubt it has done quite as much good as harm to the rulers and people of the Flowery Land. It kept the Chinese people at home, in the enjoyment of simplicity and quiet, while the rest of the world was bathed in human blood. It has made them a peace-loving and agricultural nation, dwelling under the benign sway of Tao, "taking no thought for the morrow" in its most absolute sense, and separating the Chinese from the outside world governed by the philosophy of action.

To the Chinese mind instilled with Taoism all things arise and exist from the inaction or passivity of the powers producing them:

> "*Heaven* does nothing, and thence comes its serenity.
> *Earth* does nothing, and thence comes its rest."

Yet in the midst of all this "serenity" and "rest" the Taoist beholds activity and motion. "All things, in all their variety, grow from this inaction [of Tao]." Hence it is said: "Heaven and earth do nothing, and yet there is nothing that they do not do."

So with mentality. The same philosophy rules the mind. Speaking of the *correct* mind, the text says: "Being correct, the mind is still; being still, it is pellucid; being pellucid, it is free from occupation; being free from occupation, it is in the state of inaction—in which state it accomplishes everything." Again: "Perfect speech is to put speech away; perfect action is to put action away." Thus the Taoistic classical books go on with their interminable round of axioms and rules of living, all centering in the philosophy of "doing nothing." Perfect government is "not governing at all." Perfect speech is "keeping silence." Perfect virtue is "being virtueless."

In the Taoistic system is discoverable the key to the present upheaval of conservatism against liberalism and progress in the Middle Kingdom. As the happiness of the nation in the past has been the outcome of a more or less faithful following of the Taoistic philosophy, so the breaking down of the barriers set up by this system, through the activities of the *reforming* element in our own day, ends in just what the old Taoists prophesied. As long as both ruler and people sat still and did nothing, just so long quiet and peace would reign; but the hour of *activity* would end in political upheaval and misery.

Have not the old Taoists spoken the truth quite as often as the opposite? In their own terms, have they not prophesied for China just what has already happened in Europe during the centuries of great intellectual awakening? Progress invariably means turmoil and revolution. Activity in any field culminates in violent reaction. This is what is now happening in the Middle Kingdom. The Emperor and his reforming party violated Taoism by their progressive activity and fell. Terror reigns instead of peace.

No nation or people was ever so happy as the Chinese in

their policy of "doing nothing." Happy they have been in many respects through the application of Taoistic principles, although mental stagnation has likewise been a concurrent feature. It is because of this same Taoism—this philosophy of "doing nothing"—that the very jewels and precious minerals have as yet been unsought, for, says the Taoist, "not allowing anything external to affect the will is what is called being perfect." "Being such, he lets the gold lie hid in the hill and the pearls in the deep."

There is *cause* for everything. There is a cause for the present uprising in the great northern provinces of China, directed against the invading Western civilization; and it is undoubtedly to be found in the tight hold that Taoism has upon all classes of the Chinese people. It is not satisfying to us to ascribe the present reign of terror at Peking to mere conservatism, since conservatism itself must have an impelling force at its back. This force is Taoism, which for ages has, indeed, been synonymous with conservatism in the empire of the "Son of the Sun."

The Chinese people cannot be understood and handled either by missionary or statesman without a prior knowledge of those time-honored religions and philosophies that have engendered that spirit of conservatism which the Western world would now so suddenly break down by force of arms. It is a sad commentary upon our diplomatic and missionary staffs that their members seldom, if ever, have been close students of Chinese philosophy and religious systems, not to speak of their absolute ignorance of Chinese literature. Were our diplomatic representatives in China selected for their respective offices as much upon the basis of their familiarity with Chinese thought, custom, and government as upon individual ability in purely governmental affairs, thus permitting them to get into more intimate contact with the body of the people, the barriers of conservatism now being assailed might be surmounted and removed with less bloodshed on both sides. A prior breaking down of the gigantic barrier of Taoism would be a far more humane and effective method of reaching the heart of the Chi-

nese people than the use of cannon. Even should the allied forces of the Powers succeed in gaining a firm foothold on Chinese soil, still there will remain that mighty force—Taoism—to be battled with for hundreds of years to come; for it has made of the Chinese people at once the most peaceable and the slowest-moving race on the face of the earth.

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## III. OUR ASIATIC MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

THE "Boxer" troubles and the subsequent war in China have resulted in large part from our efforts to force our system of religion upon the Chinese. That they should dislike our missionaries, whom they style "foreign devils," is perhaps natural. We would doubtless show the same spirit were their missionaries to come to this country with the view of converting us to their theology and philosophy. Yet their religion is older than and somewhat similar to ours. In their system is embodied the Ten Commandments of our Scriptures, and also what we term the Golden Rule.

While we differ from the Chinese and from other Oriental peoples in the manner of worship, and on many theological points, they and all other peoples virtually agree that there is a Supreme Being—that there is some kind of a Deity. They admit, by implication, that there is a Creator, but disagree as to whether He or His creation is self-existent. And it is this that gives rise to creeds and theological discussions. Whether they be heathen or Christian, no matter how widely they may differ in formulas, there is a stratum of morality underlying all, founded upon the soul of eternal Truth. While all religions are not entirely perfect, none of them are wholly wrong; for all beliefs spring from the *soul,* which contains at least an element of right and justice, even though the man be a savage. This stands to reason; otherwise how were truth and justice established on earth, and how came civilization to be evolved?

It came from *within,* because "at the beginning" there were no outside influences.

Since, then, all peoples have a system of religion based upon truth and morality, which qualities are inherent, why should we attempt to force our theology upon others; or why should they attempt to induce us to believe as they do? We do not *know* that ours is better than theirs. We *believe* so, from the lights before us; and they hold the same opinions. Nothing has been or can be added to the eternal truths that all peoples have evolved from their inner consciousness and woven into a system of religion. We have it on the authority of our own Scriptures that the "*whole* duty of man" is to "fear God and keep his commandments." Then it would seem that it matters not what formulas are adopted by the various peoples—since all religions spring from the same source. All human beings are endowed with similar faculties. Let the peoples throughout the world work out their individual destiny! This was evidently intended by the Creator, in creating them differently and in separating the various nationalities with different languages.

We have a wide field in *this* country for missionary work. In all our cities there are people suffering for the necessaries of life; yet we send yearly large sums of money to our missionaries in China and other countries to the neglect of our own people, who likewise need spiritual teaching. They also need education, for before a person can be thoroughly Christianized he must be *educated* in order to understand the doctrine. The money spent upon foreign missions should be applied to the educational and other wants of our own "heathen." Our missionaries to foreign countries must first learn the language of the peoples they are sent to convert—or else teach them our language. This necessitates time and expense. In our own country this work would be simplified and less expensive, and no doubt more productive of good results; for the missionaries would not encounter that race prejudice which is their first stumbling-block, nor would they have to combat old beliefs and traditions.

All primitive peoples have legends of the creation, the "fall of man," a "flood," the "temptation of the Good Spirit;" and there are beliefs of a miraculous conception and the virgin birth of a god antedating ours. All ancient peoples have a tradition or belief that their country was the original "garden" of Paradise and the center of the universe. The Chinese whom we are trying to convert have an earlier and similar belief to that held by the Hebrews, as written in Genesis. Is it likely that we can graft our version of the creation upon them when theirs is more ancient, and especially as ours offers nothing new? The Chinese may tell our missionaries: "Our civilization is older than yours; why should we change it?" Many Chinese scholars claim for their country a civilization having an antiquity of sixty thousand years. Our is only six thousand years old, according to modern theologians; while our "ancient" theologians claimed the heritage of a much shorter period.

The Chinese may tell us, too, that they also have read ancient history and have received traditions from the ancients that antedate the Hebrew Scriptures, and ask us why we claim to possess the "only true faith." They will show to our missionaries (many of whom seem never to have read other traditions) that our system of religion was taken from that of the Chaldeans and Babylonians—likewise our account of the creation, the "fall of man," etc. The Chaldeans also have a legend of a war between the gods, the consequent fall of the evil god, and subsequent sin upon the earth. Inscriptions on Egyptian temples show the gods modeling man from clay. These legends and myths of creation descended to other races more ancient than the Hebrews, and finally the Hebrews "borrowed" them and constructed the history and theology of our Scriptures.

The Chaldean Creator pronounces his work to be "beautiful." The writer's conception is that of the evolution of earth from water—that all living things were evolved from water, or earth. The Hebrew writer's conception is similar, and thus he made the error of giving two different accounts of the creation in the first and second chapters of Genesis. He makes

the Creator pronounce His work "good," instead of "beautiful," as ascribed to the Chaldean God. It is also noticed by scholars that the Chaldeans wrote that the earth was flat, resting upon the waters, with a "firmament" above, which extended down to the horizon of the earth, and that there were "waters above the firmament." The ancient Egyptians had a similar view, adding that there were "four corners" to the earth. The Persians taught analogous ideas, but contributed nothing new. The Hebrews adopted these ancient beliefs and myths, adding nothing new—as is seen in the account of the creation attributed to Moses, who also fell into their errors—but changing the location of the Garden of Eden from ancient Chaldea to their own country, asserting it to be the center of the universe, and declaring themselves to be the "chosen people of the Lord." All ancient peoples made this claim; even our modern Mormons are guilty of the same egotism. A just God has no "chosen" people—he cannot be partial with the children of his own creation.

The Chinese believe not only that their country is the center of the universe, or the "middle kingdom," but that all other beliefs are wrong. They claim that their priests are as infallible as ours. They do not attempt to force their system of religion upon us. We would receive their missionaries very coldly—perhaps violently; yet their religious belief embodies the same truths that ours contains—the same substantially that are found in all. Truth inheres in humanity. China is one of the oldest civilizations, and was among the first to evolve a system of religion. The philosophy of the Chinese embraces more of human knowledge than does that of any other race, perhaps. They have a rich literature. They practised the precepts of religion centuries before ours was written. They have read the history of the ancient Hebrews, and of their long list of robberies and murders of prisoners of war, and of women and children. They naturally conclude that, if these stories be true, they do not want Christianity.

The Old Testament story has no place in any Bible. It is a detriment to missionary work. The Chinese are not more

cruel—not even the "Boxers" who have murdered missionaries and the "foreign devils." Racial hatred exists among all peoples, both civilized and savage, and it is but natural that China, with a civilization and religion much older than ours, should resent our attempt to "Christianize" them. They have read that territorial conquest almost invariably follows spiritual conquest—these often go together. They are familiar with the bloody conquests of Spain, which sent out priests with its armies—the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other. Millions of inoffensive and moral people were murdered because they would not adopt the Spaniards' oppressive theology. They were murdered in order to "save their souls." The Spaniards established the Inquisition wherever their armies conquered, and perhaps one million people were murdered in the "name of the Lord." And yet their theology was no better than the beliefs they attempted to supplant. Indeed, the Peruvians were an inoffensive and religious people; so were the Mexicans, the natives of the Caribbees, and the Indians of California and the Southwest.

The barbarities of the Spaniards are unsurpassed in the annals of crime. Are we, an enlightened nation, to repeat their cruelties in China, in the Philippines, and in the Caribbees? We are not called upon to Christianize or civilize the world—especially as our own country is so rich a field for missionary work. In view of these territorial conquests under the guise of religious work, the Chinese naturally regard all missionaries as spies—preparing the way for territorial conquest. Furthermore, the missionaries, as a rule, are a constant source of trouble—in interfering with the local temporal affairs of the countries to which they are assigned. Naturally zealous, and often bigoted, they can see nothing good or just in any foreign institutions, temporal or spiritual—just as some of them interfere in politics and in other temporal matters in this country, and quarrel with all other creeds than their own. The Chinese say, philosophically: "You believe this; we believe something else. Why should we quarrel about it? Let us be friends." But, with our "Christian" theology, it is "believe as we do, or

we are enemies. We are Christians and you are heathens." This is contrary to our own Bible, which teaches that we should love our neighbors as ourselves—or at least tolerate them.

The vast sums of money sent to China and other countries, to Christianize peoples who have a moral doctrine as good as our own, would feed the hundreds of thousands of poor in our cities who are virtually starving under the shadows of our costly church-buildings, from which so much Christian charity is preached and so little practised. The Chinese hold that they are already civilized, and that they are in advance of this and of other countries in that respect. Other countries hold similar views. Civilization does not consist so much in education as in morality, but it embodies both. The natives who were murdered in Peru, Mexico, and elsewhere in America were more civilized than the Spaniards who sought to Christianize them. They peacefully worshiped their own gods and were as devout, though not as fanatical, as their oppressors. It is difficult to induce a people to abandon what they believe to be true and to adopt a theology that is new to them. A mental revolution is necessary, and, as the metamorphosis also involves a change in habits and customs, it is accomplished with the greatest difficulty—if at all. These beliefs are so firmly implanted as to become "second nature"—they cling to the memory like the earliest recollections of home in old age. All peoples seem satisfied with the theological system of their ancestors, or that under which they were born. There is a germ of truth and morality in all of them; and from the spark of humanity in the breast of human beings everywhere a religion is evolved to suit the condition of each class and nationality, according to the quarter of the globe in which the Creator has placed it.

There is no "universal" theology, any more than there is a universal race. The claim of the Hebrews that they are the original human race, and that the Hebrew is the original language from which all others are derived, is as preposterous as the claim that the Hebrew Scriptures are original. Evidence is now available that these writings were taken mainly from Chaldean myths and legends, as already stated. The Egyp-

tians have similar traditions, and pictures have been unearthed of animals (which Adam named "in the beginning") that are known to have existed long before the Biblical date of the creation. The Chinese have a similar legend that the animals were named by their god, Fohi, whom they worshiped centuries before "Adam" came upon earth. They have in their philosophy psalms much like those attributed to David, and of a greater antiquity than our Bible. They hold the "confusion of tongues" to be a myth—citing a Brahman legend to the effect that a tree was growing heavenward, and, to prevent it from reaching the "firmament" where the gods reposed, Brahma blasted it with fire. They have a legend of a sunken city, which no doubt furnished material for the Sodom and Gomorrah Biblical narration, and also another similar to the sinking of the valley of Siddim and the sea of salt. In Indian mythology there is a story parallel with that of the surgical operation by which "Eve" was brought forth, and another that Ramba was changed into salt for inconstancy. The beautiful story of Joseph was no doubt derived from the Chaldean romance entitled "The Two Brothers." The Chaldean account of the "flood" is similar to ours, only that the deluge was not general; neither was that of which the Chinese have a legend. The Chinese have a tradition that their god Tu, born in the first dynasty, was of miraculous conception, and that a star lighted the way to his place of birth. There is a similar legend of the god Horus, in Egypt, and of Krishna. All earlier civilizations, or peoples, have the same traditions that we have —probably all of them evolved from the same source, the first race, or perhaps evolved from within themselves, out of the inner consciousness—of a god and a creation, or First Cause.

Recent discoveries by geologists in Egypt prove that the earth has existed much longer than sixty thousand years, as claimed by the Chinese, whom we are trying to convert to our theology, the cardinal principles of which they practised for several thousand years before the Hebrews borrowed it from the ancients. Tablets have been unearthed in *Babylonia* that give two different narratives of the "flood," precisely as found

in the first and second chapters of Genesis. While we have copied the error of the Chaldean narrative, the Chinese give only one account. And when our missionaries begin to tell one of these "benighted heathen" about the creation, he will blandly reply: "Yes, I have read that: your book contradicts itself—ours is correct. Your two contradictions do not make a right." And so when our missionaries are instructing these "heathen" as to the commandments, the birth of Jesus, the "flood," the "tree of life," and of good and evil, the "heathen" will reply: "Yes; we have all of these, and more." The missionary will thereupon learn that there is nothing new in our system of religion—that it was taught and practised by the ancients centuries before our chronological account of the creation was written. In almost every land to which our missionaries carry the Bible they are confronted with older systems of religion—embodied in scriptures not marred with the bloody records of a cruel race like the ancient Hebrews, who, instead of developing civilization and the sciences, were continually engaged in "despoiling" one another "in the name of the Lord." The opening chapter of the history of almost every new king begins with, "And now King So-and-so did evil in the sight of the Lord;" yet they claimed to be the "chosen people!" When missionaries tell this to the "heathen" the reply is: "Then your God cannot be just, if he countenanced such deeds."

This is mainly why the work of the missionary is not very successful. In every foreign land he may visit he will find that the natives have a system of worship to which they cling with a tenacity he cannot outdo. As they are sincere, they are to be commended and respected by those holding other beliefs. No matter whether they worship stone idols, the sun, or a brazen "Joss"—so long as one is sincere and honest in his belief he is on the right road, or at least he may be, for no human being knows positively which creed is the true one. All beliefs have been tried, and not one is satisfactory to all peoples. Each insists that its own is the only true one, and each system embodies as much truth and morality as was possible

of conception in the age in which the creed was written. While none may be wholly right, perhaps not one is entirely wrong; but, so long as his belief is firmly implanted in the breast of even the "heathen," so-called civilization will advance. Though individually they fail to see the good, the results of these beliefs are beneficial. All people wish a system of theology suited to their habits, customs, and mode of living; and it is generally fashioned to suit their nature and government. It may be severe or mild, according to their zeal or liberal ideas of worship; but when once implanted it is very difficult to change it—for it was fashioned to suit them, and they believe that it is the only perfect and true system.

It is held, and no doubt correctly, that religion is an accident of birth. It is shaded or colored by the age its devotees live in, or rather the century in which it was proclaimed. We cling to the religion of our native country as we do to our language and the customs of our ancestors. It is like allegiance to the land of our birth—no other country is quite as good as the one we were born in, and no other religion is as true as that of our fathers. Sectarianism is due to locality. We see only our own side—all others are wrong; and unless they believe as we happen to be taught to believe, they will be "lost." We persecute those who do not adopt our belief, as we presecuted the aborigines of this country. The fanatics of the Reformation persecuted "unbelievers" with that cruelty which characterized the Inquisition. Persecution stains the history of all creeds. There is an element of intolerance in each which, it seems, its own moral teachings cannot overcome. One is as intolerant as another; for the warring creeds have deluged the earth in blood and caused world-wide mourning. While the fires of the Inquisition "saved" "unbelievers," the fires of the Reformation and the gallows of Protestant countries were equally destructive in executing "heretics." Science was strangled—astronomers were burned at the stake for asserting that the earth is round and that the sun does not revolve around the earth. The "heathen" Chinese whom we are now trying to convert to our theology, which in most quarters is the same

now as then, had a more perfect knowledge of the earth and the sciences; and while they may be styled "unprogressive," they did not commit wholesale murder in the name of "religion." We style them a "superstitious" people; and, while the uneducated yet believe in "witches" and "evil spirits," they tell our missionaries that we have the same belief. They point to passages in the Bible referring to "casting out devils," "familiar spirits," "seers," and "prophets," all of which they have and now partly believe in. That one passage in the Bible, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," kept the fires of the Reformation burning, and perhaps caused the sacrifice of more lives than any other scriptural injunction or any "religious war."

Considering the foregoing, we may ask, Wherein is our system better than that of the Chinese? Their system contains the same moral truths, and it also has some of our imperfections—dogmas that are not based on either truth or morality. The Chinese had all of these centuries before we received them, and they seem to be satisfied with what they have. They are a peaceable people, if let alone. They do not attempt to force their system of either religion or government upon other peoples; and as their theology suits them—being especially adapted to that peculiar race—it would seem the better policy to let them alone. Our attempt to infuse our belief into theirs, or to supplant it with ours, may lead to a war in which this country will become involved, necessitating a large army and great expense to the taxpayers. And for what? To make a people *believe* as we do. Their religion, perhaps, is about as nearly perfect as ours. Ours may be the only correct one; and perhaps theirs is the only true one. No one knows. In the absence of *positive* knowledge on this much-discussed subject, perhaps it were better to let each country and people work out its own salvation. There is a wide field for Christian work in this country—without going to China or elsewhere to seek "heathen" who have as good if not a better civilization and system of theology than our own.

J. M. SCANLAND.

*Cripple Creek, Col.*

## IV. Prince Hamlet of Peking.

THOUGH the Kaiser goes on pilgrimages, and the Czar of all the Russias preaches universal peace, yet both must yield the palm for pure idealism to His Majesty Kuang-Hsu, who reigns rather than rules over the Celestial Empire. Now that full details have come from China, we are better able to realize what a great and even noble dream was dreamed by the Oriental Hamlet, before he was so rudely awakened by the Dowager Empress, Tshu-Chsi.

Kuang-Hsu ("Enduring Majesty") is an imperial title. The personal name of the prince is Teai-Tsien. He is only twenty-seven years old, though he has borne the title of Emperor ever since the death of his cousin, the Emperor Chai-Chin, four-and-twenty years ago, and has been sole responsible ruler, in theory at least, for the last ten years. The Emperor Kuang-Hsu is slight and delicate, almost childish in figure, of pale olive complexion, and with great melancholy eyes. There is a gentleness about his face that speaks rather of dreaming than of the power to turn dreams into acts. It is strange to find a personality so ethereal among the descendants of the Mongol hordes; yet the Emperor Kuang-Hsu might sit as a model for some Oriental saint on the threshold of the highest beatitude. Though it is eleven years since his marriage with the Princess Eho-na-la, the Emperor is childless.

Not long ago, Kuang-Hsu dreamed a dream: China regenerate and perfect; four hundred millions of human beings, scattered over its four millions of square miles, to be free, virtuous, prosperous, enlightened; the Celestial Empire to grow in power till all the world trembles; a new spirit to appear among men. The Emperor saw that China, though once the wisest and mightiest of lands, and a shining example to all the kingdoms of the earth, was dimmed in glory and distanced in renown. Others have advanced while China has stood still, and now the once great leader is among the last. He found the cause of this

backsliding in too great reverence for the past; in the conservative spirit, fascinated by the greatness of the ancient sages, and able to conceive no possible change or addition to their ideals. And therefore Kuang-Hsu determined to cut the past adrift, and to advance boldly on new ways with new leaders and new lights.

He conceived the first necessity to be an infusion of new life into the education of the people; a transformation of that marvelous system of training, perfected centuries ago, which forms all minds on the great Chinese classics and finds its highest standard of culture in imitating the form and spirit of these archaic works. It is the battle of modernity against the ancient tongues, fought over again on Eastern soil. Chemistry and physics, engineering and military science, were to take the place of essays and poems exquisitely fashioned after the ancient models, which now form the sole test of talent throughout the Celestial Empire, and perfection in which is the royal road to fame and fortune.

It is difficult to decide which we should most admire: the genuine enthusiasm of all China for literary culture, for familiarity with "the best that has been thought and said" by the wisest Celestials, or the marvelous ingenuity and precision with which this skill is tested, by a system of literary examinations hardly equaled and never surpassed by any nation in any age: the vast halls, with their cloister-like divisions for ten thousand candidates, the seals set on the doors before the themes are given out, the counted sheets of stamped paper with name and number for the essays of every candidate, the army of clerks copying the finished themes in red ink lest any personal sign or mark should lead the examiner to recognize a favored pupil, the enthusiastic crowds gathering at the doors, the cannons and music that greet the first candidates to issue, the literary chancellor presiding ceremoniously, the list of successes eagerly bought up in the streets, the best names publicly shown in a place of honor, the chosen essays and poems sent to court, the caps with golden buttons and the blue silk gowns of the graduates, and lastly the almost pathetic provision that

whoever seeks but fails to gain any one degree till his eightieth year shall receive it free, as from the Emperor himself, as a tribute to faithful love of learning.

We may also keep some of our admiration for the more than human ingenuity with which the Chinese students sometimes evade the strictest precautions: the tunnels dug beneath the examination-halls, through which unlawful knowledge is passed up to the candidate written minutely on the finest paper; the offices where needy and brilliant essayists are hired to personate dull, wealthy scholars; the refinement of cunning decreeing that, while the rank of the examination to be passed rises in arithmetical progression, the bribe of the personator shall increase in geometrical ratio; and much more, which shows by crooked ways how highly the fame of learning is esteemed.

Yet all this will not win the battles of the world. So the Emperor Kuang-Hsu decreed reform and the introduction of Western ways. Peking was to have its university, steeped in the spirit of modernity: not only the finest European culture, but the last and highest version of that culture, as supplemented and perfected by Japan. For the drawing together of Japan and China was one of the most noteworthy things in the Manchu Hamlet's dream. "China and Japan," a recent edict says, "have a common language, belong to the same race, and have all interests in common." Therefore, a chosen band of students were to set out from China for the Flowery Land, as guests of the Japanese nation, there to seek the light, which they would presently bring back to their own country. Two hundred were to go as a beginning, among those having some knowledge of Japanese. And before their return, if the dream be carried out, Peking will have not a university only, but a whole system of primary and intermediate schools, on Western models, and not Peking only, but every considerable city in the empire.

The University of Tokyo, which is probably the high-water mark of Japanese and European culture combined, is to serve as the model for the new Peking University, and temporary quarters have been assigned for the teachers in the princely

palaces of the capital, pending the erection of suitable university buildings. Meanwhile the sum originally allotted to the committee on education has been increased threefold, by a special edict of the Emperor, and the sum set aside for the monthly expenses of the committee has been doubled.

The thoroughly practical spirit in which the new movement in education was conceived is shown better than anywhere else in an imperial order despatched to the authorities of the coast provinces of China; that is, the viceroys, the governors, the prefects, and the district magistrates, who form the four great degrees in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the Chinese Empire. The authorities of the maritime regions were directed to furnish the Emperor with precise information as to possible methods of increasing the subsidies of the naval schools and supplying new training-ships for the fleet. And another equally practical manifestation is the formation of a committee on railroads and engineering, with orders to furnish plans for the opening of schools of railroad-engineering at a number of central points throughout the empire, from which, it is hoped, railroads will soon radiate to every province and considerable town.

Close on the heels of this follows another committee, destined to deal with agriculture, manufactures, and trade. To the president and vice-president of this committee are specially reserved the rights of unimpeded access to the person of the Emperor at any time, should the duties of the committee make this necessary. When we remember the divinity that doth hedge the "Son of Heaven and Cousin of the Celestial Bodies," we shall better realize how much this Manchu innovator was in earnest. Further, a school of agriculture was to be formed, with branches in each district of every province of the empire, and these branch schools were to procure the latest agricultural machinery, with a view to its introduction broadcast throughout China. Besides the chief provincial committees, the viceroys and governors were directed to form local committees, under the guidance of three or four of the most influential landowners in each district, to be nominated by the viceroy.

Another innovation closely connected with this was suggested by the recent famine and scarcity in the three provinces of Hu-pe, Shan-Si, and Shan-tung, all not far from the capital. The Emperor has discovered that the system of supplying free rations to the starving populations is not a success, or, perhaps we should say, the system of allotting considerable sums to that end. For there is the old tale of peculating and dishonest officials; and, while the sums are regularly drawn from the treasury, the famine-stricken people are in no wise better for them. The Emperor adopts the expedient of the government of India —the establishment of relief-works—and further intends to improve the occasion by setting the men on these works at various new industries or processes which it is desired to introduce into general use. This would cover the building of railways, the establishment of agricultural machinery, the extension of irrigation, and the establishment of new manufactures. So that a famine will come to the provinces as a blessing in disguise, a fountain of light and leading, the doorway of a new epoch.

Other reforms were either projected or already intrusted to committees. Among these, one of the most important is that which touches the procedure in civil cases. It is said that the Chinese courts have a bad eminence in the law's delays, keeping a good case—that is, one in which the litigants are rich—on the files of the courts for months, years, and even decades, to the end that bribes may be taken; and it is even said that bribes are very often taken from both sides, with a promise of a favorable decision for each. We can easily realize that, in a case like this, the judge would have some delicacy about pronouncing any decision at all, and so would keep the case going as long as possible, in the hope that one of the parties might either die, forget about it, or lose hope. Before we pass too heavy sentence on this special form of corruption, we should remember that Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, commonly and wrongly called Lord Bacon, was degraded for selling the decisions of the highest court in the England of his day. Experience shows that this particular reform will be

one of the most difficult to introduce, because its success depends almost wholly on the very judges who are to be reformed.

Yet another measure for the enlightenment of the Celestials, and a daring one, is the foundation of a new medical college in Peking, for the avowed purpose of introducing the methods of European medical science. A license for this college has already been granted, and one of the numerous committees is busy with the details of its organization. If carried out, this scheme is certain to arouse great opposition; for it strikes a blow at vested interests of the most extensive character, and resting on very venerable traditions. We can realize the feelings of the old-school physicians in China by supposing a government college to be organized and endowed here for the introduction of mental healing. Our orthodox physicians would regard it much as the old doctors of China regard the introduction of what is orthodox medicine with us. It is true that Kuang-Hsu has thrown a sop to Cerberus by including in the course of the college the traditional medical practise of China side by side with that of the West.

But the next reform on the Emperor's list admits of no healing balm. It is a decree for the suspension of the Six Boards—a series of venerable bodies dealing with such matters as the education of the heir-apparent, the superintendence of the royal stables, the due performance of the "kneelings and knockings" with the forehead, which play so large a part in the ceremony of China, and the organization of royal banquets. These interesting institutions, with the salaries, are to be abolished, and their duties, so far as they have any real existence, are to be distributed among the committees of the senate. The buildings formerly occupied by these Six Boards are to be turned over to the university, the medical college, and the primary and intermediate schools.

This seems to be the first grave mistake, from a practical point of view, in the reform program of the "Son of Heaven." Like so many bringers of new tidings, his course might have gone smoothly if he had only restrained his indignation at the

scribes and Pharisees and abstained from interfering with their vested interests. The ostensible cause of the abolition of the board of ceremonies is a case in point. This board has always exercised a certain censorship on all petitions presented to the Emperor. But Kuang-Hsu has decreed that all petitions shall come to him direct and unimpeded. A certain obstinate person recently sent a petition to the Emperor through a member of this board, Val-Chao by name, who considered the tone in which it was couched rather offensive and one-sided. He consequently refused to present it to His Majesty. But the petitioner insisted and made trouble, and Val-Chao, instead of having the importunate man "removed," gave in and presented the petition, with a note explaining the cause of delay. The Emperor was indignant, and the board were astonished by reading in the next number of the *Gazette* that their resignations had been accepted and their salaries withdrawn.

Immediately the whole army of bureaucrats and lesser officials—the scribes and Pharisees—were alarmed. They began to work against the whole reform policy, with almost irresistible force. Rumors were spread that the young Emperor was vain and fond of change; that he wished to bring in the enemies of the country; that he had no reverence for the sages of old—in fact, the old story, repeated of every reformer. Things began to go wrong. The people were stirred up, and riots took place in several provincial towns. The Emperor tried to neutralize the mischief by publishing the following edict:

"The government of the Chinese Empire, striving to elevate the various departments of the administration, and with the sole design of conferring benefits on the people, wishes to employ to this end the methods of the peoples of the West, since that which is common to the Western nations and the Chinese has been brought to greater excellence by the former, and may therefore serve for our advancement.

"At the same time, the bureaucrats and scholars of this Empire, whose views of foreign nations are characterized by the greatest ignorance, pretend that Western nations are totally devoid of order and enlightenment, not knowing that among Western nations there are many forms of political science

which have as their sole aim the moral elevation of the people and their material well-being, and which, in their high development, are able to heap benefits on mankind and to prolong the span of human life. In the West, all efforts are directed to procuring the blessings which mankind is entitled to.

"In our ceaseless efforts to reform various departments of the administration, we are not prompted by mere desire for novelty, but by a sincere desire for the well-being of the Empire intrusted to us by Providence and inherited from our ancestors. We shall not fulfil our duty if we fail to secure to all our people the blessings of peace and prosperity. And we are not less grieved at the slights which China has had to submit to at the hands of foreign governments. But if we do not possess the knowledge and science of other peoples we shall not be able to defend ourselves against them.

"At the same time our subjects evidently fail to understand the true purpose of our unsleeping endeavors and exertions. The reason of this is, that the lower classes of officials and the bureaucrats devoted to routine not only do not make our intentions clear, but on the contrary try to confuse the people with vain and unseemly speeches. Grieved and vexed that a true understanding of our intentions does not reach our subjects, we inform all China, by the present decree, of the true purpose of these reforms, so that our enlightened intentions may be known to the whole people and that the people may know that trust may be reposed in their ruler, who, with the help of all, will mold the government according to new principles for the strengthening and elevation of the Chinese Empire.

"To this end, we order the viceroys and governors to print these our decrees, and to exhibit them on placards, and we order the prefects and district magistrates and all schoolmasters to explain these decrees to the people. And likewise we command the treasurers, provincial judges, district-inspectors, prefects, and heads of districts and sub-districts, to lay before us without fear statements of their views on all imperial questions. And these statements are to be forwarded to us sealed, and must on no account be kept back by viceroys and governors. Finally, we order the present decree to be exhibited in a prominent place, in the offices of all viceroys and governors."

For a man of common mind, the schemes already outlined might seem a sufficient undertaking; or practical considerations might suggest that they should not be added to, until a part at

least of them be carried into execution and have begun to work smoothly. But Kuang-Hsu, the "Cousin of the Sun and Moon," is evidently not a man of common mind. And the proof is that he keeps projecting ever new reforms.

The next reform we shall mention touches an evil of long standing and vast extent; namely, malversation of revenues, made possible by the loose system of accounts kept in the treasury department of the empire. An autocrat has been defined as one whose accounts are not audited; and, if this be so, then the Chinese Empire is suffering from an epidemic of autocrats. This time the trouble lies not with the scribes and Pharisees but with the publicans, the farmers of taxes, who bid so much for the right to extract what they can from the long-suffering ratepayer. The proceeds are treated by the governors and viceroys with as little strictness; so that, while the taxable power of China is simply enormous, the system of peculation is so complete that the treasury is constantly on the verge of bankruptcy. The estimated revenue of the Chinese Empire amounts to about twenty cents a year for each inhabitant. This is about one-fiftieth of the rate for most European countries, and one-hundredth of that of some. So that, if the revenues of China were raised to the same level per head as those of Belgium or Austria-Hungary, China would have a sum of from four to eight thousand million dollars a year to apply to imperial and administrative purposes. And, if the innovations contemplated by Kuang-Hsu were really introduced, there is not the slightest reason why China should not yield as large revenues per head as Belgium or Austria-Hungary. In that case, what an allotment could be made for a real fleet or army for the Celestial Empire; what sums could be spent on bounties, for the purpose of competing with Western manufacturers! The "open door" in China is one of those beautiful things that may work two ways. That door may open outward as well as inward. As far as the revenue was concerned, Kuang-Hsu's purpose did not go further than a stricter and more accurate budget—to put a check on the appalling leakage that undoubtedly exists. Even a slight

measure of success in this direction would raise the internal and external credit of China in a remarkable degree, with very far-reaching results. Among other things it would make the accomplishment of other reforms an infinitely easier matter than now, with a lean and dwindling balance in the treasury.

Now comes the rub—for this Oriental Hamlet: the consideration that makes futility "of so long life." To carry out these schemes, or even to make one strong and effectual move in that direction, requires an army of trained and honest administrators; it also requires large material resources, to keep things going while the change is being made. It is enough to say that, while there are doubtless able and disinterested men among China's four hundred millions, the Emperor does not seem to have laid his hand on them so far. The expedient which he suggests, or which had been suggested to him, is a remarkable one. It is nothing less than an appeal to Japan for the loan of a band of competent administrators and for a training for others of Chinese race. This is the true motive of the university on Japanese lines and the despatch of two hundred Chinese students to Japan. And in the light of this idea the recent mission of Count Ito to Peking takes on quite a new significance.

The best statement of the Japanese side of the question appeared in an evidently inspired letter from a progressist, in a recent number of the progressive organ, *Go-ben-bao*. The writer begins by quoting examples from the ancient history of China and from the story of Peter the Great, to show that reforms may most easily be carried out by foreign agents. He calls on the Emperor to invite Count Ito's assistance in the task of regenerating China, and asserts that only by means of a Japanese alliance can China assume a firm attitude toward foreign powers and keep back the horrors of a general war. He says:

"If your Majesty could only persuade Count Ito to become confidential adviser of China, the reforms which you have undertaken would be promptly carried out, and the international bond between China and Japan would be still further strength-

ened; while, without such help, the immediate and successful realization of these reforms would be impracticable. Even granting that among the Chinese who have recently entered the arena of administrative life a few may be found with strength of will, they are certain to meet with numberless hindrances, caused by the envy and apprehensions of the opponents of progress; they will spend their energies and lose their reputations in vain efforts, and the ills of the body politic will remain uncured. On the other hand, Count Ito, as the experienced minister of a foreign government, who possesses your Majesty's fullest confidence, and who is well known to fame, would have nothing to fear from intrigues while introducing reforms; and foreign Powers, in their international relations with China, would begin to treat our country in a very different manner. Their schemes of aggrandizement at our expense would instantly relax, and this would be the beginning of the transformation of China from a poor and weak country, surrounded with dangers, into a land full of wealth and strength and rejoicing in the blessings of assured peace. This is the first reason why we must borrow talent from other nations.

"The fundamental principles of Chinese policy are isolation and separation, while among Western nations the principles of government are the very opposite of these; namely, intercourse and union—principles that serve to bring about the development of moral and physical resources while isolation and exclusion lead to the opposite result. To these two principles, intercourse and union, the nations of the West are indebted for their greatness and civilization. From the geographical point of view, nations inhabiting the same continent should first of all achieve union among themselves; from the point of view of race and language, it is best for peoples akin in race and speech to be united. The peoples of Europe and America do not inhabit the same continent as ourselves; they belong to another race, and speak other tongues, and therefore, in view of these natural barriers, they cannot enter into close relations with China. It is quite otherwise with Japan. Although, carried away by her extremely rapid progress and unexpected advance, which aroused the apprehensions of both Europe and America, Japan made war on us, yet, when opposed by Russia, Japan was quite helpless. It is true that, in order to oppose Russia, Japan is making friends with England, but experienced men of affairs are convinced that war between them cannot be averted in the future. Whichever side was victorious, there

would be great changes in the balance of power in Asia. England approached Japan solely because of Russia; England is foreign to us in race, and therefore foreign to us in spirit also. What if England should find it profitable to make an exchange and enter into an alliance with Russia? Then Japan, standing alone, would certainly perish. Therefore, Japan's natural ally is China. If China, with its vast extent, its enormous population, its rich natural products, should really conclude an alliance with Japan, borrowing from Japan new methods for the development of China's resources and for the education of competent men, then Japan and China, entering into a firm union and helping each other, could easily withstand Russia and guarantee a general peace. This would secure the hereditary domains of the Chinese Emperor on an unassailable foundation. Such an alliance with Japan is indispensable in view of Russia's extensive designs in the Far East—designs which could only be resisted by the might of China, acting under the guidance and moral force of Japan. As regards England, which is striving to maintain peace and further its own designs, its demands make Russia's policy necessary; but in reality England's designs are wholly commercial and interested. If an alliance existed between China and Japan, Russia would doubtless occupy herself with the formation of a congress for the maintenance of peace, and would enter into lasting and peaceful relations with the other countries of Europe. This is not only very desirable for China and Japan, but is an object worthy of the most ardent aspirations of the whole civilized world."

So far this admirable dream. Then came the catastrophe, in the form of the Dowager Empress, Tshu-Chsi. This wonderful woman is the widow of the Emperor I-Tshu, and was co-ruler with the Emperor Chai-Chun from 1861 to 1875, when Kuang-Hsu nominally ascended the throne, being then three years old. It is sad to relate that the Manchu Hamlet has been suppressed by this strong-minded lady as thoroughly as were the guinea-pigs in "Alice in Wonderland." The imperial *Gazette* announced, as everybody remembers, that, in spite of a world of good intentions, the Emperor found it impossible to deal with the vast mass of administrative affairs, in the present critical state of the empire, "and requested Her Majesty, the Dowager Empress, who had twice directed the affairs of

China with marked success, to lend him her guidance in the affairs of the empire." Then came three edicts: first, an announcement that the Emperor was very sick—quite credible under the circumstances; second, that several reforms were "postponed," the Six Boards being reinstated at the same time; third, an order for the arrest of the chief adherents of the progressist leader, Kan-Yu-Vai. This patriotic innovator had meanwhile escaped, when a new edict appeared, calling down on him the reprobation of men and the wrath of the gods, and declaring that even if he escape punishment in this world it will surely overtake him in the world to come: a papal excommunication, couched in the language of a ward politician. Finally, it was declared that the government of China would be carried on as of old, according to the principles of the sage Confucius.

So that, for the Oriental Hamlet, "to be" and "not to be" are still hanging in the balance. He is debating within himself "whether 'twere nobler in the mind, to suffer the slings and arrows" of his outrageous aunt and adoptive mother, or to take arms against a sea of troubles, and, by opposing, end them. He will probably debate and dream a long time. I fear that the world has little cause for hope from this olive-skinned Prince Charming, who begins by projecting the reform and elevation of four hundred millions—one-fourth of universal man—and ends ignominiously in the pocket of his adopted mama. Ambition should be made of sterner stuff. Still, it is good to know that this dream has been dreamed; for at any moment a man of violence may arise to put it into execution. The results to the world would be vast—immense beyond our powers of calculation.

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# PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THE problems to the solution of which the Commission headed by Judge Taft is now addressing itself are complex and difficult enough to have baffled the seven wise men of Greece. As military operations are at present happily coming to an end, while Señor Paterno, Señor Buencamino, and other revolutionist leaders are attempting to create a basis of mediation between Aguinaldo and Gen. MacArthur, the question of the practical organization of civil government will have to be attacked immediately. While the first Philippine Commission has done some valuable work in gathering much-needed information, its suggestions are too general—too little worked out into specific measures—to be of any other value than to help the present Commission to recognize the problems they are called to meet.

To understand the situation, a brief review of the essential characteristics of the government as left by the Spaniards is indispensable. In 1893 the Spanish government, under pressure from the natives, made an effort at reform, and by the Maura Law reorganized the government of the Philippines, introducing a small element of representation and local autonomy. Still, even after this measure, the main characteristic of Spanish rule was centralization. The three aspects under which we may view the Philippine government after 1893 are centralization, representation, and the power of the Church.

The governor-general of the Philippine Islands was the sun from which radiated all the energy of the administration, or, to use another simile, as his activity was not of a very life-giving kind, it was his hand alone that could turn the wheels that set the whole mechanism of colonial government in motion. The central councils that assisted him in the administration—the Board of Authorities and the Council of

Administration—were merely advisory and consultative bodies, lacking the power of making laws or even ordinances. Although their advice was as a matter of fact sought and the management of administrative details left in the hands of the heads of the departments, still, whenever any important or crucial question arose, the decision reverted to the source of power—the governor, who was always alert to prevent the growth of other prescriptive authorities.

Provincial government, too, emanated from the governor-general. There were in the Philippine Islands about seventy-five provinces and commandancies, varying in area and population from the province of Corregidor, with 16 square miles and 575 inhabitants, to the district of Surigao, with 7,265 square miles, and the provinces of Cebu and Manila, with over 500,000 inhabitants each. The provinces were either civil or military, the latter under the command of a military officer and the former under a civil governor who must have had at least two years of administrative experience before being appointed to this position. The civil provinces were confined to the island of Luzon. The other islands were divided into military districts. Each province has a provincial council consisting of nine members. But this council has merely advisory and clerical duties to perform, while the provincial governor is the real power. He in turn is merely a representative of the governor-general, upon whose orders he is entirely dependent in all important matters.

The same element of centralization characterizes local government. The local unit is the *pueblo,* an area comprising several villages with a head town in which there are situated the church, the monastery, the town hall, and sometimes a school. The tribunal or town council is elective, and is composed of a captain and three lieutenants. The governor-general is *ex officio* a member of every tribunal in the Philippine Islands. As such he may at any time interfere by his representatives in the management of the town affairs. Moreover, the governor of the province in which the town is situated may suspend any member of the tribunal, or even the whole council, if their

action seems to him to be contrary to the common welfare. Nor is this the sum of control exercised from above. The entire financial administration of the towns is strictly supervised by the provincial council. All town moneys must be paid into the treasury of the province, and are paid out thence upon proper warrants being issued, all the accounts being audited by the council. Any expenditure of over $400 necessitates the previous consent of the provincial governor. All this shows how effectively the authority of the governor-general permeates all the branches of administration from the central government down to the smallest concerns of a local community.

Coming now to the element of representation, we find that, although the germ has been planted, it is still so weak and ineffectual as not materially to modify the essentially centralized nature of the Philippine government. The basis of representation is the municipal electorate (the *principalia*). The electors in the *pueblo* comprise the present and former municipal office-holders, and inhabitants paying an annual land tax of at least fifty dollars. This mixed office and property qualification excludes perhaps most of the educated Filipinos, who are engaged in the learned professions and have not acquired large holdings of landed property. These voters elect twelve delegates, who form an electoral college for the appointment of the municipal tribunal and the heads of the hundred (*cabezas de barangay*). The latter office is the oldest in the Philippine Islands. When the Spanish conquered the Philippines it was a position of natural leadership by hereditary succession—a clan chieftainship. The Spanish authorities retained the office but divested it of all its power and turned it into an instrument for the collection of taxes. The *cabezas de barangay* were made responsible for the payment of taxes within their hundred. As in the case of the *consulares* under the later Roman Empire, prominent men were forced to take this office and were usually impoverished in consequence. This personal responsibility for taxes was removed by the Maura Law; it had been a fitting part of a system that discouraged thrift and

prosperity by singling out the progressive and well-to-do men as special prey for official rapacity and crushing taxation.

In the provincial governments there is also a vestige of representative government. Four of the nine members of the provincial council are elected by the municipal captains of the province. These four members must, however, reside in the provincial capital in order to be able to attend upon the governor at all times. In the central council of administration there are also six elective members, chosen by the provincial councils (*juntas*), three from the island of Luzon and three from the Visayan group.

From all this it is evident that representation in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish government was limited in its basis and unimportant in results. The initial qualification was too exclusive to make representation effective. The higher councils, merely advisory in character, were elective only as to a minority of their members, the majority sitting by virtue of their office. Finally, the municipal tribunals were so restricted in their functions, so closely supervised by superior authority, that the representative element in them was fettered and impotent.

The church organization in the Philippine Islands drew its great power, not from its direct official connection with the government but from the fact that it was a vast, organized community—compact, thoroughly conversant with local conditions, and acting under a solidarity of common interests. Still, the influence of the church was also given formal recognition in the following manner: The village priest was a consulting member of the municipal tribunal. Although he lacked the right to vote, his influence was often paramount, as in many cases he was the only person in the *pueblo* who could speak the Spanish language, and therefore mediated between the authorities and the inhabitants. Each provincial council had two ecclesiastical members, while in the central council of administration the Archbishop of Manila and the "fathers superior" of the religious orders were influential leaders.

We have already drawn a comparison from the later Roman

Empire in the case of local officials. But also in its general character the Philippine government strikingly resembled the elaborate taxing-machine constructed by Diocletian. Even after the attempted reforms of 1893, the expenditures of the central government were essentially unproductive. Thus the budget for 1894 to 1895, containing estimated expenses to the amount of $13,280,000, assigns only $628,000, or about five per cent., to public works and institutions; while all the balance is swallowed up by salaries, pensions, and military and administrative expenditures. While an elaborate system of education was legally provided for, it was everywhere neglected, and the most meager pittances were paid to the teachers actually employed. Practically no public works exist. The roads are impassable for a large part of the year. Under a Spanish law, the natives were permitted to work off their personal taxes on the public highways. Making use of this provision the officials constantly made a practise of collecting the taxes and then reporting that they had been commuted for work done on the roads. They themselves retained the money belonging to the government, and the work was never accomplished.

It is the over-centralization of the Philippine government that has led to all the evils that have finally resulted in the downfall of Spanish control. It was this predominance of central authority that gave the village friars their great power —so much abused and leading to such bitterness against the orders as a whole. Feeling themselves members of the powerful central organization—irresponsible and almost omnipotent —the administrative agents and the friars totally disregarded the needs of local life and the dearest susceptibilities of the people whom they governed. They treated them as absolute inferiors, discouraged their efforts to raise themselves to a higher condition by education, and often even closed the way provided by the State for the acquisition of the Spanish language.

When we turn now to the demands made by the Filipinos— to the position they assume in their resistance to foreign in-

terference—we find that their main attacks are directed against over-centralization, against predominance of religious orders, and against assumed racial superiority. The racial problem is especially important, and has not been given its due place in discussions of the question. The Spaniards destroyed all social rank among the Filipinos, reducing them to a democratic level of uniform subjection. The Separatist movement in the Philippine Islands is a popular one, emanating from the masses of the people—not, as was the case in the South American colonies, headed by creoles and mestizos. Racial antipathies are therefore fully as strong as political considerations at the present juncture. While the Filipinos have not had an opportunity to develop a national existence like the Japanese, they still have a strong feeling of cohesion and of antipathy to the white races, of whom the Spaniards are the only specimens with whom they have come into intimate contact. The assumed superiority of the white races the educated Filipinos subject to a searching criticism.

In general, the Filipinos are ambitious for a good education, and give evidence of marked intellectual ability. Although their opportunities so far have been in every way restricted, they have nevertheless given proof of great intellectual power as writers, artists, and lawyers. We need only call attention to Don Juan Luña, the famous painter, signally honored by the Spanish Senate; to Dr. Rizal and Don Antonio Luña, the brilliant authors; and to Don Cayetano Arellano, the universally respected chief justice. Filipino writers and jurists have, on their visits to Europe, critically investigated European morals and manners at home, and have discovered and set forth in their satirical novels that the many failings and vices which European critics attribute to the racial inferiority of the Filipinos are encountered in even worse form in the old civilized countries themselves. To be looked down upon by every individual who boasts a white skin—to be treated as *anthropoids,* the favorite designation employed for them by Spanish papers —is therefore naturally unendurable to the educated Filipinos. The obdurate resistance to the Americans is due very largely

to the fact that the Filipinos fear to be treated indiscriminately as "niggers" by their new sovereigns.

The ideal of ultimate independence, of a prosperous and honored national life like that of Japan, is therefore active in all Filipinos who have political knowledge and impulses; and they will not cease appealing to the honor of the United States to aid them in realizing this ambition. Many of them, however, recognize that a transitional period is necessary—that there must be some training in self-government; and it is interesting to note the ideas brought forward by their representatives with respect to governmental machinery. The sources from which we may learn their ideas on matters of government are the constitution of the "Philippine Republic" of 1899; a scheme of government drawn up Señor Paterno and proposed to Spain in June, 1898; a constitution drawn up by certain eminent Filipino citizens at the request of the first American Commission; and the seven propositions submitted to Gen. MacArthur by the convention of Manila on June 21, 1900. The demands formulated in these documents may be summarized as follows: Absolute separation of Church and State; expulsion of the friars and filling of the benefices by secular clergy; decentralization of government and local autonomy; effective representation, based on a liberal property and educational qualification; responsibility of the ministry to the legislature, after the manner of the English Cabinet; and the safeguarding of individual rights by constitutional law.

In all these documents, the bill of rights takes a very prominent part—a commentary on the sad history of the Filipinos and an indication that their main desire is to prevent arbitrary interference with the freedom of the individual. For the same reason they demand the establishment of civil governments in the place of military authority.

The question of Church and State is the most vexed, complex, and intricate among all the problems that confront the Commission. The seventh resolution of the convention of June 21 demands expulsion of the friars, and it is reported that all the delegates of the convention vociferously acclaimed this

condition, shouting "Expel! Expel!" The provision of the Council of Trent which ordains that benefices are not to be held by the regular clergy has never been enforced in the Philippine Islands. The ecclesiastical law thus sanctions what the Filipinos demand, and it would seem that the only assurance of the future tranquillity and prosperity of the church would be found in organizing a native secular clergy. The question of church property is also exceedingly perplexing; but, were it once clearly determined that secular clergy alone were to be given benefices and that the officials of the church were in no manner to interfere with the administration of the State, the solution of the property question would become much easier.

In matters of governmental organization there are two questions that especially demand the thought of the Commission. The first is the question of decentralization—how far the local autonomy of towns and provinces is to be strengthened, and how far the power of supervision by the central authorities is to be retained. Many among the Filipino leaders favor the formation of a federal government, with the individual provinces organized after the manner of an American State for the complete management of local affairs independently of the central government. The latter they would confine to matters of general interest for the whole archipelago, such as tariff legislation, postal service, and national defense. The other question is that of ministerial responsibility. The Filipino constitutions and drafts uniformly provide that the members of the governor's council shall hold seats in the national assembly, that they shall be responsible to the latter, and that no act of the governor is to be valid unless countersigned by a responsible minister. The fact that they all make this demand gives evidence of marked political sagacity and knowledge of foreign institutions. If the representation of the Filipinos is to be effective, they argue, the executive must be responsible to the representative assembly; if he is responsible solely to the home government at Washington, the representative body will in fact only be advisory and will have no real power in important affairs. Ministerial responsibility, therefore, means self-government to them.

The first Philippine Commission in its report opposes both the ideas of federal government and of Cabinet responsibility. It argues that historic growth in the Philippine Islands can emanate only from the central government; the Philippine Islands are not analogous to the American States after the Revolution; and therefore the erection of autonomous State governments would be an entirely artificial creation. They are also opposed to ministerial responsibility, and would substitute therefor the responsibility of the executive to the home government; they argue somewhat sophistically that in being represented in the American Congress by a delegate the Filipinos would be safeguarded sufficiently against arbitrary government. This matter is of greater importance than the dry terms of political science in which it must be discussed would indicate. In fact, the whole question whether the Filipinos are to be given complete and effective autonomy or whether they are to be kept at least for a time in leading-strings depends on this issue. If they are to be given representation without responsible government, they will be in the position of an English crown colony like British Guiana, in which the representative institutions are merely advisory and consultative. The British self-governing colonies where representation is an effectual political force all have ministerial responsibility.

As has been already indicated, the positive recommendations of the first Philippine Commission are too indefinite and general to admit of being utilized as sufficient bases of action. The work of framing concrete measures of government has been left to the second Commission. The report suggests that the Philippine Islands be organized as a Territory of the first class, with a governor, executive officers, and an upper house appointed by the home government, and having a representative assembly with general legislative powers but with no authority to call the executive officers to account. The islands are to be divided into counties and towns; these districts are to be allowed autonomy in local affairs but are to be guided and supervised as long as may prove necessary by the central authorities. It is here especially that the recommendations lack detail

and will have to be worked out with great care, as the experiment of self-government will have its crucial point in the management of local affairs.

The Commission repudiates the idea of a protectorate over the Philippine Islands on the ground that, unlike the Malay peninsula, where Sir Andrew Clark made his successful experiment, the Philippines have no tribal organization—no hereditary rulers over whom residents and diplomatic agents could exert influence and thus govern the country. But the Commission, adopting a hint from the Indian government, recommends the appointment of a resident commissioner for every 250,000 inhabitants. This commissionership is evidently modeled on the district officership in British India. The Indian district officer, who controls an area of about five thousand square miles, is the personification of government and Providence within that region. On his circuits through the district he settles all matters, from private disputes and criminal appeals to the collection of taxes and the safeguarding of the most important interests of government. The district commissioner recommended for the Philippine Islands seems to be a mean between this district officer and the resident in a protectorate and to partake of the characteristics of both. He is to represent the central government in his district, to supervise the workings of the county and municipal authorities, to give them aid and advice and to check their action whenever it seems ill-considered or unwise. It is to be provided that advice when thus given must be followed by the local authorities. In this way it is hoped that local autonomy may gradually be strengthened as the people and their natural leaders gain experience in the management of their own affairs.

In dealing with the subject of civil service, the Commission expresses its belief that but few officials will be needed, most of the detailed work of administration being left in the hands of natives. The native officials are to be selected by strict competitive examinations. In a curious lapse from its sense of humor (if Commissions in general may be credited with this faculty), the Commission says: "The primary demand will be

for honesty and integrity; then for intelligence, capacity, and technical aptitude or skill to perform the duties of the office to be filled." A task, indeed, to arrange competitive examinations on this plan! The American officials are to be liberally paid and appointed by the President; whenever feasible, employees are to be transferred from the home service without special examination.

It will be admitted that the above recommendations regarding the civil service leave the whole difficulty unsolved. In the first place, civil service reformers will be reluctant to allow the President an unlimited discretion in the appointment of all the high officials upon whom the success of our government in the Philippine Islands depends. On the other hand, no satisfactory plan has as yet been suggested for their selection. The higher officials of the British Indian administration are practically all graduates of the English universities, who have passed a special examination before being admitted to the service. Before this system was adopted, up to the middle of the century, the prospective Indian officials were given a special education in training-colleges. The establishment of a training-college for colonial service managed on the same lines as the West Point Military Academy has been suggested, as it seems almost impossible to devise a system of examinations that will be a sufficient test of character and ability for positions of such difficulty and importance.

The condition of the civil law in the Philippine Islands also invites careful attention. All the writers on the subject agree that the Spanish colonial law, an agglomeration of inconsistent and incongruous systems and decrees, is so intricate and contradictory as almost to be useless; that litigation in consequence is full of delays and pitfalls; and that, in general, the civil law of the Philippine Islands is almost in the condition of that of China. In this matter, the government will fortunately be able to make use of the talent which the Filipinos themselves have manifested for jurisprudence. Any radical change in the customary laws must be avoided; but from out of the chaos, by gradual codification, it will be possible to evolve a simpler and more just and definite system of legal rules.

I have not touched upon the serious problem of the Sultanate of Sulu in the southern part of the islands, nor upon the question of the treatment of the many semi-savage tribes in the interior regions of Luzon and on such islands as Palawan and Mindoro. The area within which institutions such as those discussed in this article can be successfully established is comparatively limited. A large part of the islands must remain under military tutelage, and in the case of the Sulu Sultanate more than a guarded and tactful protectorate will hardly be possible. It is indeed the irony of history that the Sultan of Sulu should be our good friend, while our soldiers are fighting the people whose political ideals are almost identical with our own. However, should we feel called upon to enforce the provision in our Constitution forbidding slavery in any territory under our jurisdiction, the Sultan's friendship would be turned into fierce and destructive hostility.

The difficulties of the American government will be far from ended when peace has been restored in the Philippine Islands. The nation will then be on trial before the world on the question whether we can give to a subject population a government conformable to our own political ideals, and certainly it will take the greatest talents the nation can muster to solve the many intricate questions presented by the abnormal historic conditions prevailing in the Philippine Islands.

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## AMERICAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

THE United States has almost as much interest in the result of the war in South Africa as Great Britain herself—from a purely commercial standpoint. The saying that has been so popular since the Spanish-American war that "commerce follows the flag" means not only the American but the British flag, for it is a notable fact that, in many of the British colonies as well as the mother country, American exporters have been very successful whenever they have tried to find a market for their goods. And not a few instances are on record in Washington where American merchants and manufacturers have secured more of the business of a certain section under the English flag than the English themselves.

In spite of the obstacles to development that have prevailed in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State through the policy of Kruger and his adherents, these countries have offered a limited market for mining and other machinery made in the United States; and many of the most extensive operations in the gold and diamond fields have been planned by American engineers.

The African territory that will be thrown open to American exporters under the new régime can only be realized by giving some statistics as to its population, resources, and area. Cape Colony itself contains 277,000 square miles, with a population in round numbers of 2,000,000; Natal represents 20,500 square miles, with a population of 543,000; the Orange Free State, 48,300 square miles, with 250,000 population; and the Transvaal 119,000 square miles, with 1,000,000 population. In addition are Basutoland and Bechuanaland, containing 223,500 square miles, and the vast territory represented by the British South African Company of 600,000 square miles. The latter are practically undeveloped and inhabited almost entirely by blacks, although the South African Company has begun mining operations and has constructed 1,100 miles of railroad.

In Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal there are but 4,000 miles of railroad, to serve a population of nearly 4,000,000 people and an area of 465,000 square miles. Of the United States, Texas most nearly approaches Cape Colony in territory and population, containing 266,000 square miles and about 3,000,000 people. It is acknowledged that Texas is deficient in transportation facilities, yet to-day 10,000 miles are being operated in that State alone—more than twice the mileage in the countries mentioned; and this calculation omits the undeveloped country, as it might be termed, represented in the British South African Company's possessions, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland—comprising in all 800,000 square miles additional.

Although the mining industry is but partly developed in the Transvaal, the annual output is fully $150,000,000 in gold alone, while its coal mines are now yielding 2,000,000 tons yearly. It is importing goods to the value of $70,000,000 annually; yet it contains but 1,000 miles of railroad—scarcely more than our own Territory of Oklahoma. While the Boers have devoted themselves extensively to stock-raising, all of what might be called British Africa produces a large quantity of grain, and other staples raised in the south temperate zone, in addition to its mineral resources. In the Transvaal the last report showed 12,245 farms, of which 3,628 were government possessions. These "farms" range as high as 15,000 acres each. In the Orange Free State 250,000 acres have been cultivated, although it is admitted that this is but a small portion of the fertile area of this country.

Ample proof of the encouragement given to American commerce through British colonial administration is shown in the value of our exports to the several colonies controlled by Great Britain and other European Powers. At present Spain, France, Germany, Portugal, and Turkey are interested in African territory as well as Great Britain. The total value of American exports to the Continent during the ten months ending April, 1900, was $15,858,000, an increase in two years of $868,000. Of this sum, $13,168,000 worth of goods went

to British Africa, an increase of $3,000,000 within the two years mentioned. Our exports to the French possessions for the same period were $504,000, a decrease in two years of $120,000; to the Portuguese possessions, $642,000, a decrease of $2,056,000. Egypt, in which British influence is powerful, purchased $1,031,000 worth of American goods during the ten months under consideration, while two years previously the total sum was but $436,000.

Turning to Australia and the islands of the Pacific, we find that the American exports to British Australasia increased from $12,394,000 to $22,826,000, a gain of nearly 100 per cent. In the German colonies our exports decreased from $24,000 during the ten months ending April, 1899, to $9,000 for the same period in 1899 and 1900. An increase in French possessions is shown of $18,000 in two years out of a total of $276,000. The Philippines and Sandwich Islands, which practically belong to the United States, are not taken into consideration, as the value of the increased exports to them would naturally be very large. The shipments to the British East Indies for the ten months ending April, 1900, amounted to $3,987,000, compared with $926,000 to the Dutch and $100,000 to the French. The exports to Hongkong under the British flag have increased from $5,187,000 to $6,792,000. Next to Cuba, which is now under the American flag, the British West Indies are by far the best customers of American producers, our exports aggregating $7,518,000 during the period under consideration, compared with $6,549,000 two years ago. We sent nearly as much to the British colonial possessions in the West Indies as to Danish, Dutch, and French possessions, also Hayti, Puerto Rico, and San Domingo combined. Our British North American exports amounted to $78,097,000, an increase of nearly $12,000,000 in two years.

These statistics will enable the reader to form a more intelligent conception of what further English control in Africa means to this country. The exports include corn, wheat, flour, railroad material, clothing, material for telegraph and telephone lines, sewing machines, leather goods, foot-wear, oils, canned

goods and salted meats, lard, tobacco and its products, furniture, and even molasses.

One of the great demands that American manufacturers will have an opportunity to fill is for railway material. The war has taught Her Majesty's government a lesson by bitter experience, which it will not soon forget. The necessity of a railway system that will be broad enough to reach every strategic point is imperative aside from commercial demands. It is absolutely necessary for the prompt transportation of troops and military equipment to various points of what is really a great empire. It is also a probability of the near future that the Cape to Cairo Railroad—one of the favorite schemes of Cecil Rhodes—will be pushed to completion. The obstacles in the way of this system are by no means insurmountable, and it is calculated that it can be built at far less expense than the Siberian, which is now approaching completion and which is largely laid with rails made in the United States. This line, running as it would north and south through the heart of Africa, will give Great Britain the supremacy of the Dark Continent, with its northern terminus in Egypt under the British flag and its southern in Cape Colony under the same control. From a diplomatic and military point of view, it would be one of the greatest accomplishments of the century, to say nothing of its prominence as an engineering feat. Based on the ordinary requirements of a population such as could utilize transportation facilities, 5,000 to 10,000 miles of line should be constructed in Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

It is generally admitted that, although the mining operations in South Africa have been conducted on a very large scale, the work will be pushed on much broader lines now that England controls the situation; and under a liberal and progressive administration, such as may be expected from the British government, many new companies will be formed and an enormous amount of capital invested in the further exploitation of the gold and diamond fields. This will, of course,

require a large amount of additional machinery and the employment of skilled mining engineers. Reports from Great Britain are to the effect that encouragement will be given to all who desire to settle in South Africa and to engage in agricultural pursuits, by the donation of farm sites and other lands, and that British soldiers who desire to become citizens of the new colonies will be given all the assistance possible. Probably a portion of the Boer population may migrate, although it is doubtful if the exodus assumes the proportions that have been predicted; but it is safe to say that the vacant space will rapidly be filled and that the naturally abundant resources will attract settlers not only from Great Britain but from other portions of the world. All this means a great demand for such American manufactures as farming machinery, vehicles, wearing apparel, hardware, and a thousand other articles. The settlement of the country means an increase in population of the cities, with a proportionate expansion in local business that should be attended by the prosperity consequent upon the settlement of so rich a territory.

As already noted, the United States now enjoys a fair export trade with Cape Colony and some of the other sections of Africa. Two steamship lines are in regular service from New York, while nearly all the passenger companies operating fleets between New York, Liverpool, and London have close connections with the Castle and other lines sailing direct for South Africa, by which tickets can be sold in New York City for a single or round trip to Capetown. With the development of the American merchant marine there is a strong possibility that one or more lines may also be established to Capetown and other South African ports from the United States, which will be operated under the American flag, as the volume of export trade offering will assume such proportions that undoubtedly full cargoes can be obtained on this side, with the prospect of a fair amount of the African products at present so largely used in the United States for return cargoes.

At first glance the description of the situation may seem to be overdrawn, but, based upon the success of American ex-

porters in other parts of the British Empire, it is a question if the possibilities of trade in South Africa have not been underestimated rather than overestimated. To-day rails from America are being laid down on government and other railroads in Australia, India, Canada, and even in England itself, a recent consignment being sent from Sparrow's Point for use in the heart of London. American coal is being shipped to British naval stations in nearly every part of the globe, while at present the question of furnishing it to several English companies is actually under consideration. American electrical machinery is going into a number of the British colonies as well as to the mother country. American bridge-builders have erected structures in British Africa and Asia, and are planning additional ones to be used by railway companies and other corporations.

With such a population as South Africa contains, and with such a country as will be developed by the extension of English control, it can safely be asserted that a market will be opened to the manufacturers of the United States that is almost limitless.

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## INDIA'S FAMINE AND ITS CAUSE.

ANY form of money, to be effective in promoting industry and productiveness (the purpose of money) in such countries as India, China, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and even in our Southern States, must have an intrinsic value equal to its current value; it must be money that the laboring class can hide away or hoard without any risk of loss by depreciation. These peoples have not yet reached the credit stage of industrial civilization; they are distrustful of paper money and will not take it if they can get metallic money. Their first savings are generally taken from the currency and hidden away, not put in bank. This natural disposition should be encouraged rather than thwarted, for every such hoard is a stimulus to individual industry. The consciousness of his hoard makes a man more industrious whether he is working for himself or for a master; his interest has become identified with the support and conservation of order and peaceable government.

The famine in British India to-day is, as was that of 1897, a direct consequence of the demonetization of silver in 1893, whereby a factitious current value was given to the rupee. The laboring millions of India, the *ryots,* who are the cultivators of the soil, had long been in the habit of putting all their savings into silver bangles or other silver ornaments, and it was upon these small hoards that they depended to enable them to bridge a season of short crops or of famine. The effect of demonetization upon these hoards was first to rob them of a portion of their marketable value and thereafter to deprive them, and all the uncoined silver in British India, of that superiority in stability and exchangeability over all other commodities which is always possessed by the metal that constitutes the currency and is the monetary standard of a people. The effect of demonetization was, in short, to thwart and dis-

courage the wholesome practise of saving, and to impress the *ryot* with hopelessness.

An article in *The Nation* (New York) of May 3d, entitled "The Famine in India," by Professor Washburn Hopkins, of Yale, who is presumably an authority, scornfully repudiates the idea that the efforts of the Indian government to force a gold standard upon that country have anything to do with the famine, and urges that the only thing to be considered at present is the best and speediest means of relieving the sufferers from the famine. I should be sorry to say any word that would tend in the slightest degree to lessen the efforts of our people to help these unfortunates; but if false monetary ruling is the cause of the famine, as I believe it to be, it cannot be inappropriate nor premature to state the fact now, so that the proper remedy may be found and applied. Certain it is that charity is not that remedy. Professor Hopkins is inclined to hold the Hindu *ryot* responsible for famine conditions, because under native rule "centuries of oppression had left him helpless and improvident." But, it may be asked, what of the one hundred and fifty years of British administration that have since intervened? Had not the more intelligent and less oppressive rule in some degree changed the *ryot's* nature and habits for the better? The evidences are that it had; with the result that, prior to 1893, when the government changed its monetary policy, British India as a whole was gradually outgrowing famine conditions. There had been no general famine in India between the years 1875 and 1897, while throughout this period the country had been very prosperous.

Sir Alexander McKenzie, for some years governor of Bengal and for thirty-six years in the India Civil Service, has testified (Blue Book C—9222) that the famine of 1897 was "every bit as severe as that of 1875." This he states from personal knowledge and observation. He also says, "I was greatly struck last year [1897] by the improved strength of the cultivators in meeting distress;" a strength, be it noted, which had been growing during twenty years of prosperity, but

which under the changed conditions is gradually failing, as is shown by the *ryot's* reduced ability to meet the present famine, the severity of which is increased by that very inability.

This view is sustained also by the latest trade-tables of British India, published in 1900 (Blue Book Cd—26), which show that while there had been a remarkably uniform increase of imports, averaging 6 per cent. per annum for twenty years prior to 1893-4, the increase reported for the subsequent four years (or since closure) is less than 1 per cent. per annum. These tables also show that there was an increase of 57 per cent. in the exports for the fourteen years immediately preceding 1893-4, and an increase of only 8 per cent. for the subsequent five years. This shrinkage in imports and exports is conclusive evidence of a shrinkage in the productive power of the people, a natural sequence of which shrinkage is reduced financial and therefore reduced physical power to resist famine.

If we will examine the testimony taken before a "committee appointed to inquire into the Indian currency," we shall find that the weight of this testimony is in favor of reopening the mints. I select Blue Book C—9222, as the testimony printed in this volume was all taken between November 4, 1898, and March 17, 1899, fully six years after the closing of the mints. I speak of "weight of testimony" because, of the twenty-five witnesses examined, fourteen were against closure, two were neutral, and nine were for closure; of these nine, four were connected either with the administrative or with the civil service of India. But, in the relation of the witnesses to the subject and in the character of the testimony given, the preponderance against closure is, in my judgment, very much greater. One has to read the testimony in order to appreciate it fully. The arguments of Sir Robert Giffen, of Sir John Lubbock, and of Robert Barclay, in favor of open mints, are unanswerable. Robert Barclay, as president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, appeared before the committee in support of a resolution against closure which maintained that "it is neither possible nor expedient to establish a gold standard with a gold currency in India;" an absolutely correct state-

ment, though the present government of India appears to be of opinion that it can accomplish the feat.

A remarkable feature of this testimony is that the very class that was to be benefited by the fixity of exchange which it was presumed would result from closure was opposed to closure. In a letter dated March 3, 1898, addressed to the Secretary of State for India, in London, by the government of India, and published in Blue Book C—844, the statement is made that "stability of exchange was the main object of the policy adopted in 1893;" yet of the class referred to—merchants and bankers—twelve of the fourteen examined were opposed to closure. Sir John Lubbock said: "The inconvenience of a fluctuating exchange has been considerably exaggerated; . . . the internal trade of a country is of much more importance than the external." Donald Graham, of Glasgow, Indian merchant, said: "Too much stress is laid on the difficulties of the government, and too little thought given to the interests and wishes of the people. . . . India needs a free, large, cheap, and abundant currency." Sir Robert Giffen, of the London Board of Trade, said: "The difficulty of the Indian government in adjusting its budget was the serious matter." Henry Bois, chairman of the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce, said, "Fixity of exchange is not an essential factor." These are a few specimens, taken almost at random, of the way in which many of the witnesses received the government's assertion that a stable exchange was what it had chiefly in view in its change of monetary policy. The fact is that opposition to closure was the attitude taken by a great majority of the men connected with the trade, commerce, banking, and industrial development of India.

A little study of these Blue Books must convince any one that, in closing the mints, the India government was not consulting the interests of the merchants, the bankers, or the producers of India. Nor does the ostensible motive, "stability of exchange," seem to have been even a secondary consideration with that government; indeed, we have the testimony of one who was instrumental in procuring closure

and who still favors it that "the real motive cause was the great embarrassment of the financial department of the Indian government." There had been a deficit in the revenue, and "the Finance Minister did not see his way to any mode of filling that deficit by the imposition of taxes." (The Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, M. P.—Blue Book C—9222.) The question of revenue runs all through the testimony given, and there is entire unanimity of opinion that no increase of taxes can be borne by the people. Earl Northbrook declared that "to increase taxation would be unwise and dangerous" to the maintenance of British rule in India. There had been practically no deficit in revenue in the twenty years preceding 1892, and the deficit in March, 1893, was only Rx. 2,398,000 (Rx.=10 rupees), or about £1,500,000. But, to an Indian Administrator, any deficit is a grave matter; it affects his status in the official service of the British Empire. Famine can be easily explained in a way that will save him from blame—"drought and short crops," or "the helplessness and improvidence of the cultivators," will suffice to satisfy the home government and people; but let a question arise as to the payment of interest on the debt due by India to England, and the Administrator will at once find himself in serious trouble.

If, then, we will keep in mind the paramount importance of a good budget, together with the responsibility thrown upon the Viceroy and his Council in India (coöperating with the Secretary of State for India, in London) to produce such a budget, and if in addition to these facts we will allow for a lack, on the part of these gentlemen, of knowledge of certain economic principles, we shall be in a position to understand why, in the matter of closure, the Indian government acted in opposition to the business interests and best business judgment of the country. As a specimen of the economic ignorance referred to, I quote again from Blue Book C—844, which is a correspondence between the Council Board in India and Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, in London: "Our experience since 1893 has put beyond doubt one of the

main principles upon which the legislation of that year was based—a principle which was challenged at the time—namely, *that a contraction in the volume of our silver currency, with reference to the demands of trade, has the direct effect of raising its exchangeable value in relation to gold.*" Now, who was it that "challenged" this economic principle? It would be interesting to know, for certainly no one who has given any thought to the subject has ever questioned it. Whatever the currency may be, whether gold, silver, or paper, if the volume is restricted below the needs and all substitutes barred from entering, the value *must rise,* not only "in relation to gold," but to all other commodities. As a matter of course, these gentlemen understood that if the rupee had been made redeemable in gold at the rate fixed (1s. 4d.) it would maintain that value in the circulation; for they had before them the concrete example of silver so circulating in England and in the United States. But their plan to force up the value of the rupee was not by redeeming it in gold but by contracting the volume of the currency, and the success of this plan was what amazed them and led them to believe that they had discovered a new principle in economics.

There was no ground for their astonishment; by this same process the rupee can be carried up to two shillings if desired—but at what a cost! The people must have a common medium of exchange, whatever its price, or go back to barter and barbarism; and they must have a supply of this medium sufficient to meet every need at every point where production is possible, or their trading will decline and with it their productive power. As well might the government issue a mandate substituting forked sticks for steel plows as to deprive India of a "*free, large, cheap, and abundant currency;*" for the former course would be no more certain than the latter to reduce the productive ability of the cultivators. Yet to deprive India of such a currency is what the Indian government, in its ignorance of economic principles, has done; and that revenue which it was acknowledged could not be increased by additional taxation has been increased by a sort of thumb-screw process,

which in its operation diminishes the ability of the *ryot* to pay these taxes.

To increase the revenue by giving a false current value to the rupee may seem to the gentlemen who meet in council at Government House, Calcutta, an unimportant proceeding, but to the millions of poor cultivators it is a very serious matter. In adopting their monetary rulings, these gentlemen do not look below the commercial and banking level for indications of what is needed; if they would, they might discover that the cultivator is prompted to industry in his small way by precisely the same incentive that prompts the merchant or banker to activity—a desire to better his worldly condition. They might also discover that, in the interdependent relation of merchant, banker, and cultivator, the last is the most important factor; that he is, in fact, the tap-root of India's industrial growth.

It follows, therefore, that in framing a monetary system for India the needs of the cultivator must be taken into account as fully as the needs of the merchant or the banker. And properly to appreciate these needs we must bear in mind that the merchants and bankers are in the credit stage of industrial progress, whereas the cultivators have not yet reached that stage. The merchants and bankers may use gold money and paper money, but the cultivators cannot use either, because gold is too costly a metal to circulate and subserve the purpose of money among a people so poor, and whose trade transactions, though innumerable and large in the aggregate, are individually small; and because paper is credit-money. With the cultivator, credit has not yet become a factor in trade; he must have an equivalent in hand for value parted with; he has no banks, for banks only come into existence when confidence and the disposition to give credit permeate a community. It is only a little over two hundred years since banks became a part of the industrial mechanism in England. In India there are, however, numerous money lenders, or usurers, who live and thrive through the necessities of the cultivators by making advances to them upon the security of their crops or of their silver hoardings.

If these conditions are carefully considered, it will be seen that the currency of the cultivator should be metallic, and that the coin that constitutes this currency should have a marketable value as bullion exactly equal to its current value as money. With the mints always open to coin for individual account, this is what the currency would be; for then the coins could pass at no other than their bullion value. This was the character of the rupee currency prior to 1893; it was then true money: it is now fiat money.

Prior to 1893 the rupee served the cultivator as a measure of weight as well as of value; it was the *tola* (180 grs.) that went into one scale when his ornaments went into the other, in order that he might ascertain their market value when he had occasion to pledge or sell them. That these ornaments were always worth their weight in rupees he knew perfectly, in spite of his ignorance of finance; to him it must have seemed, indeed, like a law of nature, for until after 1893 he had known no time when this rule did not hold good. Nor could it be otherwise so long as the mints were open and free to coin for him; consequently, he put all his little savings into silver ornaments, since by this means he could not only please the feminine members of his family with articles of personal adornment but could at the same time provide against the contingency of a short crop. This manner of hoarding silver was so general and has been so long practised in India that it may be called a hereditary habit, and no better provision against want could have been adopted by a people living always so near to the starvation line.

Professor Hopkins blames the usurer for the helplessness of the "peasant farmer;" he says "his grain goes chiefly not to pay the land tax, but to buy a mortgage and keep the usurer quiet. For the expenses of a wedding or a funeral he will cheerfully double this same mortgage. And he pays 180 per cent to 300 per cent. interest, not on the sum loaned but on this sum with a cipher added, which the usurer knows how to tuck on and the peasant is too ignorant to discover." It happens, nevertheless, that the wisdom of Solomon could not have de-

vised a better method of protection against the wiles of the usurer than that adopted by the cultivator in hoarding silver. Instinctively he had seized upon the one commodity for saving which gave him the upper hand in his trading. Knowing as he did that the ornaments pledged for his borrowings were, weight for weight, the equal in value of the rupees paid to him by the usurer, a computation of the amount of interest due was not beyond his capacity.

It was not until the simple financial methods of the cultivator were demolished by the action of his British ruler that he became a helpless prey to the rapacity of the native usurer. By demonetization his indebtedness to the usurer was increased in the proportion of the fiat value added to the rupee, and his taxes were similarly increased. By demonetization the value of his silver ornaments had been depreciated in the same ratio that his debts and his taxes had been increased; but a still more serious consequence to him was that these silver ornaments no longer served him as effectively as before the mints were closed. Having lost through demonetization the function of money, these ornaments were no more available to the cultivator in effecting his exchanges than would be an equal amount, in value, of any one of the base metals. With open mints the ornaments had been to him equivalent to money in hand. With open mints the uncoined silver, which is so generally diffused among the people of India, became actual money wherever and whenever it was used to effect an exchange.

I am aware that the Indian government considers that only the silver that is coined is money; but this is not the view held by bankers, nor does it accord with their practise. No one will question for a moment that the uncoined gold in the Bank of England, which is held for the redemption of notes in circulation, is as truly money as is the coined gold similarly held. It is the service performed by the silver or by the gold, and not the coining, that constitutes it money. All that coining does is to verify the quantity and quality of metal in the pieces and to fix a unit coin, or common denominator, for convenience in computations.

It is useless to talk of giving India a gold currency, for it cannot be done; a metal so costly cannot circulate in that country, and therefore cannot be brought within the reach of the cultivators, as it must be if it is to subserve their monetary needs. Of all commodities, silver is the one most eminently fitted for this service. Silver was the money of India long before the Englishman had made his appearance there; it had come into general use, not by the wisdom of legislators but by a process of natural selection; and if the Indian government would cease its arbitrary interference with this natural order, silver would again assume its functions as the currency and standard of value for the people of India. The ideas of money entertained by the Indian government are those that were commonly held in England at the beginning of this century; money with it is not simply a commodity that performs a certain public service, but something that can only perform its functions when it has the sanction of the sovereign. These erroneous views were thoroughly exploded as early as 1810 by a committee of Parliament in a report commonly known as "The Bullion Report." That committee conclusively established the principle that money should derive its value and purchasing power from the metal composing it, and that a government's duty is to free this metal from all artificial restrictions, in order that the coin in circulation may truly represent the commercial value of the metal. It took Lombard Street ten years to comprehend and accept these principles; how long will it take the official mind of British India to reach the same conclusion?

In 1893 there was an almost universal apprehension that the silver mines of the United States would flood the world with silver and reduce the price to an indefinitely low figure. In that year the long agitation of the silver question in the United States had culminated in a demand for the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, and in November of that year the measure was adopted. Anticipating this action, the government of India, in great alarm, closed its mints in June of the same year. It would be from the purpose of

this article to enter into any discussion of the causes of the disparity in the relative value of gold and silver; it may, however, be well to state incidentally that, at the very time of these occurrences, the owners of the mines that caused the alarm were agreeing that the low price of silver made it advisable for them to shut down their mines—a course which they then adopted and to which they have since adhered. I understand that the silver now produced in the United States comes altogether from lead and copper mining, silver being a co-product with these metals. It is also a co-product with gold, though to a much more limited extent; so that, practically, silver mining as such has ceased to be an industry in the United States.

The change in the relative value of gold and silver that had taken place between 1873 and 1893 was fairly expressed by the rupee. At the beginning of this period ten rupees were equal to £1 sterling, whereas at its close it required sixteen and a half rupees to buy a gold sovereign. In other words, the value of the rupee had fallen from 2s. to 1s. 2½d.; but this, be it remembered, applied only to its relation to gold, for with reference to other commodities the value of silver had changed but little. When the rupee was employed to pay gold debts, the divergence appeared as stated, but its purchasing power was not diminished when it was used to procure the products of the farm or of any of the industries. As the taxes are payable in silver and as the indebtedness of India to Great Britain is payable in gold, the Indian revenue was necessarily affected unfavorably by this divergence in the value of the two metals. During the twenty years that the rupee had been declining in value, there had been now a deficit and now a surplus, ending in March, 1893, with a net deficit of Rx. 2,398,000. If the decline in the revenue had been relatively the same as the decline in the value of the rupee, in which coin the taxes were paid, the deficit would have exceeded Rx. 40,000,000, but the deficit was not in that proportion, mainly for three reasons: first, because, though the rupee had declined in reference to gold, its purchasing power had diminished but little; secondly, because,

as the indebtedness of one nation to another is paid chiefly in general merchandise and not in the money metal, which is used to settle balances only, the debts of India to Great Britain were paid mainly in merchandise; thirdly, because production had steadily increased.

The metal that is the monetary standard of a people should be at all times in sufficient quantity in the circulation to meet every possible demand; it should be within the easy reach of every one, the laborer as well as the banker. This principle is fundamental and applies to all peoples, whether in the credit stage of industrialism or not, because even in the credit stage there is always a substratum that has not yet reached that stage. This principle of money applies, however, much more emphatically to communities that have not entered the credit stage than to those that have, because in the credit stage there is higher intelligence and a greater ability to neutralize any arbitrary restrictions imposed upon the people through mistakes in legislation. In support of this statement I will use the currency panic in the United States in August, 1893, to illustrate how an arbitrary restriction of the currency was met by a people in the credit stage, in contrast with the effect of a similar restriction (closure) upon the people of India. The panic of August, 1893, was caused by legislative restrictions imposed upon the issue of credit-money. Our government had appropriated to itself the exclusive right to issue paper money; I say "exclusive," for, notwithstanding that the national banks issue notes, these notes are so completely controlled by the government as to be practically government money. The currency had consequently little or no elasticity, and the hoarding of notes by individuals who had become alarmed over the silver agitation brought on the panic. Then it was that our people showed their ability to overcome the stringency in spite of arbitrary rulings. Individuals and corporations all over the land began immediately to issue paper money on their own account, though each issue, and every reissue as well, was subject to a tax of ten per cent. The tax on these issues has never been collected; yet the Act stands, a blot upon the statute-books

and a discredit to every Congress that has sat since its passage, March 3, 1865.

To be effective in promoting industry and productiveness, the currency of a people must, in response to the varying demand for money, have the quality of expanding in volume in seasons of active trade and of contracting when trade is dull. This is an essential qualification, whether the money is exclusively metallic, as in the case of a community that has not entered the credit stage, or is of metal and paper, as in the case of one that has. A community in the latter stage, however, because of its larger and more complex trade, needs a much more elastic currency than the former, and such a currency is only obtainable through the issue of credit-money. Indeed, without credit-money the trade of the world never could have reached its present magnitude, for the mere labor of handling the precious metals would long ago have checked its growth; these metals, besides, would have been quite insufficient in quantity.

The absolute need of elasticity in a currency has long been accepted as an economic principle, and so far as I know it is a principle that has never been questioned; yet this natural law has been utterly ignored by the Indian government. Except at the commercial centers, where paper money is in use, the currency of the people of India is necessarily metallic, and therefore can derive elasticity only from the interchange of the coined silver in circulation or from the innumerable small hoards of uncoined silver that are brought into monetary service when needed. But by the closing of the mints the uncoined silver was deprived of its monetary function and could, therefore, no longer contribute any elasticity to the currency. In addition to this, in order to force up the current value of the rupee so as to increase the taxes and thereby enlarge the revenue, the volume of rupees had to be reduced much below the minimum of the people's needs, the inevitable result being a rigidly inelastic currency. To raise the current value of the rupee above its bullion value it is necessary either to contract the volume of rupees in circulation or to redeem them in gold

at a gold valuation, and such redemption is, I understand, the ultimate aim of the Indian government. But even this course will not serve the needs of the cultivators, for it will not bring the uncoined silver into monetary service. The rupee will then be only a token, not real money. What credit does for more advanced communities the uncoined silver does for the peasant farmers of India; with open mints and coinage for individual account, the uncoined silver would impart the necessary elasticity to the whole volume of Indian currency.

The effect upon India of restricting the supply of metallic money differs only in degree from the effect produced in the United States by restricting the supply of credit-money. In both cases the productive power of the people is reduced; but while in India the result may be a famine, it is only in the case of panic that in the United States the hardship endured goes beyond an enforced economy in personal expenditure. A panic is the struggle among commercial men to maintain their credit, for if that goes down their business and their future prospects go down with it. With the cultivator in India there is no panic, for he has no credit, and his margin of capital above the famine line is so narrow that it may easily be reduced to nothing by a false governmental ruling that he is incompetent to overcome; he simply sinks into helplessness and hopelessness.

The enormous quantity of silver absorbed by Eastern nations in the past has been a marvel to Western financiers, but here is the explanation: These nations in their industrial progress have not yet reached the stage of economizing their money metal by the use of credit. Silver is the only metal that can serve the monetary needs of India, and she must have it in superabundance if she is ever to rise above famine conditions. No more unscientific and destructive ruling could have been adopted than the imposition of a gold monetary standard upon the people of India.

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## GREAT BRITAIN AND THE "TRUST" PROBLEM.

THE tendency toward the concentration of capital employed in modern industry, by way of substituting some form of combination or coöperation for the competition that hitherto prevailed, seems peculiar to no one country. We observe a tendency in that direction in every commercial country in Europe, especially in Great Britain, France, and Germany. It would seem, however, that it is in the United States alone that this phase of commercial evolution has assumed the dimensions of a political problem, and has become associated with evils so pronounced that they must be mended or ended. Americans cannot understand why the British public, as appears from the London correspondence in their daily newspapers, views with indifference the frequent formation of syndicates and "combines" that aim at the control of large volumes of industry. The following remarks bearing upon the experience of Great Britain are intended to supply the answer to this question, and to illustrate some of the most striking differences between British and American industrial combinations of the "trust" character.

In Great Britain the tendency toward big "combines" seems to be but the natural reaction from the destructive competition of a decade ago or more. The cry of ruinous competition was frequently heard, and, although it is not easy to understand how competition could be carried to the point of ruin, yet there can be no doubt that wages and profits sank very low. Much of this ruinous competition came from America; more of it came from Germany—both countries that, while erecting high tariffs to exclude English goods, were not at all slow to take advantage of England's "open door" for the disposal of their products. This was one reason why rival manufacturers thought of combining their interests; another reason was the frequent and severe conflicts that used to take place between capital and labor. To meet so stern and complex a struggle

for existence, the manufacturers in many of the trades were forced to take counsel together and reconsider their position. If they could not stop competition, they could at least, by substituting a few large competitors for many small ones, eliminate some of the waste and increase efficiency of production, thus leaving a larger margin for profit after complying fully with the competitive conditions. A good many masters' combinations were formed in this manner. The textile trade was one of the first to put its house in order, and several amalgamations on the "trust" principle were successfully floated and still continue to exist.

Among these may be mentioned the well-known firm of J. P. Coats & Co., of Paisley, Scotland, a combination of several leading sewing-cotton manufacturers that was formed in 1890, with a capital of over $25,000,000. The English Sewing Cotton Company was formed in 1897, and is an amalgamation of fifteen different firms, with a capital of $13,750,000. The Calico Printers' Association was formed the same year, and comprises sixty large firms with a capital of $46,000,000. The Bradford Dyers' Association was formed in December, 1898; it embraces twenty-two large firms, with a capital of $22,500,000, and is estimated to control about 90 per cent. of the trade. The Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers' Union was formed the same year, and covers thirty-one firms, with a capital of $30,000,000. The Wall Papers', United Velvet Cutters', and British Cotton and Wool Dyers' Associations were all formed during the present year, on the same model as the others and equipped on the same scale. The professed object of all the above consolidations has been to improve trade without doing any injury to the consumer, and just in proportion as this principle has been kept in mind have the undertakings proved successful. The English Sewing Cotton Company has paid good dividends to its shareholders from the beginning. The Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers' Association has, as a result of its last year's working, paid a dividend of eight per cent.—a tolerably good return. Such results are in marked contrast to the fate of the Salt Union, whose shareholders have never

got any return. Here was a bold attempt to capture a whole industry in one of the necessaries of life, and to dictate prices to the consumers in a free-trade country. Its shareholders tried to grab *all* the nuts, and so they got none.

Another form of combination was contrived which included not only the masters but the workmen, and is known as the Birmingham Smithsonian Trades' Combination scheme, from the name of its promoter, Mr. E. J. Smith, and the fact that it originated in Birmingham and was successfully applied to many branches of the hardware industry in that town. This kind of combination aims at securing harmony between employers and employed, and, while not raising prices to the consumer to any great extent, yet manages to maintain them at a sufficiently high standard adequately to remunerate the capital and labor engaged in the trade. Although the scheme is an elaborate one, providing penalties for manufacturers who undersell their fellows and in other irritating ways restricting their independence, yet it can hardly be said to be anything more than a qualified success. In the bedstead industry, which it chiefly dominates, the profits do not exceed on an average seven per cent., and, although the prices to the public are supposed to be fixed by the association, yet it is freely asserted that secret rebates on these prices are frequently allowed to customers, one or two prominent manufacturers having recently withdrawn from the association because they could not secure orders at the fixed prices owing to the secret competition of the "rebate." Nor has the expected harmony between masters and workmen been altogether realized. Coercion is said to be the cornerstone of the system; freedom can only be kept from oozing out by the closest vigilance, and there is constant friction between the naturally opposing interests. It may be mentioned that this was the sort of combination advocated by the late Sir George Elliot, a leading colliery owner, in 1893, for the control of the coal-mining industry. Nothing, however, came of the project at the time.

The class of large concerns known as "department stores" has within recent years become very popular in Great Britain,

and has been subjected to some adverse criticism as tending to drive out of the market the legitimate traders in its respective branches. But, although this charge is to some extent true, it cannot be said to be the result of monopoly. Better organization and low prices are the secret of the success of the department stores, and the public at large does not complain of their expansion. "Small profits and quick returns" is the motto of these organizations, and the expedient of providing customers under the same roof with every article they require, from fish-hooks to Seidlitz powders, seems to insure a turnover large enough to undersell the single-trade man. It is only a case of survival of the fittest.

In the liquor trade it is a fact that the bulk of the trade is falling into the hands of the big brewers. The process is a simple one. Certain brewing firms acquire a reputation for the excellence of their products and thereby become wealthy. Then, as public-houses come into the market, these brewers are able to outbid the small publicans, with the result that the latter sink into the position of managers on salary, under the licensing transfer system, and the trade is thus coming to be monopolized and worked on a more uniform plan. The prices to the consumer are not raised, though restrictions are placed upon the quality of the liquor supplied. Beyond an occasional sentimental tear at the wiping out of the independent publican, little dissatisfaction is felt by the outside public at this phase of the drink traffic, though the whole question is likely soon to be the object of radical legislation.

Besides the systems of formal combination above referred to, there exist in most trades local and national associations of manufacturers and dealers, whose object is to arrive at a common understanding as regards prices and to discourage ruinous competition. A "black-list" is kept of traders found selling under the fixed price, and pressure is brought to bear upon the wholesale houses with a view to their not supplying those retailers who are guilty of such practises. The law of libel and the law of conspiracy are, however, wholesome checks to any abuse of this system, and its influence has not much effect upon the general balance of prices.

There are certain departments of human industry that, from their very nature, must in all countries tend to develop monopolistic features. To this class belong the telegraphs, telephones, railways, and shipping. The telegraphs have long since been taken over by the British government and are operated by the Post-office Department with the most satisfactory results. The telephones still remain the property of one private company, which pays to the government a royalty of ten per cent. on its gross receipts. Its charges to the public vary from $40 to $100 a year, the rates for the metropolis being fixed higher than elsewhere. Lately, owing to sharp Parliamentary criticism, and the threat of municipal competition held out by the government, the National Telephone Company has reduced its charges in the provinces to $16 per annum, or, with the government royalty added, $17.50. The company's license expires in 1911, at which time the whole telephone system will revert to the government. Last year the company paid a dividend of six per cent. upon its ordinary shares.

As regards the British railway monopoly, the important powers exercised by the Board of Trade over the railways prevent any such discrimination in rates as is said to have contributed so largely to the ascendency that the trusts have gained in the United States. Every railway company is bound, under the Traffic Act of 1888, to submit a list of its rates on all classes of merchandise to the Board, which may, if it think fit, draw up a list of its own and present it to Parliament for adoption in a bill. The competition between the various railways for traffic is, in the main, real and effective; but when the competition becomes extreme it generally results in combination, as in the well-remembered case of the South Eastern and London, Chatham & Dover railways, which, two years ago, decided to bury the hatchet and to work for their mutual benefit—somewhat to the alarm of a too confiding public.

In the shipping trade, while there can hardly be said to be any such thing as a trust, there is generally a friendly arrange-

ment between established lines covering the same routes of traffic not unduly to compete with one another. New competitors occasionally make their appearance, but they are soon bought off, or "squared" in some other way, so as not to interfere with the recognized scale of freight charges. In addition to this the charge is freely made that certain well-known British steamship lines, which enjoy a subsidy from their own government, are in the habit of discriminating in favor of the foreigner and giving him an undue advantage, not only in the foreign but in the home markets. To this extent their methods are quite in keeping with those of the American trusts, which sell high to Americans, and sell low to the foreigner what they cannot dispose of at home.

Many other examples might be given of the extent to which contrivances, framed with the object of restricting the natural flow of competition, have been adopted by British manufacturers and traders; but those already cited are sufficient to show the kind of shape that the movement has assumed in Great Britain. When the protectionist newspapers assert that free-trade England has its trusts as well as tariff-bound America, they are stating what is the truth, but they are not stating the whole truth. The good or evil of a trust depends greatly on its environment. The structure of the institution *per se* is not calculated to convey its real meaning and effect. Broadly speaking, the chief differences between British and American trusts would seem to be that the former are avowedly aggressive in their character while the latter owe their origin mainly to self-defense. Or, if such were not their respective origins, such at least from their different environments must be their respective policies. No British trade monopoly can afford to raise the price of any commodity above the level at which the same commodity can be imported from abroad. When that point is reached, foreign competition comes to the rescue and the normal balance is restored. Of course, if a world-wide monopoly could be secured, as has already been done in oil and was attempted in copper, the principle would not hold good; and the fact that industrial capitalism is becom-

ing every day more international in scope is one that may have to be reckoned with at some future time.* But so long as foreign competition is possible must the would-be home monopolist be held in check. England's commercial system is regulated from the point of view of the consumer. At present he is preparing to import coal from America, prices having reached the foreign-competition level.

The formation of trusts has, therefore, no terrors for the British consumer. To be sure, he regards it as an interesting phase of coöperative development, and accordingly takes note of its results; but he does not appeal to his Parliament to stop it. He makes no complaint, for the simple reason that the shoe does not pinch. A general election is likely to take place very shortly, and it may be confidently predicted that the trust question will not find a place in the election address of any of the candidates.

There is, however, another person besides the consumer whose interests ought not to be forgotten, *viz.*, the small manufacturer or trader who has been displaced. How fares it with him? He bows to his fate with philosophic calm, and either becomes a comfortable subordinate in the business in which he formerly held a twopenny-halfpenny independence, or, if he is not too old to do so, contrives to adapt himself to the requirements of some other department of the great national industrial machine.

So long, therefore, as large aggregations of capital confine themselves to the task of cheapening production, and draw their increased profits out of the economies they thus make instead of out of the consumers' necessities, so long should they be welcomed in the same way that every other labor-saving contrivance is welcomed. But when they take their stand upon some exclusive privilege or opportunity for production that is conferred upon them, and when their avowed object is to

* Many British manufacturing firms have branches abroad. Thus the firm of J. P. Coats & Co. has mills in the United States; Armstrong, Mitchell & Co. have works in Italy; and the United Alkali Company has recently begun operations in Michigan, under the name of the North American Chemical Co.—to profit by the American tariff.

establish an industrial dictatorship so as to make beggars of the community, the latter may well regard them in a different light. The measure of the exclusive privilege conferred will of course be the measure of its potency for evil. Where the field of trade is level, the waters of competition will flow evenly, and the natural margin of "live and let live" will be automatically determined. Dams cannot be formed without the aid of barriers, and the trust system will not have been an unmixed evil if it should open the eyes of the American people to the advisability of inaugurating that freedom of trade which is the strongest safeguard against that alarming monstrosity—commercial despotism.

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## GROWTH OF NATIONAL FEELING IN GERMANY.

TO one who lived in Germany prior to the Franco-Prussian war, and who has returned to that country within the last few years, the change in public sentiment on the subject of national feeling is amazing. Before the war Germany knew nothing of a central government; there was no central authority, no national colors, and patriotism with the manifold emotions allied to it was evoked by the name of the ruler of each particular country. Bavarians waved aloft their flag of blue and white, and fought and died with the name of their beloved king upon their lips; and Württembergers, Saxons, and Suabians did likewise. Sectional jealousy was inconceivably bitter, and the feeling that separated North from South Germany was almost as strong as that cherished toward rival lands.

Even to-day, under one ruler, one flag, and one set of laws, it is difficult to convince any section that its virtues may be duplicated in other parts of the empire; and the confusion of local flags of every shade and combination, which mingle with the imperial colors, detracts much from the harmony of gala occasions.

The northern provinces, with their strictly Protestant population, are still very different from the southern, where Catholicism rules and the old rivalry has by no means died out.

Love for his own ruler and pride in his own birthplace have held sway for too many hundred years to be smothered by a political *coup d'état,* however brilliant; and allegiance to native sovereign and fealty to his house have too long been the highest expression of national patriotism to be quickly merged in the more impersonal love for a distant and unknown Emperor. The wisest political leaders look the matter squarely in the face and adjust political policy accordingly.

From time immemorial, Germany has been merely a loose union of States, each striving for supremacy and bound to-

gether for political purposes only, and, till the great war fused these antagonistic and hostile factors into one concrete mass, there was little hope of betterment. But the ideal Germany has always been a united one, and her poets have ever sung of the strength and grandeur of a united Fatherland. Bismarck and the old Emperor were not the first to dream of such a consummation; Frederick the Great had visions too, and, though his highest ambition was limited to a desire to place his beloved Prussia in the front rank, he foresaw that the only way to do so was to develop its resources, to exclude all foreign material, and to depend as much as possible upon home industries. These industrial truths have become so trite that it is hard to believe that they were considered quite revolutionary, but Frederick met with some opposition in carrying them out. When he declared that his contemplated palace of San Souci should be built of German stone and German metals, he was thought fanatical, but the impetus that he gave to home industries has proved it to be almost the wisest step he ever took.

Somewhat later, in the war of Liberation, and after the people had shaken off Napoleon's yoke, the horrors of a common past drew them much nearer together, and the hope of a united country aided in cementing the bonds; but the times were not ripe and the spirit of the people not ready for so radical a change in hereditary prejudices and time-honored beliefs.

The development of a national literature paved the way for the more complicated and difficult political unity, and it was in itself a most powerful and necessary factor. An eternal debt of gratitude is due to those far-seeing pioneers who first wrote and preached against the universal subjection to French standards of taste and French literary forms. Lessing, Herder, Klopstock, and Bürger were the men most largely instrumental in founding modern German literature, and since their day the literary unity of the people has been maintained.

The next step was to purge the language of foreign words, but these had become so deeply embedded that the reformers accomplished merely the initiative in a movement toward purity of speech that has had to wait till the present day for further

development. The Germans have been much behind the English in realizing the value of using their native tongue undefiled by foreign elements; and what Jeremy Taylor and Milton and the host of other English writers attempted was not begun till several generations after the English reform. The best writers in England and America have so long been devoted to short Anglo-Saxon words, and have so rigorously excluded foreign ones, that one is surprised to find the same tendency so much more recent in Germany. Though the purists suspected that the language needed some such pruning in the time of Bürger and Klopstock, and though many changes in more rational spelling were suggested by them, till lately no national effort has been made to exclude foreign words. Here, as in many other reforms, the present Kaiser is the moving spirit; and we find that he has even called in legislation to aid him in making it obligatory to use the German language exclusively in all written reports of the army.

The reform is notably striking in the railway and postal service, for till recently most of the terms used in these departments had been taken from the French, though there were plenty of good German equivalents. It is now considered bad form to use a French word when a German can be found, and the language has gained immeasurably by it—but not more than the national pride has swelled in being able to get along so well without the aid of the detested French. Societies have also been formed for the improvement of the mother tongue, and teachers and officials take much pains to forward the movement.

The union of the twenty-five German States under an imperial form of government, which was effected through the agency of the Franco-Prussian war, seems at first glance to be the crowning point in a long series of efforts; but Germany is far from being "united," as the word is understood in England and America, and it may be generations before the real unity is accomplished. The first tentative political step was taken as long ago as 1848, when Bismarck calmly ignored the claims of Austria to a protectorate over Germany and startled

the crowned heads who were assembled in Frankfurt to consider mutual interests by rating himself, the representative of Prussia, on an equality with Austria. The petty distinctions that prevailed must have seemed amusing to his sturdy common sense, and Americans will appreciate Bismarck's attitude in overturning them. It was an unwritten law, for example, that only the Ambassador of Austria should have the right to smoke in the Assembly, and when Bismarck coolly lighted his long cigar, and puffed unconcernedly in the indignant face of the solitary Austrian smoker, consternation and surprise sat upon every countenance. It was really the first attempt to break through the hedge of petty privileges with which Austria had hitherto surrounded herself, and, though so small and laughable an incident in itself, it led up to the final break between the rivals.

Other restrictions demanded by the etiquette of the occasion were equally galling; and when we read that only such-and-such crowned heads had the privilege of sitting in arm-chairs, while lesser rulers, as dukes and princes, had to be content with chairs without arms, we wonder that they stood it as long as they did.

But something stronger than diplomacy was needed to bring the different States to a realizing sense of the conflicting interests that divided them and stood in the way of their progress, and to show that power could alone be gained through concerted effort. This the brilliant victories of 1870 demonstrated, and the proud nation began at once to investigate its past history and study the lesson of former unions of the people. But, strange to say, no complete union had been effected till the sixth century after Christ, when Hermann united the different tribes and thereby succeeded in triumphing over the Romans. The old Kaiser was at once compared with the immortal Hermann, and the enthusiasm engendered by his valiant performances and the love that his really beautiful character inspired continued to hold together the twenty-five States of the empire.

This sentimental phase of the union is by no means so strong

since his death; for the present Emperor is not very popular in South Germany, and the feelings entertained by Bavarians toward the empire have cooled in proportion as the power and influence of Prussia have encroached upon Bavarian territory and Bavarian privileges, real or fancied.

Other factors in the growth of national harmony are, however, constantly gaining strength. The unifying influence effected by the clubs and other societies of women is of tangible value, and for the first time in German history women have aided in an important political issue. Until within very recent date German women may be said to have had no public influence, and the point may not now be granted; yet the contrast between past and present circumstances cannot fail to be encouraging to the unbiased observer. The union of German women in 1894, under the broad and catholic leadership of Augusta Schmidt of Leipsic, has been of inestimable value in welding together all women in Germany and in destroying the petty local prejudices and antagonisms that had been peculiarly noticeable among them.

The first women who became the speakers for their sex have also done much to unite the different provinces, since their work has taken them into all parts of the empire and their breadth of view and cosmopolitan manners have acted most favorably upon provincial minds. And where the women of a country are united in sympathy and common aims, we may look for real permanence of sentiment. This was the experience of America in the reconstructive period following the civil war, and nothing has been found to cement the North and the South so solidly as the growth of common interests among the women. It is an influence that, however, the Emperor would gladly dispense with; for he is known to be strongly opposed to the enlargement of woman's sphere, and is quoted as saying that the women of the empire should limit their activity, as does *his* wife, to church, kitchen, and children. The Dowager Empress, on the other hand, is alive to every issue touching the welfare and progress of her sex, and her name is associated with nearly all movements managed by women.

The last important factor in uniting Germany is one whose influence is brought to bear upon every child in the empire, for it is an integral part of the public-school system and impregnates the three vital studies of geography, history, and reading. The studies have been made the means of inculcating love of country, patriotism in its best sense, and unity of national feeling, and the results are even more encouraging than the pedagogical reformers dared to hope. Take, for example, the study of history. Instead of devoting all the time as formerly to studying the myths of the Greeks and Romans, the legends and sagas of the early Germans are investigated and the character of their noblest men held up as an example to the children. Thus the ancient heroes become national in an entirely new sense, and another common sympathy is added to the growing basis of national patriotism. The history of each locality is also taken in reference to its influence upon the whole empire, and national issues are shown to be intimately connected with local events. Reading lessons are also made to assist in developing breadth of national feeling, and the selections are all that could be desired.

That there is also genuine effort to unite on religious questions is true; but the difficulty of bridging the chasm between the two great divisions of Christians, Catholic and Protestant, is so great that advance is necessarily slow. The conviction of German educators that religious or rather doctrinal training should be given in the common schools retards this tendency to work harmoniously side by side; and so long as separate schools are maintained for Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, little headway can be made.

All these factors taken together present a very reassuring sight; for they seem sufficiently strong to make possible a real and permanent union of the people—when the term "German nationality" will call up the image of one great ruler, one flag, and one unified central government. That day is far distant, but the signs are favorable and the number of true national patriots constantly growing. Boundary-lines are becoming less and less important—national issues more and more vital;

and the outcome is bound to be propitious to all lovers of a united Germany. Some enthusiasts and dreamers look forward to the day when the twenty-five States will no longer have separate rulers, and they hope for something like our State Governors to take the place of hereditary kings and dukes; but each and every reigning house is so deeply embedded in the history of its State, and the people are still so devoted to the family that represents to them the flower of their own particular civilization, that nothing short of a revolution in their mental attitude could bring about this result.

Nor is this so desirable, if the proper balance be observed between central authority and provincial government. The Germans are apparently, as a nation, devoted to rank and nobility, and not in the least desirous of equalizing the different classes of society; so this reform would not voice the desire of the people. But they *are* deeply concerned in becoming a world power; and one of the most important elements of success in that direction lies in building up a strong and permanent feeling of national unity. With an Emperor whose vigilance is unceasing and whose mind embraces every interest of his people, from the largest to the smallest detail, the consummation of these hopes may lie in the near future. And it is safe to predict that the demolition of every obstacle in the path of national unity and the utilization of every favoring factor may wisely be left to the Emperor's vigorous hand.

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Excellent. Read it

# THE STUDY AND NEEDS OF SOCIOLOGY.

THE need of a science of social relations becomes painfully manifest the moment we realize that there is nothing today that meets this requirement. Almost all the social questions that vex the people and threaten the existence of social order would quickly disappear if there were formulated a body of scientific principles based on known facts and in harmony with the nature, aspirations, and tendencies of the people who constitute all society. I will try to make this clear.

Science is defined by Webster as "knowledge duly arranged, and referred to general truths and principles on which it is founded, and from which it is derived; a branch of learning considered as having certain completeness, philosophical knowledge, profound knowledge, complete knowledge, true knowledge." This is what I mean by science; and this is what I plead for when I present the needs of the time for a science of sociology. It must be a science that stands or falls, at all times, upon the truth or falsity of its proclaimed facts and principles. A truth needs not the sanction of authority, the protection of law, or the safeguard of orthodoxy. These things are but an offense, a stench in the nostrils of truth. Whenever any proposition needs these supports, it is time to bring it to the bar of truth and call upon it to defend itself against the charge of error. It is only error—only falsehood that needs any sort of artificial crutch to lean upon outside of itself.

Now, taking sociology to mean "that branch of philosophy which treats of human society," it is evident that as yet there is no such thing as a science of sociology. There is nothing within the realm of human knowledge bearing upon social relations that in any way answers the requirements as to philosophic truth and completeness which are called for by our definition of science. It is true that there exists a body of teaching,

which is given in some of the colleges and universities, under the name of sociology; but it lacks every element of science, as is readily seen even on slight examination. Nor is it possible that this should be different under the circumstances. The revenues of present institutions of learning, with rare exceptions, depend upon endowments made up of gifts, actual or prospective, from wealthy men who furnish the principal resources of these institutions. The governing bodies, the trustees, hold their places as the agents of their rich patrons, or else as suppliants begging for endowments with which to carry on their work. This necessarily makes them subservient to wealth as such, and prevents all teaching in those institutions that would offend those actual or prospective donors by attacking their private accumulations or the privileges by which they were obtained. It is obvious, then, that no matter how conscientious and faithful may be the instructors in those endowed institutions, or institutions seeking endowments, no body of teaching bearing upon social adjustmets can ever prevail that tends to lessen the power of the rich over the poor or to prevent the accumulation of their riches. And it is just as impossible that a science of human society, the application of which, in practise, would equally preserve and protect all the members of that society, by providing for the needs of all without favor, should ever originate in such an environment.

To show that this is no fanciful statement of a remote and improbable contingency, I have only to point to the long list of professors who have been dismissed from their places within the last ten years, for teaching social doctrines at variance with the supposed interests of men of wealth, or who have espoused the cause of the poor against their rich oppressors. These cases have been too many and too conspicuous to require more than a general mention. In few of them has there been more than a pretense that the action taken was for other reasons than to gain the favor of those who make endowments to institutions of learning. When we come to the fundamental principles on which a science of sociology must be built, if we are ever to have such a science, it will be seen how vital it is

to the wealthy and privileged classes not only that no such science should be taught but that there should be no such science to be taught.

That which is taught in the schools as social science is a jumble of partial facts and unsupported theories under the heads of "science of government," "political economy," "finance," and "social problems." The social problems include a few harmless things about wages, trades-unions, monopolies, pauperism, and criminality, all tending to foster the idea of some essential superiority and virtue on the part of the rich and justifying their rulership over the poor. They are harmless in that they do not endanger the privileges of the rich, but vicious and hurtful to the extent that they promote false notions of human relationships and hinder the development of better social adjustments. The science of government, so far as it is a science at all, is the science of rulership—of the mastery of a part of the people over others; the science of spoliation—of greed and of exploitation. It is based upon the principle of getting the utmost away from everybody else and giving the least possible in return. It is the philosophy of "dog eat dog." Historically and philosophically, it is the direct antithesis of freedom and equality, upon which all scientific society must rest.

Their political economy and finance are no better. They make no pretense to economic justice. The schools are only propagating-grounds for spreading economic heresies that violate every principle of righteousness in the interest of the rich. Here are laid the foundations of schemes for taxing away the substance of the poor so subtly and silently that the poor shall never suspect that they are being robbed. And here are taught doctrines of finance that perpetuate the slavery of debt upon the whole world. So that there is no such thing as a science of sociology; and if such a science is ever to be constructed it must be done outside of the recognized institutions of learning.

It may be objected that all this takes no account of the great number of institutions for higher education under the

control of the State and municipal authorities, and which are supported by taxation; but wealth governs here just as absolutely, only in a different way, as it does in those privately endowed. The contributions of the rich to the campaign funds of the political parties give to them the same influence over political administrations that they enjoy in the administration of endowed colleges. The one concern, greater than all others, of every political party or administration is to continue itself in power or to displace its opponent. To do this it must have money and lots of it. And those who furnish the money are the rich and privileged, who dictate the terms on which they make their contributions. No party can, except under rare circumstances, win an election and attain to power without the favor of these large contributors; and after it has obtained the power its only hope of keeping it is to maintain its standing with those contributors. Therefore, wealth exerts the same influence in the one class of institutions that it does in the other. In one case it operates through the college trustee, while in the other it is through the political boss; but in each the control is equally effective. It is idle to hope for relief from institutions controlled by either of these agencies.

This is not to blame either the authorities or instructors in these institutions. We can condemn the system without passing judgment on the men. If we tolerate the system we cannot justly find fault with those who take advantage of it. This condition of affairs must continue so long as the colleges and universities depend upon present methods of raising their revenues. The system of endowments and State support has outlived its usefulness. It has become an abuse. It no longer promotes human progress by increasing the facilities for education; but it hampers progress by limiting the opportunities for obtaining an education. It is only a small percentage at best, and that percentage is fast decreasing, of the people who can go to college and get what is termed a liberal education. With an adequate science of sociology, something that would be recognized as bearing the manifest stamp of truth, this would be changed. Society would quickly shape itself to meet

the requirements. The privileges of the rich only continue by reason of the ignorance of the people. Once the nature and effect of those privileges became generally known they would be brought to a speedy termination. The people would no longer give up their earnings to support an idle and useless class. Instead of an almost universal poverty there would come a universal prosperity in which all could indulge their utmost ambitions in the line of study. There was a time when endowments promoted the spread of knowledge—when they were necessary to the growth and development of education; but that time has passed. When the production of wealth was slow and difficult and was mainly carried on by manual labor, it was only a few who could afford the time and expense required to obtain an education. The work of enlarging the field of human knowledge through original research had to be left to the rich. A leisure class was necessary. But now, when the machine has taken the place of human muscles, when steam and electricity furnish the motive power, and when labor has been subdivided until a few months at most, and often a few days, suffice for the acquirement of the skill needed for most of the mechanical occupations, there is no longer need of a leisure class as distinguished from a working class. Privilege has no longer a reason to be.

I shall be asked how it is possible to provide for the support of public institutions of learning except it be by taxation. It is not possible *now*. Things must go on much as they are until a better understanding is reached. A change can only come as a result of a distribution of wealth in which all shall share after a more scientific system has been found and applied. This may consist only in the destruction of class privileges whereby a few now exercise so preponderating an influence in public affairs. It is impossible to tell beforehand just what changes will come as a result of certain other changes. The political machine that we call the State may be abolished entirely; or it may slough off its present characteristics of force and violence and preserve only its administrative features. Or, again, a new business organization may develop from and

through the coöperative needs of the people that will supply all the requirements of a public administration without restriction of the freedom of individuals. This is already done in a measure by the existing stock companies, which administer the affairs of the members without interfering with the personal liberty of those members. But one thing is certain—that, whatever form the new organization shall take on, the needs of the people will determine what that form shall be. At present I think the wise thing is to encourage private institutions of learning that depend upon fees of tuition for their revenues; and then bend every exertion to destroy privilege and increase the resources of the people, and therefore their ability to meet expenditures. Their resources will increase just in proportion as the power of privilege to expropriate their substance is decreased. The development of a science of sociology is the one thing needed to make plain the methods by which this can be accomplished.

On entering upon the study of sociology, from any possible starting-point, one is immediately struck with the multitude of theories that prevail in every branch into which the subject divides itself. Writers almost innumerable have formulated peculiar notions on special subjects, according to their own varied interests or inclinations, with slight regard to their bearing upon others. With rare exceptions these notions are the outgrowth of class prejudices accented by a dense ignorance of the facts and conditions in other classes than their own, which easily magnify the importance of minor facts and principles while missing entirely the greater and more general truths. In this way there has come to be a seeming wilderness of theories and speculations without order or harmony, oftentimes the most contradictory. Thus all manner of cure-alls are offered to the public, each warranted to correct every social ill and usher in a social millennium if only the plans formulated by its particular author are adopted and applied. As a result, we have the people divided into warring factions under different names, each struggling for the mastery, and conducting their warfare in a spirit of partizanship

and intolerance well calculated to hide the truth rather than reveal it. And, still worse, we have the professed followers of the great Teacher—who, more than all others, laid down the fundamental principles on which all social science must rest—trying to cure our social ills by an individual salvation: putting an individual plaster on a social sore.

There is nothing discouraging in this condition of things. On the contrary, it is a hopeful sign. This is the condition that must precede the formulation of a science of sociology. In this way all the facts and theories must be developed and brought to the attention of the real workers in the scientific field, who must find, by large generalizations, the underlying principles of human association. In the same way the sciences of zoology and botany were made possible. A vast amount of knowledge was collected about the physical structure, characteristics, and habitat of plants, and also of the structure, habits, and life history of the lower animals, before these sciences were possible. The same thing has been true of every other branch of science. It has been necessary that all these special theories on the subject of human relationships should be promulgated in order to compel the coming sociologist to take due account of all the factors in the problem before him.

One of the greatest obstacles in the way of the formulation of a science of sociology has been the problem of harmonizing two well-marked tendencies in human development that are seemingly antagonistic. One is, the aspiration everywhere of mankind toward liberty. In every country and in every age this has been the watchword of all popular uprisings and the stimulus to exalted endeavor. And yet, along with the struggles for the realization of this ideal, has gone another tendency to the enslavement of the individual. This has been a marked characteristic, increasingly so, particularly in industry, during the last hundred years, if not always. There has been a steady increase in the subdivision of labor and the application of machinery whereby each individual produces less and less of the things needed for the satisfaction of his own wants, until no man any longer produces more than an infinitesimal part of

anything. Each is becoming more and more dependent upon all the others in the social organism for even the commonest necessaries of life. Along with this tendency has gone the rapid absorption, by a few individuals, of both the natural resources and the instruments of production, without which industry is impossible; so that the mass of the people are being enslaved, through their needs, to a small part of their fellows. Manifestly there can be no *science* of sociology that does not take these facts into account and does not harmonize them. This is one of the problems that must be mastered before such a science is possible; but it is only one. In the meantime, the facts of social relations must be studied, and taught in such schools as are free to teach them; and the various theories must be brought to the test of criticism until the time shall come when the knowledge shall be systematically arranged.

When a sufficient knowledge of the details has been obtained, some one with a vision broad enough to take in the whole field, and with keen enough insight to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, will construct a science of sociology—or, at least, furnish a clew that will enable some one else to do it. Other investigators will correct the mistakes of the first, until the science comes to possess all the completeness and unity of botany or zoology. It will then meet the requirements of Webster's definition already quoted. But it can never spring from the present endowed or State-supported schools and colleges; nor is it likely to be taught in them. When the time arrives that we have such a science, these schools and colleges will have disappeared. Nature has a way of killing any institution when it ceases to minister to human needs; and the killing process, in this case, has already begun, notwithstanding all their wealth and resources. They are getting more and more out of touch and sympathy with the people, which is both the first and final step to their decay. Their wealth cannot save them. The future society must provide for the preservation and sustenance of all the people; and a teaching that fails to give voice to that aspiration will be rejected. A society that fails to do this has no reason to be. And a sociology that

formulates the structure of that society must spring from and be taught by agencies independent of endowments, or revenues derived from political sources, as we know politics now. The aspirations of the people toward liberty are certain to be realized.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HEINE.

# THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV. OCTOBER, 1900. No. 4.

## THE MENACE OF IMPERIALISM.

### I. THE ANTITHESIS OF TRUE EXPANSION.

THE question of imperialism is important in that it menaces the very foundation principles on which republican government rests. True, the exigencies of a great Party controlling now all the branches of our government seem to require that imperialism and expansion should be so confounded and confused as to seem one and the same, and that it may appear that opposition to imperialism is opposition to expansion; but the strong common sense that always characterizes the citizens of the Republic as a body will discern the difference between the two questions—as widely separated in principle as, in distance, the valley of the Mississippi is from the islands of the Orient.

No illustration of the doctrine of imperialism, no exemplification of its operations in the affairs of the government, can be found in the history of this Republic, but must be sought only in the corruption and despotism, the rot and decline of the governments of the past, and in the tyranny and despotic rule of the kingdoms and empires of the Old World, which have burdened the people with immense armies, and whose fundamental principles of government are directly the reverse of this new Republic of the West, best typified by the statue of "Lib-

erty Enlightening the World." To the present our history furnishes justifiable reason for expansion and exemplifies its benefits, but its pages reveal nothing of imperialism. Legitimate expansion is on the line of past experience in republican government, where the will of the people is the source of all legitimate power. Imperialism is a new departure.

In the acquisition of territory, in the past, the primary purpose of the government has been self-protection, and all other considerations have been secondary. East and West Florida, belonging first to Spain and afterward ceded to France, cut the United States off from the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and thus interposed a formidable barrier to the development of harbors and cities of the south coast and to the commerce of the Gulf. The Mississippi River, constituting the eastern boundary of what is known as the Louisiana Purchase, and the country by that name beyond, in the hands of France, excluded us from the Gulf of New Orleans and from the vast region to the west. A glance at the maps of the first period discloses the United States hemmed in by foreign territory interposing on the Gulf border and constituting our western boundary, thus confining the line of our operations and progress to narrow limits, and exposed to continuous irritation and friction which the development of imperial systems and hostile interests must inevitably bring.

Spain, then a somewhat enfeebled Power, conveyed Louisiana to France, a restless and aggressive nation under domination of the great and ambitious Napoleon. At once the statesmen of the American Republic of that period became alarmed, perceiving the perpetual menace involved in the possession of the Mississippi and the outlet to the Gulf in the hands of such a Power, liable at any moment to become actively hostile and to disturb the peace and development of our nation. It was this apprehension, far more than the desire for territorial aggrandizement, which influenced the action of Jefferson, Monroe, and the other leaders of public opinion in their zeal for the purchase of Louisiana and the Floridas. In the acquirement of these vast possessions, the government of that day

had no thought of holding them as conquered provinces or colonies, but provided by express treaty stipulation for their ultimate admission into the Union as States; so that the inhabitants thereof knew from the beginning the purpose of the government with reference to the future. The land commission appointed for the compilation of the laws relating to public domain, in the compilation of 1881, speaking of the Louisiana Purchase, says:

"Mr. Jefferson, in the entire correspondence relating to the purchase, was impressed with the desirability of getting rid of all foreign neighbors of a warlike and territory-trading propensity. He considered that the future of this country rested on the acquisition of a Continental Republic, from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf. He objected to contiguous neighbors, who would with the signature of the sovereign make French from Spanish citizens, and *vice versa,* or perhaps begin a war with the United States, claim a nominal victory, cede 'conquest' territory, and then join with the nation with whom concession was made for a war to complete the title. His policy was to select our neighbors, and they to be of the best and most peaceable character. He did not wish to see Louisiana a Gallo-American province."

Upon the cession of Louisiana from Spain to France, Mr. Jefferson wrote: "The worst effect is to be apprehended." Again he said:

"The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas to France by Spain works most sorely on the United States. On this subject the Secretary has written you fully; yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States and will form a new epoch in our history. There is one spot on the globe the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will, ere long, yield more than one-half of our whole produce and contain more than one-half of our whole population. France placing herself in that door assumes toward us the attitude of defiance. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal

friction with us and our character, are circumstances which render it impossible that France and the United States can continue long friends when they meet in so irritable a position."

Here is shown the great primary motive that influenced Jefferson to action. With the Gulf in hostile possession, the mouth of the Mississippi in the hands of France, giving to us or not as she might choose the privilege of navigation, a continuous cause of irritation would exist that would end in disturbed relations and war; and to avoid the possibility of such results and to insure permanent peace were the first object, and incidentally and secondary the benefits to be derived from the access to the Gulf, the navigation of the river, and the development of the country. This immense region, however, was not to be held as a colonial possession to be governed from Washington for an indefinite period, but was to be carved into States and admitted into the Union with all the rights and privileges belonging to other commonwealths. This result was not left to chance, but was secured by solemn treaty engagements between the countries.

The third article of the treaty between France and the United States, whereby Louisiana became a part of our domain, is as follows:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to all the rights, advantages, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in their enjoyment of liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

The treaty was ratified and Jefferson deemed it a fitting occasion to express in a short message to Congress his views on the subject as follows: "On this important acquisition, so favorable to the immediate interests of the western citizens, so auspicious to the peace and security of the nation in general, which adds to our country territory so extensive and fertile and to our citizens *new brethren* to partake of

the blessings of freedom and self-government, I offer to Congress and our country sincere congratulations."

It is evident that the peace and security of the nation were the main object in this acquisition of new territory, and with that the blessings of freedom and self-government to its inhabitants, present and future. The President of the same Republic in 1900, looking to the acquisition of new territory in the Orient, does not speak of adding: "To our citizens new brethren to partake of the blessings of freedom and self-government." Messrs. Claiborn and Wilkinson were constituted a commission to receive on behalf of the United States at New Orleans the new purchase in a formal manner. This being done, they addressed Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, a note which indicates that the inhabitants of the new purchase rejoiced at the change. That note was as follows:

"City of New Orleans, Dec. 20, 1803.

"*Dear Sir:* We have the satisfaction to announce to you that the Province of Louisiana was this day surrendered to the United States by the commissioners of France; and to add that the flag of our country was raised in this city amidst the acclamation of the inhabitants.

"WM. C. CLAIBORN.
"J. A. WILKINSON."

Welcome hands outstretched to receive and loving hearts went out to greet the flag of the Republic, because it guaranteed to the inhabitants the blessings of liberty and self-government and the right to become a part and parcel of the American Union, with all the privileges of full citizenship. Mr. Claiborn, being named as temporary governor, thus addressed the inhabitants:

"Fellow-citizens of Louisiana: On the great and interesting event now finally consummated—an event so advantageous to yourselves, so glorious to United America—I cannot forbear offering you my warmest congratulations. The wise policy of the consul of France has, by the cession of Louisiana to the United States, secured to you a connection beyond the reach of change and to your posterity the sure inheritance of freedom. The American people receive you as brothers, and will hasten to extend to you a participation in those inestimable rights which have formed the basis of their own unexampled prosperity."

There is no vague, concealed, or uncertain meaning in this address from the representative of the Republic to the inhabitants of the new purchase. In words of fraternity and good feeling they are addressed as "fellow-citizens," and greeted as brothers. At the very threshold of their new relations, the inhabitants are assured that they are to have the right of self-government, "the basis of the unexampled prosperity enjoyed by the United States."

The Floridas were equally important to the peace of the nation and the continuity of its territory as was Louisiana, and after the latter had been ceded to this government negotiations were completed for the purchase of the Floridas, thus opening the ports of the Gulf, removing the source of irritation between Spain and the United States, and making it impossible for that country to menace the South from the Gulf and bringing this government into closer relations with the Gulf islands and South America. Every consideration of future safety required this purchase. The acquisition of the Floridas and Louisiana was justifiable expansion over contiguous territory, and extension into a region thereafter to be incorporated into the sisterhood of States. The treaty of 1820 with Spain therefore provided: "The inhabitants of the territory which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

Here, again, the status of the new people, to become inhabitants of the ceded territory, is definitely determined and secured by treaty stipulation. So also in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, between Mexico and the United States, the same settled policy of the government is clearly recognized. Article nine of that treaty says: "The Mexicans who in the territory aforesaid shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States,

according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime shall be maintained and be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property and secured in the exercise of their religion without restriction."

Here in our own history is an unbroken line of precedent from 1803 to 1848. In each instance, by solemn treaty stipulation, the highest pledge a nation can give, is the guaranty to the inhabitants of the ceded territory, former subjects of the ceding nations, and to those who might thereafter occupy these new possessions, that they were from the beginning and should continue to be citizens of the United States, and should have the right to be admitted into the Union as States on terms of perfect equality with the others of the Republic. These identical provisions incorporated into the several treaties are not accidental, but evidence of a fixed and settled governmental policy. This is expansion, justifiable, beneficial, and necessary, in harmony with the spirit of our institutions and conveying to new people the protection of our Constitution and the blessings of self-government. This expansion is far different from the imperialism of the colonial theory, maintained by England and the European Powers by force of arms and advocated by some statesmen of this country in recent years.

The expansion of Jefferson and his compeers was extension of American citizenship, constitutional rights and privileges, and the guaranty of future Statehood to the inhabitants of an adjacent region and in harmony with the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Such expansion was the result of the natural spread of the Republic and the republican system over territory intended by Nature to be a part of the United States, and which it was then evident must soon be populated by emigration from the States of farmers, mechanics, business men, and laborers who had imbibed the spirit of our institutions and who had become familiar with the principles and operation of our government by residence in the States and by the exercise of the rights of citizenship.

As the tide of emigration should flow westward it would carry our institutions by an irresistible and natural process

over the plains and valleys and into the mountain regions of the new country, and found States of a homogeneous people already learned in statecraft and capable of self-government. It would extend our commerce and develop our harbors in the Gulf and on the Pacific and open the way in these new possessions for large cities populated from the States, open the line for a great water-way from the lakes of the North to New Orleans, link the coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific by ties of common interest, traffic, and commerce, and furnish millions in men and money for the common defense of the greatest Republic of any age.

Such is the glorious and natural expansion inaugurated and maintained by Jefferson, Monroe, Polk, and their compatriots; and it is far different from the imperialistic system, recently called expansion, which seeks to seize eight millions of people by force, and to that end create a large standing army and spend millions in naval equipments to maintain military rule against the will of the people in distant lands, inaccessible to those in need of homes and valuable mainly for the field it would afford for an army of spoilsmen to prey upon the industries of the native people. The expansion of Jefferson and the earlier days is something quite different and far better than this. The expansion of the past is a natural growth: imperialism is an excrescence upon the body politic. It is an attempt to force upon an unwilling people institutions which they do not understand, for which they do not ask, and for which they are not suited. It is the exploitation of distant possessions for the benefit of those who deal in franchises and grow rich by speculation and who expect to grow rich from the property that can be acquired and the money that can be wrung out of an alien people by taxation. Such a system calls for the creation of large war fleets, the maintenance of large armies, hostile occupation of the country, and in time of war distant and inaccessible territory to defend. It is an attempt to force upon a republican form of government policies which have long been in favor with kings, emperors, czars, and foreign potentates. It affords no additional

homes for the poor and middle classes who, with scant means upon which to exist in this country, can neither emigrate to nor live with their families in tropical regions.

The expansion of the past constitutes the brightest pages in the history of our Republic. The proposed imperialism of the present and future if carried into effect will mark a departure from republican principles and systems and constitute the first pages in the history of the new empire.

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## II. ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.

IN the heat of a political campaign involving the question of imperialism, or indeed any other important issue, words are apt to be used in a partizan, rather than an accurate, sense. It is well to bear in mind that *imperialism* is a definite term, not an expression of reproach. Imperialism is a governmental policy in which the "consent of the governed" is not considered essential to the right to govern. Its most important tenet is the *non*-universality of the self-governing capacity; that some people are meant *to* rule and others *to be* ruled. The conscientious imperialist believes that the sovereignty of a State should be vested in just so many, or just so few, as will best exercise it for the welfare of all. The *result* is what the imperialist contemplates; the methods employed are secondary. He permits the end to justify the means. The end and aim of all government, with him—as indeed it is with the anti-imperialist also—is the greatest good for the greatest number. Peace, order, and prosperous business conditions are sought. Recognizing the importance of these, he will justify the exercise of autocratic power for their attainment.

On the other hand, the anti-imperialist, the adherent of Democracy as distinguished from Empire, believes the consent of the governed to be of vital importance; he sees in it a pre-

requisite to the very existence of a government. In his sight it is no mere phrase—this maxim that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; it is an eternal verity, and a government founded upon any other basis spells tyranny. Nor will the object sought, the ultimate good to be accomplished, mitigate the injustice he sees in a policy of imperialism. He cannot let the end, however beneficent, justify the means.

Between these widely divergent theories of government is an irrepressible conflict. It is world wide and as old as the ages, but to-day, as never before, is the issue drawn in this New World, and each day draws it clearer. To many persons the simple fact that this country was established as a protest against imperialism, and that we term it a Republic, is in itself a refutation of the cry that the spirit of imperialism is abroad in the land. Such persons fail to realize the subtleness of an idea. We may remain a Republic in name long after we become an Empire in fact. History has, again and again, shown such cases.

There are certain features about both the imperial and the democratic policies that appeal to us all. It is impossible to say "that policy is utterly vicious," or "this possesses superiority in all respects," of either one. It is to this fact that is due the wofully mixed condition of mind in which thousands find themselves to-day. We have all, until recently, considered ourselves as so definitely committed to democracy that we would have disavowed anything savoring of monarchy, on account of the mere name if for no other reason. But now the monarchical tendency is here—there is no use in denying this obvious fact; and certain features of it commend themselves to *us* just as they have to humanity in other ages and climes. And we are sadly confused as to where we stand.

It is the purpose of this article to show briefly and, as nearly as may be from a non-partizan standpoint, the strength of imperialism, the features that are apt to commend themselves to the honest citizen, and also the great, underlying, and fatal weakness of governments based on force. One obvious

thing is that imperialism rather than democracy tends toward tranquillity and order. The strong arm of militarism—the sway of unchallenged authority with the power to back and enforce its mandates—makes most decidedly for law and order. While imperialism tends strongly to engender hate and vindictiveness on the part of the conquered race, to make of them the "sullen, silent people," as an imperialistic bard has sung, yet it does not *necessarily* breed the spirit of riot and rebellion, ready to break forth at the first opportunity. An absolute despot may be so wise, so statesmanlike, and so benevolent a ruler as to produce contentment. Such a one can postpone the day of reckoning.

Imperialism rather than democracy makes a community inviting to capital; for capitalists do not, as a rule, place their money in a country where revolutions are of biennial occurrence. They buy very few bonds of a government that is as likely as not to go out of business the next day, leaving good substantial debts but dissolving the debtor. Thus the Philippines under native control would most assuredly be a less secure place for capital than under American rule. Aguinaldo might, or he might not, establish a good government; but the very best native government would be too insecure a basis for any great London or New York financier to negotiate a loan upon. The next week's republic might repudiate it.

But as an American *possession,* backed by the faith and credit of the whole American nation, a Filipino bond issue might not be so untrustworthy a thing after all. Five per cent. might then keep fully abreast of its mate—philanthropy—were such a state of affairs to exist. Were we a carping, critical people; were we suspicious and inclined to search for ulterior motives—instead, honest folk that we are, of taking things on trust—we might perhaps ponder this phase of the question somewhat.

The South American republics furnish an illustration of democracy and an example toward which the imperialist may point. They are committed to the proposition of self-government, and the Monroe Doctrine guarantees them that privilege.

Yet there the revolution is a regular institution. The imperialist has, then, but to show how, were the strong arm of militarism stretched across the South American continent, trade would flourish, capital would flow in, the revolution would cease, and comparative quiet would reign. And all this he *could* show; it is as patent as day. But he makes the fatal mistake of overlooking Nature's supremest (?) law: Growth! Evolution! A nation must grow just as an individual—just as a plant. Every effort to *force* its growth is an error and works evil, not good. That is precisely what imperialism does. Every step empire-ward is a step backward.

The growth of a nation must depend upon the capacity of its people for self-government. This varies; but he that denies the existence of that capacity in some degree is impeaching either the justice or the intelligence of the Creator. National growth at its very best must be slow and painful. Our own history and daily life as a nation attest this fact. With the Latin races, who are more excitable, it is even harder; revolution and riot seem to be certainties with them. They are obstacles to be overcome before these peoples shall have completely worked out their destiny.

The Anglo-Saxon, of whom so much has been heard that is eulogistic of late—from the Anglo-Saxon—has not perhaps the shortcomings of the Latin races; but he has some that are peculiarly his own. Among the very worst of these is the preposterous and mad and infantile idea that Destiny leads him on to control the whole world. The sooner he sobers down the sooner will his *rational* ideals and institutions have a fair opportunity to prevail; and, so far as they deserve to, they *will* prevail—but it must be from their own inherent merit and superiority.

If Anglo-Saxon civilization is to rule the world, it must be because it is the *best* civilization, not the most blatant. It must become universal because of the example it sets to other forms of civilization. This, through democracy alone, can it do justly and properly. It is not only unnecessary but positively detrimental to the spread of our civilization to attempt it by con-

quest. That takes the worst, not the best, of Anglo-Saxon life to the alien people. We may go into the Philippines with our superior energy, but rapacity, not energy, will be the distinguishing feature about us to the native if we take from him his sovereignty. We may go there with Christianity, and our protestations may be sincere, but he will never believe in us so long as we preach the Golden Rule of Christ and practise the iron rule of despotism.

The name of England is more execrated throughout the world than that of any other nation. Why? Is it because, as she herself says, she is more successful than other nations, and success begets envy? That can but partially explain it. Were that the full explanation, America, too, would have been as cordially hated; for we have more in common with her, more of her characteristics, than any other nation, and are no whit behind her in enterprise and successful undertakings. It lies simply in the fact that Great Britain is committed to a policy that is wrong—a national policy that makes her professions seem too often but hypocrisy. It is not that the English are given to double-dealing and greed. The majority of them, as the majority of us—the majority of any people—are honest and well intentioned. But their national creed is such as wellnigh to choke an honest utterance. The English anti-imperialist has a hard fight. He must oppose the traditions of his country. With us it is the reverse. We need but be true to our history and national ideals, not because they are such merely, but because they are *right*. We need but continue steadfastly in our chosen course. That does not mean "contraction." It spells progress and growth. It means expansion of American ideals and institutions. These will in the future, as in the past, become more and more widespread as they are known and appreciated. They will receive an impetus, incalculable and unprecedented, when we proclaim to the world that we stand by our colors; that we are not a robber nation; that we yield to no false destiny, and propose to remain true to the principles of democracy upon which the Fathers builded. Then, when all this is done, Anglo-Saxon civilization shall

go forth undefiled, purged of Anglo-Saxon covetousness, to such victories as are yet unimagined.

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### III. Its Place in Historic Evolution.

MUCH has been said of late concerning the relative importance of the issues of the coming campaign, especially of those declared in party platforms to be the questions demanding public attention. It is within the personal recollection of nearly every voter that the prevailing issue of 1896 was the money question. This issue, being then uppermost in the American consciousness, drew party lines so closely at that time that those arrayed on one side are still disposed to emphasize that question, while others regard it as obscured, if indeed not entirely solved. This prejudice, due to the intense feeling displayed in that campaign and the strict alignment of parties, has partially obscured the usually keen intellectual vision of the American people. But, despite this fact and the contentions of many well-disposed persons, it seems to be the prevailing opinion that at present imperialism, and not a choice between monetary standards, is the paramount issue.

The superficial causes of the paramountcy of imperialism as an issue are not difficult to find. Democrats who once were in favor of the gold standard now declare the supremacy of imperialism, hoping thereby to relieve themselves from the embarrassment of inconsistency. Republicans who are opposed to the present Administration for any reason find this a very convenient vehicle in which to ride out of the party. Even the rank and file of the Democratic party, who have always remained faithful to the tenets of Democracy, are not averse to making imperialism the supreme issue, not because they have given up one jot of the money plank but because they recognize that the most effective slogan of the campaign will be found in an appeal for the perpetuity of republican insti-

tutions. In addition to these causes is the authoritative announcement of the Kansas City platform.

Not, however, because of these reasons is it supreme; the true cause lies deeper. The bare question of imperialism, stripped of all other matter and issues, could never arouse a people from its natural apathy and indifference to the heights of a moral enthusiasm that inspires the heart of man with resistless energy. Imperialism, naked and bare, has to do with the mere outward forms of government. It touches at most only the political rights of men, of which the most important two are the rights to vote and to hold office. Comparatively few men can hold office, and fewer care to exercise the right of elective franchise except as a means to an end. Insure to them the end and they will care little for the means. If labor were industrially free, and if it were assured that that freedom was permanent—secure from all the encroachments of legislative treachery and the assaults of corporate wealth—it might with mental equipoise smile with contempt at the tinsel of a know-nothing nobility; it might even reluctantly acquiesce in granting titles to knights, lords, and dukes, and with serene composure view the parading of royalty.

Imperialism, however, is not barren of other most pregnant matter, and in its probable consequences is found the secret of the unyielding opposition to it. There is a close and vital connection between imperialism and other deeper questions that beat and throb in the life of the nation; and it is this relation that gives pith and point to the fight over the mere forms of government. Though this relation is not easily seen, yet it is not merely a blind and unerring instinct, arising from the long experience of a thousand years of struggling against oppression, but an intelligent insight of the masses into present tendencies and conditions, that leads to a life-and-death struggle against imperialism. The people realize, however dimly, that there is a vital relation between the imperialist's ideal form of government and the great forces of labor and industry.

To determine the nature of imperialism we must observe the character of those forms of government in the history of

political evolution that have led up to it and out of which it has grown. Previous to the world's epoch of imperialism there were two others of distinctive characteristics, blending, as all history does, in one consummate, evolving whole. The first was patriarchalism; the second was feudalism.

Patriarchalism was doubtless a universal system, as also it was the first in the line of political progress. Like all other systems of government, it sprang from the general existing conditions of civilization, such as those of commerce, property, labor, industry, and popular education, and it became their fitting expression. It was an age of universal incompetency and servitude. Grossly ignorant, the people were easily led by the more intelligent; weak, they required the protection of rulers; shrinking from the light, crouching in fear under the ban of ecclesiastical wrath and devoid of self-reliance, they courted political oblivion and were easily forced into it. They shunned both opportunity and responsibility. Subjective power lay dormant, and activity paraded on the stage of instinct, far below the lofty heights where reason reigns. The star of individual sovereignty, a bright harbinger of a higher civilization, had not yet arisen. Such a people could not do other than merge, in the theory and practise of their government, their own political rights into those of some superior.

Political power, therefore, necessarily vesting somewhere, naturally fell upon the one first exercising authority of any kind—the head of the family, the patriarch. His sway was over only a small and ever-changing domain, the jurisdictional idea being rooted in tribal rather than in territorial relations. It was over only a few in number, including merely those related either by consanguinity or affinity. The unit of civilization, the political family, smaller than in later times, was less stable, easily swept away, and unnoticed in its disappearance. The patriarch ruled with the absolutism of the autocrat. He was the sole origin of law and the sole arbiter in controversy. But this power, though severely rigid at times, was tempered by a close and intelligent sympathy with his subjects. A kindred feeling, unsuppressed by the artificial restraints of industrial

customs or the distinctions of social caste, spontaneously arose from ties of blood and association. But perhaps the truest index to the character of this epoch is the fact that the governing power was in its origin entirely objective to the governed, without the sanction of their consent.

Feudalism is the epoch immediately preceding imperialism in the evolution of government. During the period of transition from patriarchalism to feudalism self-reliance had been developing among the people. Expanding languages, a few discoveries and inventions, and an increasing general culture had brought a greater population and vaster territory into closer association, and thereby more and more separated and estranged the ruler and his subjects. The lord and serf were no longer bound together by the ties of affinity or consanguinity; the spell of blood was broken. The absence of these ties, so potent in the days of the patriarchs, was loosing both the hands of rulers and of people. Sympathy arising from relationship and association was dying, but another cause, the growing power and intelligence of the people, was operating to stay the hand of tyranny. Political power was gravitating toward the people; the scepter was slipping from the hands of lords into the hands of serfs. Those once ruled were now beginning to rule. Power in popular hands and an awakening self-consciousness were begetting an ever-deepening discontent. The lord's exalted station was becoming precarious, even dangerous. Observe, therefore, the reason for the two common characteristics of historic feudalism: the lord's castle on the hill on the one hand, surrounded by a moat and wall, and the villein village on the other, low situate in the field of feudal war.

In order to retain through fear and awe what had been lost by the failure of natural sympathy, the suzerain retired into a kind of exalted seclusion from the people. He ruled a greater population than the patriarch; his dominion was over a vaster territory, but rested on a more uncertain foundation—a revolutionary discontent. He stood on the proud eminence of opulent and aristocratic splendor; but from that dizzy height none might discern the ominous storm-brewing

movements among the people beneath that were soon to plunge him into endless extinction. A higher conception of society, like an alluring hope, was ever arising in the minds of men, warning rulers that the political system was soon to collapse. Lordly government was becoming less secure under the stress of intellect seeking the warrant of sovereign power. Thus the governing power, though still almost entirely objective to the people, was through the centuries becoming more subjective.

The third stage of political evolution was that of imperialism, which was the outgrowth of the feudal system. The old bonds of feudalism were breaking—freedom was gaining ground. The narrow territorial limits of the patriarch had stretched out into the broader dominions of the lord—thence to the still vaster boundary-lines of empire. The population under the sway of a single ruler had increased from a patriarchal family to a lordly clan, and from a lordly clan to a nationality. Reason with its lighted torch was steadily leading the people to higher intellectual heights and bolder achievements in the material world. It was the birth of an hour of highest hope, when the star of progress shone brightest in the path of nations. The art of printing was rapidly disseminating the principles of a universal liberty; the revival of learning and the renascence of literature had just begun; the great religious reformation was steadily spreading westward, and the argosies of commerce were beginning to ply their trade on every sea. Industry, as compared with its condition under feudalism, was extending the giant arms of its empire. Inventions, though few in number and crude in mechanism, were beginning to release the forces of Nature and free the manacled hands of labor. Improved tools and labor-saving machines were coming into use despite the advice and threats of kings—trembling lest released labor might become the monarch's greatest menace.

Political sovereignty, too, was drifting into the hands of the people. Parliaments were gradually encroaching upon the prerogatives of kings, thereby gaining greater security for life, liberty, and property. But the feeling against rulers, as com-

pared with that under prior systems, was intense, often bursting forth in the flames of revolution and civil war. During patriarchalism both ruler and ruled, bound in mutual sympathy, existed in a state of comparative amity; in feudal times the suzerain and serf were restrained by the power of class and caste: but under imperialism political relations, as a rule, settled down into feelings of mutual and inveterate hatred. Empire was held together by sheer force, but always felt a constant and terrific strain in every political muscle and fiber as the warning tremors of internal dissension thrilled along its nerves to the organ of royal intelligence. National unity was maintained by the repressive force of arms, but organic national unity never existed. Under the first two systems wars usually arose from without the realm, but under imperialism, because of the strained relations between ruler and ruled, they often, if not usually, sprang from internal conditions, culminating in fraternal and internecine strife.

In order to repress this feeling and stay the omnipotent forces that were shifting political supremacy into the subjective world, where it was becoming permanently resident in the people, two systems were instituted. The first of these was the parade and show of royalty, by which popular reason was subjected to the imaginative spell of reverence and awe. The suzerain's position may have been insecure, resting on the whims of a fickle proletariat; but far more so was that of the king, ruling a people just awaking from a thousand years of medieval sleep, and just beginning to feel the first pulse-beats of a newer life and hope.

The second system by which the supremacy of the people was being checked was the institution of militarism. Rallying under the impulse of despair, kings sought to reinvest their slipping scepter by foisting upon the nations the enthralling system of vast standing armies and navies. But this only deferred the attainment of political freedom. The danger signal of kings was just ahead; the forces of history were steadily and surely driving them on to extinction. In the hour when the star of hope was beginning to dawn upon a race enslaved,

in the resplendent morning of a newer civilization, came the death scene of royalty. Those present must have witnessed a deep and labored breathing, a long shriek, and a splendid agony as the scepter fell from its nerveless grasp. It was the passing of kingship. Thenceforward the old cry: "The king [the person] is dead; long live the king [the kingship]!" was to be wrought into the finer and more humane proclamation: "The kingship is dead; long live the king!"

Thus had ended three epochs in political history. And what an evolution was here, of rulers and of ruled! Patriarch, a kind of fatherly theocrat. Lord, a historic mummy embalmed in artificial glory. King—the very terseness of title bearing something of vigor and reverence. He, ruled of the patriarch, abject, debased, without even a characteristic name. Vassal, the shadow of personality behind a moving thing. Subject, pregnant with the possibilities of the Citizen that in the coming Democracy will be. Thus had the forces of evolution, inherent in the nature of man, raised into name and place a nameless people.

But a still better day for political liberty was about to dawn. The sun that had set in the marshes of European slavery and despotism, in those centuries that went out with a curse, was soon to rise in rekindled splendor on the shores of the New World. The veil of ocean mists was rent and the peering eyes of Europe's teeming millions, in dire oppression groaning, caught the first ray of hope and saw in the Western sky the sign of victory for a triumphant people.

It was the ushering in of the fourth and last era in political history. The epoch of Democracy has come. All the people (*demos*) are to rule (*kratein*), being the sole repositories of political power. So-called democracies, indeed, and republics merely in name, there have been prior to our time. But in this country was first enunciated the principle that the ruler is subject to the will of the governed, in majorities expressed, and derives his power from their consent. Here political power has become entirely subjective and permanently resident in the governed. In popular language every man is a sov-

ereign. The Citizen—a name honored throughout the earth—has acquired the dignity and function of patriarch, suzerain, and king, simultaneously becoming more obedient to law than subject, vassal, or nameless serf. His civil, personal, and industrial rights are the origin and only warrant for the exercise of political power, however often and to whatever extent it may be delegated; for that power ever returns to its home in the governed when surrendered by those temporarily exercising it.

Under democracy modern life, in striking contrast to that of former times, has become strong, practical, rational, individualistic, and humane. Not in the caprice and arbitrary will of the few, but deep in the common sense of the millions, are laid the foundations of modern society. The rational universal consciousness of man, led by the scientific spirit, seeks ever to formulate the law and rationale of things, and remorselessly brings everything to test in the flaming crucible of experience. To-day it heralds throughout the land a new-found truth, and to-morrow the masses take it up, test it, and make it the corner-stone of their constitution. In the struggles of more than a hundred years the great principles of democracy have been tested and proved, and have not been found wanting. And these principles, which some would have us abandon for the glitter and show of the imperialism of a former day, will never be surrendered if the American people remain true to their traditions, their hopes, and themselves.

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# HOW ENGLAND AVERTED A REVOLUTION OF FORCE.

## A LESSON FOR THE PRESENT.

TO the wise man the story of the past is ever pregnant with promises and warnings—lessons that, when a people becomes wise enough to profit by the example of those who have gone before, will insure an uninterrupted upward movement along the highway of progress. Injustice, selfishness, and greed may seem to flourish for a time, and the individual, the class, the nation, or the civilization practising them may appear to prosper by wrong-doing; but so surely as the universe is governed by law the day arrives at length when the people, the nation, or the civilization that has builded on the sands of injustice, oppression, and wrong goes down. And indeed any deflection from the eternal principles of justice and rectitude brings retribution; though it is true that a nation may for a time heedlessly ignore the fundamentals upon which enduring progress, growth, and happiness depend, and yet happily save itself if the conscience of its people can be so aroused that society and government come to a realization of the danger before the tempest of human passion, hate, and bitterness breaks forth, destroying the good with the bad and leaving chaos in its wake.

In modern times France has afforded a striking illustration of what sooner or later may be expected to overtake any people where the government refuses to recognize the solidarity of the race and the interdependence of the units that constitute the fabric of the State. On the other hand, the England of our century has given a no less impressive example of how a revolution of force may be averted and the ends of progress gained through peaceable and evolutionary methods when the leaders of the nation are great and wise enough to insist on organization and education and an appeal to the conscience, reason, and

judgment of the units throughout the State, until the moral impulses of the people are so aroused that an advance movement becomes inevitable. In the present period of unrest in our own land, when there are so many ominous signs of hostility and bitterness between different sections of society, the lesson of the England of the forties is at once timely and of especial value to those who appreciate the importance of preventing an arrest of civilization through violent revolution, or its destruction through greed and selfishness.

To friends of popular government there has seldom been a decade of greater interest or one more instructive in its practical lessons than the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reign, for during this period the spirit of progressive democracy was introduced into the political life of Great Britain to such an extent that it may almost be said to have changed the genius or character of the government. True, the new spirit was present when the great Reform Measure of 1832 was passed, but personal government could not be said to have given place to constitutional rule during the reign of William IV. Victoria, however, accepted the spirit as well as the letter of the new demand born of the democratic ideal, which was to be progressively and practically applied to public affairs; hence, her rule signaled the advent of the republican spirit, which has been fostered and expanded with the succeeding decades.

History has afforded many sad illustrations of republican shells masking imperial despotism or intolerable tyrannies, under autocratic or oligarchic rules; but in England we find the form and paraphernalia of monarchy mantling a government that, since the dawn of the Victorian age, has successively enlarged the rights and privileges of the people, and that has from year to year accepted the larger demand of a free government whose face is set toward the republican ideal. For this reason a brief survey of the period will prove helpful and I think inspiring to those who are earnestly working for freedom, fraternity, and happiness, based on justice and enlightenment.

The condition and general outlook in England during this

period were in so many respects analogous to those present in France when Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette ascended the throne that the happy outcome in Great Britain stands in bold and brilliant relief against the dark background of the wanton slaughter of life and destruction of property that marked the Reign of Terror.

In each country the transition was revolutionary, working changes of a fundamental and far-reaching character. In France all the savage and brutal instincts of millions were unleashed, resulting in a night of unparalleled ferocity, in which reason, justice, love, and humanitarian impulses were banished to enthrone hate and glut revenge. In England, on the other hand, a revolution, scarcely less fundamental, but slower in its processes, was carried to a victorious issue by peaceable measures, primarily through the unremitting and indefatigable labor of a little band of social reformers who fully understood the meaning and importance of the words *organization* and *education;* and secondly by the presence of far-seeing, courageous, and incorruptible statesmanship, unhampered by the throne.

The first decade of the Victorian age was, to use the language of Dr. Charles Mackay, "a transition period from the old England to the new. The slow civilization of our grandfathers was giving place to the far more active, prying, aggressive civilization of the present day—the day of steam, electricity, and engineering, and of material rather than intellectual or moral progress." ("Forty Years' Recollections.") Moreover, the difficulties and obstacles, at home and abroad, which confronted the State were of the gravest character. In Canada revolution, in Jamaica threatened revolt, and in India the rising mutterings of a coming storm, were enough to tax the wisdom of far greater statesmen than easy-going Melbourne and his associates. But, serious as were these dangers, they sank into comparative insignificance before the rising storm of social discontent that, swelled as it was by many different tributaries, threatened to sweep away the old régime with the fury that had marked the continental revolutions.

Intelligently to appreciate the difficulties that the statesmanship of the forties had to meet, it will be necessary to call to mind some of the leading sources of popular discontent. The fifty years that preceded the coronation of the Queen had revolutionized the thought of Europe. The vigorous young republic over the waters, despite the gloomy predictions which had been confidently and persistently made for half a century, had moved forward with stately and uninterrupted tread, until she occupied a commanding position among the positive and inspiring powers of civilization. Men of the Old World had become convinced that the daring ideals of the new order were practical. The republic was "a great fact," and its success had excited the wonder of the world and the admiration of friends of freedom in all lands.

The French Revolution, through its excesses and the failure of the experiment, had caused a revulsion in public feeling; but despite this it had shaken every throne in western Europe, and planted a great new hope in the hearts of millions of people. Moreover, the broadly humanitarian and philosophic controversies and intellectual agitations, which preceded and followed the Revolution, had appealed to the conscience, rationality, and sense of justice of more than one English statesman, while it produced a profound and indelible impression on the great middle class of the nation. Another factor that strengthened the revolutionary impulses was the new-born confidence, on the part of the masses, in their own power when once banded together. The starving miserables of France had proved irresistible against even the Bastille and the throne, when once they acted in concert. This great fact had taken lodgment in the minds of tens of thousands of the very poor, who seemed too ignorant to appreciate the higher motives that actuated the lovers of justice who were fighting the battle of progress; and this realization of the possibility of victory made them far less patient than they had been before the upheaval in France. At this time also all of western continental Europe was fast moving toward a revolutionary outbreak, and England had become infected with the spirit of revolt. Then, again,

during the last two reigns the nation had passed from a personal monarchy to a constitutional form of government; and the vanishing of the old reverence that hedged the throne was perceptible among every class, though perhaps nowhere so conspicuous as among the very poor, whose lot was pitiable in the extreme.

The tendency to revolt was favored by the general temper of the age. It was a time when the thought of the nation was in a state of flux. The old views were rapidly falling away. Ancient theories were being questioned when, indeed, they were not impatiently discarded. The old ideals were giving place to new concepts more in harmony with the broader thought that had come with the larger life of the age. It was as if the word *change* were graven over every gateway of research. In science, in religion, in commerce and trade, no less than in political and social economy, there was a degree of restlessness that always marks a time of growth and transition and that gives impetus to revolutionary impulses. The value of steam and the wonders and uses of electricity were new to the nation, and the effect of these discoveries already stimulated the brains of thousands of inventive geniuses, while they opened new worlds of possibilities before the mercantile and trading classes. Physical science also was girding herself for the most brilliant march of discovery in the history of the ages—a march in which Great Britain was to take a leading place. Charles Darwin had returned from his memorable voyage around the world in the "Beagle," and with brain teeming with new and wonderful thought, born of his research, he was busily engaged in his immortal works; while Alfred Russell Wallace, Herbert Spencer, John Tyndall, and others who were to make the present century forever glorious in the history of scientific progress, were in the flush of early manhood.

In the domain of religion the revolutionary impulses were very marked. The rise of physical science, with the startling new theories of evolution; the raising of the interrogation point by investigators in natural history, geology, astronomy, and indeed in all departments of scientific investigation; the general

quickening of the spirit of unrest and skepticism; the spread of German transcendentalism, and the dissemination of the philosophic French liberalism, were influencing the thought of England. And perhaps this was nowhere more apparent than in the broadening vision of great divines and churchmen. But this invasion of the precincts of the Church by the newer thought and speculation, while it wove a fascinating spell over many of the noblest thinkers, naturally produced a powerful reaction in the minds of others not less able or conscientious, who beheld with the gravest apprehension the fading away of the old reverence for form, rite, ritual, and dogma. To them it seemed that the Church, loosed from her moorings, was floating into a sea of skepticism. In 1833 the famous Oxford Movement was inaugurated by John Henry Newman and other able and intensely religious men. They were reactionists who unconsciously had set their faces toward Rome. And this movement was quickly followed by one of the most memorable religious controversies that have marked the history of England since the days of the Stuarts.

It is quite clear that the general spirit of the time indicated widespread unrest; but, passing from a general survey to a closer scrutiny of the political, social, and economic conditions, we see everywhere indications of a great storm brewing. The agitation that had convulsed England during the long, memorable, and bitterly contested Reform bill struggle had interested as never before the masses of the English people in political measures; and, as is always the case when some distinctly progressive measure is enacted, this bill had aroused extravagant and unwarranted expectations in the minds of tens of thousands of the slow-thinking toilers, which in the nature of things were not to be realized; while the more discerning and discriminating among progressive Englishmen, who regarded the measure as the opening wedge leading to greater and more important laws, were bitterly disappointed on finding that the Liberal or Whig party had no intention of involving the country in further agitation by taking the "next step." The laboring classes were enraged by the refusal of the Mel-

bourne ministry to demand an extension of the franchises. "They," says Mr. Justin McCarthy, in his "History of Our Own Times," "in the opinion of many of the ablest and most influential representatives, were not merely left out but were shouldered out. This was all the more exasperating because the excitement and agitation by the strength of which the Reform bill was carried in the teeth of so much resistance were kept up by the workingmen." Throughout the kingdom the rising tide of angry discontent, which had rapidly increased during the latter half of William's reign, grew ominously as the terrible distress of the workers in the great cities increased during the opening years of Victoria's rule. It was this rebellious spirit, born of a sense of injustice on the part of tens of thousands of English laborers and the dreadful suffering, both from over-work and under-pay, which prevailed at this time, that gave so sinister an aspect to the general outlook. In all the great cities there were thousands of persons in a state of chronic hunger. The opening winter of Victoria's reign proved extremely severe, and from this time forth until the repeal of the Corn Laws the portentous shadow of revolution rose darkly and in increasing proportions against the background of the political sky in Great Britain.

To appreciate the grievances of the people it is well to glance for a moment at their condition. In the mining regions, for example, the revelations brought out by a parliamentary investigation, secured by Lord Ashley, seem at the present day almost beyond belief, and are enough to excite horror in the mind of the most easy-going conventionalist. In some of the coal mines, says Justin McCarthy in the work already quoted, this investigation showed that women were "literally employed as beasts of burden. Where the seam of coal was too narrow to allow them to stand upright, they had to crawl back and forward on all fours for fourteen to sixteen hours a day, dragging the trucks laden with coal. The trucks were generally fastened to a chain, which passed between the legs of the unfortunate women and was then connected with a belt strapped around their naked waists. Their only clothing consisted of a pair of

trousers made of sacking; they were uncovered from the waist up. . . . It would be superfluous to say that the immorality engendered by this state of things was in exact keeping with the other evils which it brought about."

In the villages and rural districts, as well as in the great cities, there was widespread misery among the poor; but in the manufacturing centers the suffering was most acute. The noble-minded poet, Thomas Cooper, has related many typical illustrations that help us to understand the feeling of the poor. On one occasion he says that a poor stockinger rushed into his home exclaiming: "I wish they would hang me! I have lived on cold potatoes that were given me these two days, and this morning I've eaten a raw potato for sheer hunger." On another occasion, when an address was being delivered by one of the Chartists, one poor man exclaimed: "Let us be patient a little longer; surely God Almighty will help us soon!" "Talk to us no more about thy Goddle Mighty," was the prompt retort; "there isn't one! If there was one, he wouldn't let us suffer as we do!"

Under these conditions the great Chartist movement, which seemed to accomplish so little but in reality wrought so much in leavening public opinion, was created. The organization was formed as the result of a great reform meeting held in Birmingham, and its name was given by Daniel O'Connell, who, handing a draft of the demands to the secretary of the Workingmen's Association, said: "There is your Charter. Agitate for it and never be contented with anything less." The nobler spirits of this movement were in a true sense prophets. They became the articulate voice of the suffering thousands of England after the latter had been driven by their own misery from a condition of apathy to something akin to a revolutionary state.

After reading of the storm of opposition that confronted the Chartists on every hand, the breaking up of their meetings, the imprisonment of their leaders, and the painful persecutions carried on in the name of the law, one would naturally suppose that the document or platform upon which this new party stood contained much of a revolutionary if not incendiary char-

acter; yet as a matter of fact it contained nothing that was unreasonable, and indeed its vital points have all long since been granted. Briefly, it made six demands, as follows: (1) Universal suffrage. (2) Annual parliaments. (3) Vote by ballot. (4) Abolition of property qualification. (5) Payment of members of parliament. (6) Division of the country into equal electoral districts.

These simple and reasonable demands aroused the most bitter and furious opposition, expressed in the vigorous persecution on the part of the government of the orators and leaders of the movement. The interference with the meetings and the arrest of the speakers frequently led to riots, in one of which ten persons were killed and fifty wounded. "The leading Chartists all over the country," says Justin McCarthy, "were prosecuted and tried, literally by hundreds. In most cases they were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment." As might naturally be expected, this treatment greatly increased the bitterness of the people, and the general discontent was so augmented that in the early forties we find England rapidly moving toward a state that threatened forcible revolution. At this juncture, however, there arose another influence in English political life that served to avert the storm, and yet secured for the people the reform measures most urgently required, while the victory was of such a nature as to set the face of the government toward national and progressive Liberalism.

The memorable Anti-Corn Law movement is one of the most thrilling and instructive passages in modern history. Its success unquestionably saved England from the throes of a bloody revolution, and, what is still more important, the intellectual agitation carried on by the League materially furthered the nation in its progress toward freedom. The republican ideal, largely through this movement, became fixed in the popular imagination, and the general trend of the nation, so far as the island government is concerned, has since 1846 been toward broader freedom and juster conditions. The story of the rise, progress, and victory of the Anti-Corn Law and Free Trade crusade rightly demands the careful consideration of patriotic

citizens; because we have too few instances of successful revolutions of a radical or fundamental character being accomplished without force or bloodshed, and still rarer have been the instances where the governing classes have failed to retard the onward movement of the larger spirit of freedom and justice, born in the stress of the revolutionary agitation.

The Anti-Corn Law agitation was in its inception a movement largely due to the misery of the poor, who suffered from a great, oppressive, and law-bulwarked monopoly; and many of its pioneer apostles were men like the Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., wholly disinterested patriots, moved entirely by love of justice and hatred of oppression. Later, however, when the agitation became active, aggressive, and formidable, it became largely a class movement directed against a class interest. The manufacturers, primarily of Manchester and later of various cities and towns, formed a league, and they contributed the greater part of the money for the educational agitation that revolutionized the thought and quickened the conscience of the nation. It cannot be denied that the manufacturers were largely actuated by self-interest; yet there was this marked difference between the two class movements: The Corn Laws were in the line of restriction. They abridged the rightful freedom of the people in order that the wealth of the few might be augmented, and in so doing they operated so as to increase the misery and suffering of millions of Englishmen, even causing starvation and death. On the other hand, the League fought for a wholesome freedom. Its cause was not only fundamentally just, but in perfect alignment with the prosperity, comfort, and happiness of the masses, and therefore it was working for the well-being of the nation. There was something at once amazing, pathetic, and amusing in the "unctuous rectitude" of the defenders of the Corn Laws, when they lifted their hands in horror at the sordid selfishness of the manufacturers who were seeking the repeal of the obnoxious class legislation. The advocates of the landed interests were shocked beyond measure to find the designing manufacturers seeking to advance their interests by unmasking the essential

injustice of the Corn Laws and showing how, by their operation, the workers were compelled to pay high prices for bread and receive low wages; while the enforced idleness of thousands, chiefly due to the stagnation in manufacturing and trade, was another result of the Chinese wall of protection which the gentry had builded for their own enrichment. To read the Tory press of the time one would almost feel that the beneficiaries of the Corn Laws were about the only thoroughly disinterested citizens in the realm.

The Anti-Corn Law League, however, set to work to accomplish the repeal of the unjust statutes. It was organized in the early part of 1839. Its leading spirits were men of the highest moral rectitude. Indeed, had their greed for gain and desire for self-advancement been paramount, it is doubtful whether they would have ever succeeded in overcoming the opposition that confronted them at every point. Only that moral enthusiasm which is born on the highest plane of human emotion —only that disinterested passion for justice, freedom, and human happiness which makes men prophets and apostles in a great cause—could have proved invincible, or at least could have effected a peaceable revolution in less than ten years.

The founders of the League had no sooner inaugurated their aggressive campaign than they found well-nigh all the opinion-forming factors in society arrayed against them. The Church, statesmen of all parties, and reform leaders alike opposed the innovators. The press of the kingdom, with few exceptions, was closed to the League. The Tories and Chartists vied with each other in bitterness—one because the League was too revolutionary, the other because it was not revolutionary enough. The Whig and Liberal papers took their cue from the ministry, and Lord Melbourne had declared that the idea of the repeal of the Corn Law was madness. Seldom in the history of progress has a great reform movement confronted such united opposition. But the leaders of the League were far more than mere moral enthusiasts. They were men of rare executive ability—natural commanders and executors. Two things were first agreed upon: compact organization and sys-

tematic education. And, since the press was closed to them, the first step was to send public speakers into the various cities and towns to proclaim the new economic gospel. Great meetings were accordingly held, first in great manufacturing centers and later throughout England. They were phenomenal in character, resembling religious revival services in the deep enthusiasm and profound moral fervor that pervaded them. The leaders and speakers became veritable apostles of the new social gospel. They believed most sincerely in the righteousness, justice, and morality of their cause. They consecrated their lives to the movement with the same enthusiasm that marked the most sincere and devoted apostles of religion in the virgin days of the Church. As we would naturally suppose, these great gatherings quickly aroused the alarm and indignation of the opposition. In many places all public halls were refused. Frequently the innkeepers declined to furnish food and lodging to the speakers, for fear of loss of patronage. In one town a landowner offered a certain amount of wheat to any one who would throw the speaker into the river. On some occasions the missionaries were mobbed. In one town the promise of the use of the hall was rescinded, and when the speakers addressed the people from the market-place they were arrested and fined for obstructing the public highway. But perhaps the most brutal exhibition of the mob spirit occurred in Cambridge, the students of the great university being the offenders. Opposition, however, only seemed to increase the zeal and activity of the reformers.

The printing-press was also called to the aid of the League. It was an age of tracts. Every unpopular cause, finding the door of the public press closed, resorted to pamphlets and leaflets. In order to raise sufficient money for the gigantic propaganda that was being called into existence, great bazaars and fairs were held in the various cities. Something of the enthusiasm of the people may be gathered from the fact that a bazaar held in Manchester raised $50,000 for this propaganda fund. This done, the next step was to issue pamphlets and tracts, and flood every district where an interest had been

created with such literature as would appeal most readily to the class addressed. "Since the press is against us," said one of the leaders, "we must sow England knee-deep in leaflets." For this purpose presses were set to work, publishing hundreds of thousands of brief, pithy arguments, catechisms, telling statements, fables, stories, and ringing verses, all written in such a manner as to appeal to the simplest minds. Those who attended the meetings were supplied with packages of leaflets, some one or more of which was pretty certain to make a lasting impression on the mind of the recipient, if he was sufficiently interested in the cause before leaving the meeting to peruse them. The effect of the campaign was soon felt throughout the length and breadth of the island. Despite all the efforts of the opposition, everywhere the people were talking of the repeal of the Corn Laws; and at length some of the great organs opened their columns to the League. The most important of these was the London *Chronicle,* at that time one of the foremost dailies of the world. The great majority of the influential journals of Great Britain, however, long remained bitter in their opposition. One London paper insisted that the League was composed of unprincipled schemers and self-conceited socialists. Another insisted that it was composed of equal parts of commercial swindlers and political swindlers; while a third, "with edifying unction denounced their sentiments as subversive of all moral right and order, their organization as a disloyal faction, and their speakers as revolutionary emissaries whom all peaceable and well-disposed persons ought to assist the authorities in peremptorily putting down." (Morley's "Life of Richard Cobden.")

Great as had been the interest created throughout the kingdom in the new social gospel, it must not be supposed that the people were yet ready seriously to entertain the propositions of Messrs. Cobden and Bright. The masses of a great nation are always conservative. No matter how beneficent, how wise, reasonable, and just a proposition may be, if it runs counter to the long-established customs and prejudices of the people it is sure to arouse stubborn opposition, and can only

hope to succeed after a long and hard-fought battle. And so after two years of vigorous campaigning the opposition seemed to be more strongly intrenched than ever, as the Liberal ministry was overthrown in 1841 and Sir Robert Peel, who had long been recognized as the master spirit in the opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws, was called to form a new Cabinet. It is true that at this time Richard Cobden was elected to the House of Commons, and the little band of the repealers was thus reenforced by one of the most persuasive speakers of the age. But the great majority in both houses returned at this time were Tories, pledged to the maintenance of the obnoxious class laws. The hope entertained by many reformers, that the action of the Tory government would lead to a sweeping revulsion in public sentiment, was doomed to disappointment, partly on account of the wisdom of Sir Robert Peel, but chiefly because of three years of splendid crops following a number of years of poor harvests. And just here it may be well to notice for a moment the action of the great Prime Minister who was destined to immortalize himself as the statesman of the forties who dared to "desert his party to save his nation." Though so early as 1842 Sir Robert Peel was by no means ready to take the step that might mean political hari-kari, yet he realized the fact that some radical and salutary measures were urgently demanded. Hence, he boldly introduced the wise, beneficent, and practical Income and Inheritance taxes; and Tory though he was, with a party representing the wealthy of England, he pressed these measures through both houses of parliament and succeeded in placing upon the statute-books of Great Britain laws that we would naturally expect the great Republic would have had the glory of initiating. The tariff was also somewhat reformed, and other measures that we would naturally suppose would come from a Liberal rather than a Conservative administration, marked the early forties. As has been observed, coincident with the success of the Tories came the first of three seasons of large crops. Corn was plentiful and comparatively cheap. For many years Mr. Cobden and the League had insisted that with an abundance of grain at low prices the

discontent and unrest of the people would decrease, work would become more plentiful, and a measure of prosperity would return. Their predictions were verified, and, though the cause of the change lay chiefly in the abundant harvests instead of the wisdom of the Tories, the changed condition operated against the Anti-Corn Law League. The people, then as now, looked only on the surface. They had been hungry under the Liberal ministry. The Tories had come into power, had given them some salutary reform legislation, and the land had yielded bountifully. They were now able to get cheap bread, and their condition had improved. Therefore, the Tories, they reasoned, were the true statesmen; and in 1844 their satisfaction was expressed at the polls in an overwhelming Conservative majority in both houses of parliament. It also was evident that the zeal of many of the Leaguers was growing cold, while among the people the literature of the reformers was no longer being eagerly sought for or perused with avidity; and their great meetings lacked the old-time enthusiasm and numbers. But, though the unthinking many were losing faith in the soundness of the contention of the Manchester school, some of England's greatest thinkers were being forced to the conviction that the claims of the League were right, just, and expedient; and among this number was the honest but slow-thinking Prime Minister of the realm. For three years he had been compelled carefully to dissect all of Mr. Cobden's arguments, that he might meet them; and, being an honest man before he was a politician, he soon found himself questioning the correctness of his own position. For some time many Tories had expressed grave doubts about the attitude of Sir Robert Peel on the Corn Laws. A horrible suspicion was growing that the Prime Minister had become infected with the heresy of the League. In February and early March of 1845 the Corn Laws came up—they were sure to come up at every session; and during this discussion Mr. Cobden made one of the greatest speeches, if not the most masterly, of his life in parliament. Sir Robert Peel, who was seated by the brilliant young statesman, Mr. Sidney Herbert, began taking

notes. Soon, however, he crumpled up the paper and threw it on the floor, and turning to Mr. Herbert he said, "You will have to answer him; I cannot." That night it is said that when crossing the lobby some one said, "Sir Robert, that speech of Cobden's will be hard to answer;" and the Prime Minister, turning, said under his voice and with great earnestness, "It is unanswerable."

Still the motion to repeal the Corn Laws was overwhelmingly defeated, and it appeared that long years of weary waiting and toil would be required to break down the apparently insurmountable opposition. Richard Cobden, with his clear vision, saw farther and better than most of his confrères. He knew that England had been educated on this question. He knew that the failure of a single crop would compel the temporary opening of the ports for grain; and furthermore he knew that, once opened, they would never be closed again. In the summer of 1845, in a public address, he predicted that three weeks of showery weather, when the wheat was in the bloom or ripening, would repeal the Corn Laws. And even while he was speaking Nature was at work, and events were hurrying on that proved in a startling manner the truth of his prophecy. Famine, against which the League had so manfully fought for seven years, was about to become its most efficient ally.

Early in the autumn of 1845 an ugly rumor gained currency —a rumor that filled the landed class with grave forebodings and made the Anti-Corn Law League awaken from its lethargy. Reports from Ireland alleged that a potato famine was impending—the rainy season had produced the rot in the vegetable that was the staple food of the island. Without the potato, and with ports closed to corn, tens of thousands of English subjects would starve to death. The Tory press promptly denied the "absurd report," which the editors were sure was an alarmist's cry manufactured by the League; but as the days passed the indisputable confirmation of the terrible news made doubt impossible to any who desired to know the truth. Instantly the League was alive. Cobden, Bright, and other clear-visioned leaders saw full well that agitation now meant everything; and

as if by magic the Anti-Corn Law presses began to pour forth pamphlets and leaflets, while the Liberal journals opened fire and great meetings were again held throughout England.

The Prime Minister found himself face to face with one of the most perplexing problems that can face a statesman. No one in the realm better understood the real temper of the English people at this time than did Sir Robert Peel. He also knew that events were ripening on the Continent which in all probability within a few years would culminate in widespread revolutions. Should England become a theater for a bloody reckoning; or should her statesmanship rise superior to prejudice, grant the just demands of the multitude, and thus avert the impending cataclysm? His position was an extremely painful one. He had been elected to uphold the Corn Laws. For years he had been their most efficient champion. Largely through his own masterful efforts his party was now strongly intrenched in all the ramifications of government; yet he was convinced that progress with peace was only to be attained through his turning his back upon his constituency, incurring the odious epithet of a traitor from the great party that had so long honored him, and in all probability also writing his own political death-warrant. It was a crucial moment, which tested the greatness of the man; and, happily for his nation and civilization, he chose to sacrifice himself rather than his people. "On the fourth of December, 1845," to use the language of Dr. Charles Mackay, "great political excitement was created in London and throughout the realm by an apparently authoritative announcement in the *Times* that Sir Robert Peel had not only become a convert to the principles of Free Trade generally, but had resolved to propose at the opening of Parliament in January the total, immediate, and unconditional abolition of the Corn Laws. . . . Some people thought they were imposed upon by an elaborate hoax; and the Glasgow Tories denounced it in plain, uncourteous speech as a lie. On the following day the *Times* repeated the assertion, in two separate articles, so emphatically and seriously that even the dismayed Protectionists could doubt no longer."

The Tories, however, were not disposed to yield. The Cabinet refused to follow the lead of Sir Robert. Hence, he resigned, and Lord John Russell, then the leader of the Liberals and a statesman who had recently come out unequivocally in favor of the repeal of the Corn Laws, was summoned by the Queen to form a Cabinet. His attempt, however, proved a signal failure, and Sir Robert Peel was again summoned. This time a Cabinet was formed in sympathy with the Prime Minister; and the champions of the two great opposing theories prepared for a life-and-death struggle.

On the twenty-second of January, 1846, parliament assembled. The Queen in person opened the session. The message from the throne foreshadowed the course about to be outlined by the ministry. Next came an elaborate address by Sir Robert Peel, in which he explained how he had been compelled, against his prejudice and his will, to change his views on the subject of Free Trade. He was so explicit as to leave no doubt that he had become a convert to the Manchester school. He insisted that the time, in his opinion, had come when "that Protection which he had taken office to maintain must be abandoned forever." This bold announcement created consternation among the Tories, and especially the beneficiaries of the Corn Laws; for, though the public had been prepared for a somewhat radical stand, few imagined that at the very opening of the session the leader of the Conservatives would come forward and announce his unqualified acceptance of the principles of the League. Instantly he became the target for a general and furious attack. He was assailed with a degree of bitterness which is only called forth when a leader renounces a cause that he has hitherto triumphantly upheld. No personalities or abusive epithets seemed out of place in the mouths of the opposition. The Conservative press vied with the Tory leaders in terms of reproach. He was characterized as "Judas Iscariot," "Jerry Sneak," and "Jim Crow;" and it was at this time that Benjamin Disraeli, who had entered the House as an extreme Radical among the Liberals, and throughout nine sessions had made many failures and often rendered himself

ridiculous, rose at a single stroke to a commanding position by an amazingly brilliant arraignment of Sir Robert Peel.

On the twenty-seventh of January the Prime Minister announced his program, accompanying it with an address of great power. Then followed one of the most intensely exciting parliamentary struggles in the history of England, which culminated, so far as the House was concerned, on the fifteenth of March, when the measure was passed by a majority of ninety-eight. It was promptly sent to the House of Lords, where on the twenty-fifth of June, after another prolonged struggle, it received the sanction of the upper house. The announcement set England aflame with enthusiasm. One of the influential papers of the day, in an excellent summary of the achievement, said: "A great revolution has been peacefully achieved; a revolution unstained by bloodshed—having for its object no dethronement of a dynasty, no substitution of one tyranny in the place of another—having no punishment, no harshness, no evil of any kind in its composition—was wrought by discussion alone, and by the inherent and irresistible powers of Truth and Justice."

The repeal of the Corn Laws proved the political doom of Sir Robert Peel, but the splendid work he achieved in successfully carrying the measure in the face of such opposition was glory enough for one life. It was incomparably the most important political measure achieved since the enactment of the Reform bill in 1832, and its passage signaled the advancement of England on a long and marvelously prosperous career. It marked, moreover, the triumph of the people over a stubborn aristocracy; the victory of justice over greed; of the masses over the favored few. It was vibrant with the new spirit of popular rule. And, finally, the great popular victory averted the revolution of force which was without doubt pending, and which, had it not been for the repeal, would have broken out in terrible fury in 1848, when the Continent became the theater of such general uprisings of the people as had never before been known.

This victory was one of the most signal in the history of

modern times. It was rendered possible by the consecration to duty's august demand of a few high-minded men, and their wisdom, ability, and unceasing perseverance in carrying forward a forlorn hope by means of educational methods that touched brain and heart.

It was frequently urged that, no matter how much the people were educated on the question, the parliament would never consent to the reforms, as its members were too deeply interested in the maintenance of the special privileges, and the landed interests would be able easily to defeat a sufficient number of representatives even to render its passage probable in the Commons; while, should it by any chance pass the lower house, the Lords would never consent to ratify a proposition that would deplete their revenues in so substantial a way. The force of this argument will be appreciated when we call to mind these words of Mr. McCarthy: "The free trade leaders must have found their hearts sink within them when they came sometimes to confront that fortress of traditions and vested rights. Even after the change made in favor of manufacturing and middle class interests by the Reform bill, the House of Commons was still composed, as to nine-tenths of its whole number, by representatives of the landlords. The entire House of Lords was then constituted of the owners of the land. All tradition, all prestige, all the dignity of aristocratic institutions, seemed to be naturally arrayed against the new movement." And yet with the great press closed to the League, with the landed interests and the nobility a unit against the reform, with the Church either openly in sympathy with the Tories or discreetly silent, with the Chartists fighting the repealers as vigorously as were the Conservatives, and with parliament overwhelmingly in favor of retaining the odious measure, the League compelled victory to walk over the highway of progress, which for so many years had only known the presence of defeat.

The fact that in a period of eight years this little band of moral heroes was able to work so mighty a revolution should prove to all reformers that there need be no such word as *fail*, if a just and true cause can call to its aid a few men who are

willing to dedicate their very existence to its triumph, and who will exert wisdom in their work as well as the enthusiasm born of a passionate love for justice. The Anti-Corn Law League did not seek victory in a day, but it did set out to convince the reason and arouse the conscience of every man and woman of intelligence and conviction who was open to the truth; and by working along this line they builded in a way that made final victory inevitable.

But the happy issue was not dependent wholly upon the League. As we have said, final victory was certain; yet had there been a George III. on the throne, or had the Prime Minister of the realm and the leader of the opposition been a Bourbon, we can easily see how England might have witnessed all the horrors of a bloody revolution, with its waste of life and destruction of property, and from which she would finally have arisen with hate and bitterness rife on every hand and with new dangers and complications to be grappled with, without the presence of that cool wisdom and sound judgment essential to the right settlement of any momentous issue.

Any just cause may be carried to victory if its apostles are consecrated, and if to wisdom they bring that high moral enthusiasm which has ever proved irresistible in moving mankind; but the peaceful settlement of a great cause will depend largely on the wisdom of the people in selecting only men of such lofty character that neither gold, ambition, nor flattery can seduce them from the highway of justice, nor abuse, slander, and unjust criticism can frighten them from the path of duty.

The lesson of the forties in Great Britain must prove at once instructive and inspiring to all who earnestly desire to see our great Republic fronting the eternal day, guided by wisdom and justice and love, and scorning sordid and selfish motives, which seek to turn her from her Heaven-sent mission as the leader of civilization's vanguard.

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## MILITARISM OR MANHOOD?

OF those larger problems associated, either relatively or as consequences, with the question of standing armies, it is not my present purpose to treat, but rather of the seemingly smaller but really greater problem of the influence of the spirit of militarism upon the individual. To this, after all, the question must come. Always as a final test it must be asked, even of the most overshadowing governmental policy, What kind of man is nurtured by it? Not the question present to the mind of the legislator—how much may national wealth be increased? —but how will the soul grow and develop under it? By the value of their influence upon the individual must all systems stand or fall; and these influences are broadly comprehended within such as make for or against freedom, which has its concern not with communities of men but with Man.

It is not the purpose of this article to touch upon the immense cost of standing armies, nor the stupidity of that system which is spending millions to-day for engines of destruction that in consequence of fresh discovery may be useless to-morrow. Nor is it worth while to refer to the double injustice of sending the poor to be shot and later on charging their children with the expenses that are incurred. For the evils of war do not stop with the victims killed and wounded upon the battlefield; they do not end with the ending of the sorrows of those bereaved. War lays its heavy hand upon the infant sleeping in the cradle, and in burdens of taxation places along the future path of the unborn stumbling-blocks for little feet. In the indemnities demanded by the conqueror it visits future unoffending generations with its penalties. Wars to-day entail little of that bold plundering which of old had something about it of the fascinating color of chivalry, but has instead degenerated into a mere contemptible swindle of the unborn.

The economic waste of war has perhaps received its due consideration from those who have dealt with it more or less

competently; yet this appeal has less weight than might be supposed with the working masses—for the reason that wars call great numbers away from a congested labor market, and tend to make a temporarily increased demand for laborers. To show that the destruction of wealth must inevitably lessen the sum total of human happiness is likely to be regarded, by those to whom the prospect of immediate employment is extended by the removal of great numbers of competing workers from the field of occupations, as an amiable theory in conflict with actual conditions. The remoter effects of war, of the fearful burdens of taxation it entails, which must be paid from the sweat and blood of labor, are too far in the future to weigh greatly with the man who receives his wages by the week and doesn't look further into the future than Saturday night.

Yet, in justice to them, let it be said that workmen look with little approval upon war. Says John Burns, speaking of the Anglo-Boer war, and in behalf of eighty-three workingmen's organizations: "This is not our war; this is not a war of the English workingmen." The working classes are sometimes accused of being swayed by dangerous impulses of emotion, of being easily excited by the appeals of labor leaders urging to attacks of violence upon persons or property; yet as a matter of fact hardly any class is less excitable than the workmen, in and out of unions. At those times when the war spirit takes possession of the people it is not the workmen who lose their heads. The great industrial populations are usually the least moved—it may be from a consciousness of how little they have to gain or lose.

Wars have been fought now from religious motives, now to advance the interests of rulers, and later to promote those of traders and speculators. But there never yet was a war to advance the interests of workmen, and just as surely no war ever did. Industrialism and militarism are antagonistic. The military spirit is always on the side of reaction—always allied with the non-progressive and anti-liberal movements of the time. Militarism is the propagating source of every anti-social infection.

There are many happy signs in the heavens, mingled with some less rosy ones. Military service has grown easier, but popular distaste for it has increased. This unpopularity is very marked in England, where it has kept pace with the improvement in material conditions. Of late years recruiting has been drawn almost entirely from unskilled workmen; and it is indicative of the temper of the governing classes of Great Britain that they have regarded with favor the large immigration of foreign workmen bringing with them a lower standard of living, and thus reducing wages and tempting the English workmen to look more kindly upon military service.

It speaks well for us as a nation of 75,000,000 people that a small army of 25,000 men could for so many years be recruited only with difficulty; it also speaks well for the prosperous condition of the country, for few enlist in the army who are able to earn a living in any other way. It speaks well, too, for that wholesome prejudice with which army life is regarded—the aversion of every free man to become a machine. But we have never lacked men of soldierly qualities when needed, and we shall not lack them so long as we remain free. Such qualities the American volunteer has supplied when the occasion arose. The truth is that only in this way can the best blood of a nation be enlisted in its defense—thus, or by conscription. Men will give their life to soldiering only when required by necessity or impelled by patriotism. But enlistments in time of profound peace will not give us an army that in *morale,* efficiency, or patriotism is equal to any real emergency. As a defensive force it will not be representative of the best blood of the nation, nor of its highest aspirations. But, precisely because of this, such a force may be utilized for partizan aggrandizement—may be moved as a great, silent, unprotesting machine in favor of some radical departure from safe traditional methods. Its influence, even without positive direction, is likely to be thrown as a force in favor of reaction; and it may sap the life of republicanism and republican forms, leaving such forms destitute of the spirit that is their life. The influence of great standing armies and of the spirit that

such institutions engender has a deadening effect upon those finer sympathetic cords of the national life. Even in its less harmful aspects—its uniforms, its dress parades, its plumes and epaulets—it is a poor and distracting display, pitiful by contrast with the condition of labor that builds civilizations and asks no badges nor epaulets and gets no stripes, save those the taskmaster lays upon its great, bowed, Atlantean shoulders.

War is the only cause that makes one hate another he has never seen. In this respect war has a place all by itself as a creator of evil impulses. War, unlike a private quarrel, is the only cause that urges men (whole peoples sometimes) to exult over a fallen enemy—a meanness from which the more manly code of the prize-ring secures even a Jeffries and a Corbett. A private quarrel between neighbors, which ends in the final humiliation of one, rarely concludes with an exultant war dance by the other in the backyard of the vanquished. Nor does anybody hold that the defeat of one gives to the victorious dominion over his late enemy's cabbage-patch.

All militarism is savagery, not less so because it glitters with its helmets and moves to the rhythm of banners. War is essentially savagery in activity. All laws tending to humanize warfare are absurd and inconsistent, and every one is broken when it suits the convenience or the barbarism of the conquerors. Military laws have always been more humane than military practise. There has been some improvement, it is true, but not much. It is still lawful to put to the sword a garrison that offers a stubborn resistance, since the Brussels Conference defeated the proposition to exclude "the threat of extermination" toward a garrison that obstinately holds a fortress. Of course, this is not done nowadays, though such threats were used during the Franco-German war.

It is a theory laid down by Laveleye that in modern times wars are waged by army against army, while at former periods it was nation against nation. On the theory, therefore, that war is only a contest between men in arms, non-combatants are to be secured against all its penalties. Hence he thinks that the modern theory and practise of warfare exclude the

right of capture of peaceful merchant vessels; but this is purely fanciful. Wars are fought not only with arms but with money, and to inflict the greatest damage on your antagonist is the justification of including non-combatants among those who must be made to suffer. Laveleye's theory would render immune from capture any city or town in the enemy's country that did not offer resistance.

Of course, an invading army never takes anything but what it wants—what it does not want it leaves, like any common thief. Do not imagine that if you were a soldier in an enemy's country you would not also take what you wanted—such wants not being bounded by your immediate necessities. The contents of the larder and the jewel box are all the same—merely property, after all; and there are occasions, especially after you had sampled the wine in "your enemy's" cellar, when they would be all the same to you. Mechlin lace, Sèvres china, and the contents of the hen-coop—do not imagine that you would be able very sharply to discriminate between them. If you think you would, ask your army friend who has seen service, and he will have some stories to tell you. This is only one of the almost irreparable wrongs wrought by the usages of war upon the individual conscience.

To return to the well-meaning efforts to soften the horrors of war—efforts that cannot but excite something like derision. The Lateran Council of 1139 condemned the use of the cross-bow in warfare because of its inhumanity; Innocent III. confirmed its prohibition; its use, however, continued. And the King of Prussia, during the Franco-German struggle, in accordance with Laveleye's theory, announced that he was making war "against soldiers, not against French citizens;" but this did not prevent him from levying requisitions against citizen non-combatants! When Wellington entered France he complained that "outrages of all descriptions had been committed by his troops in the presence of their officers, who took no pains to prevent them." Despite the "laws of war," all governments fear victorious generals, and have found it necessary to restrain them when marching through conquered territory.

To-day we hear tales of the misuse of the white flag by both Briton and Boer. It is safe to say that some of these stories are true. You can no more unleash the ferocious instincts of war in a man and expect that man to remain amenable to moral discipline than you can unchain a horde of hungry tigers and imagine that they will not slay and rend any helpless infant in their path. And this is the reason that modern warfare is as full of savagery as ancient warfare; or, if this seems an overstatement, why it has the same disregard of the humanities.

There is a darker picture, if that be possible, associated with this subject. So closely is war allied to murder that murder itself loses much of its infamy in a soldier's eyes. I trust I am not wronging a body of men as brave and honorable naturally as any other, and I desire not to be misunderstood; but those who have talked to soldiers know that many of them have stories to tell of unpopular officers who have been shot by their own men during engagements. No one at all familiar with army life in time of war has failed to hear rumors of this sort, told usually with amazing indifference by men not a whit less honorable than ourselves.

Advocates of "the strenuous life" defend the continuance of war as necessary for the development of the virtue of physical courage, or at all events justify war as furnishing opportunities for heroism. As well might one ask for immunity for "fire-bugs" on the ground that they furnish opportunities for heroism to members of the fire department. But one may doubt if the battlefield affords the highest examples of physical courage. The anesthetics of battle smoke and battle music induce a sort of somnambulistic state in which prodigies of valor may be performed. Even the Chinese possess a passive courage superior to that of any known race. Most of the heroism exhibited on the battlefield is of the passive sort, disguised somewhat by the activity of maneuver, the noise of cannon, and the onslaught of cavalry. There is but a small individual initiative to the great fighting mass. A French philosopher said that the art of creating soldiers was to make them more afraid of their own officers than of the enemy. To make

more certain the death that awaits them in the rear, and less certain that which awaits them in front, is to secure armies of effective fighting force.

Philippe de Segur said a man could not be a hero without an iron constitution. Such heroism, then, is largely physical—largely a matter of temperament. In the old days, when it was foot to foot, eye to eye, and hilt to hilt, this heroism had something of the picturesque about it, which is essentially lacking in modern methods of warfare.

We need a popular revision of the word "courage;" we must understand that it is of different kinds, possessed in its lowest manifestations by all animals, even the rodent. We hear now and then of "the enervating influences of peace" upon the nation; but what inspires to the highest courage in the defense of rights is not familiarity with the experiences of war—it springs from the consciousness of having rights worth defending, and dies only with the loss of liberty.

We hear of "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace." How "cankerous" Paradise must seem to the writer of that famous line! But if war has its moral uses, then is that steady progress of the race toward the humanizing spirit that constantly mitigates against war an essentially deplorable thing. The growing antagonism between war and the developed moral consciousness must be wrong if war is right. But is not an argument in favor of "the moral uses" of war all beside the mark? No nation ever made war because it regarded war as beneficial.

Now, it is the easiest thing in the world to be moved by the warlike spirit, the cry of patriotism, the girding of arms by the nation for war; but it is a more difficult, as it is a more heroic thing, to stand in opposition—to speak boldly the word of protest, if conscience be against the war. But it is this higher courage that the military spirit visits with the name of cowardice. Is there any lack of heroism in the humbler walks of life? Pick up the daily paper, and in almost any issue you can read stories that illustrate its possession in the very highest degree. We have no lack of heroes; the annals of our

fire department, our police force, our railroad service, will tell a story as full of heroic incident as any chronicle of bloody wars. But for that higher courage, of which civil life is full and militarism does so much to quench, we shall find few examples in army life. The long line of epauleted perjurers who took the stand in the Dreyfus case made a momentary lifting of the veil from a spectacle of moral stultification which the atmosphere of militarism lays upon the consciences of men.

There is another aspect of militarism which should be touched upon, and that is the incomparable meanness of the enmities of military men. History, which should tell the story, is usually reticent upon these matters. The efforts of Lee to depose Washington are seldom commented upon in popular histories. Coming down to our civil war we have the intrigues against General McClellan at Washington, the historic shame of which is somewhat mitigated by that officer's extraordinary view of his own importance, united, despite his genius as an organizer, with startling incompetency of initiative. We have Halleck pursuing Grant with extraordinary vindictiveness, and almost all the generals pursuing Butler—chiefly because that officer was not a West Pointer. Then we have the case of Fitz John Porter, and those extraordinary speeches of General Logan against Porter in the House of Representatives, which for virulence, hatred, and unrelenting ferocity are curious examples of the military spirit. Nor was the Confederacy at all behind the Union army in its animosities. We have the quarrels of Longstreet and Fitz Hugh Lee, of Secretary of War Benjamin and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, of Generals Bragg and Polk, and the bitter attacks against Quartermaster-General Myers.

In the recent Spanish-American war we have had similar examples of fierce enmities, spiteful depreciations, and cool assumption on the part of our heroes. We all know now that the battle of Manila, though executed with thoroughness, was not the wonderful exploit it was thought to be. The Spanish vessels were greatly inferior; there were no mines, of the absence of which, it is to be inferred, our officers were quite well

informed; and our vessels were not within reach of the guns of the fort, which have been spoken of as neutralizing the inferiority of the Spanish fleet and bringing the forces opposed nearer to a point of equality. Yet not Dewey, nor a single one of his officers, put in a disclaimer to the absurd adulations of the people. No military or naval hero ever does that; he accepts all hero-worship without a protest: and he is not to be blamed, for a people capable of that kind of frenzy are likely to turn and rend him with any variation of the paroxysms, as only a few weeks later Admiral Dewey found to his cost.

Few men, however, can stand unmoved amid a spontaneous national outburst of worshipful admiration. Take even so self-centered a character as Grant. As a military chieftain he stands with Washington, almost alone and almost faultless in the calm and unmoved front he bore in face of a people intoxicated by military glory and ready to exalt him to the position almost of a dictator. A plain, simple, unassuming man, yet even he, like Achilles vulnerable in the heel, had his defenseless side, and, strangely enough, actually lacked courage to say so. His real enemies were his friends, as frequently happens, oftener to your military man than to others. For them he was willing to lay aside the safe traditions which had governed the country from its beginning, and which regarded as dangerous and subversive of republican institutions the election of a Chief Magistrate for a third term. Lacking the courage to thrust his false friends away from his side, his Administration was marked by a saturnalia of corruption. Lacking in his civil office that keenness of perception which in his military capacity had guided him so unerringly to the selection of wise and competent subordinates, he surrounded himself with such men as Babcock and Belknap. Jay Gould used him to bring about the Black Friday panic. Thus it happened that the military spirit that created a reputation destroyed it, unmaking with the one hand what it had made with the other. For without that military spirit, which had developed into hero-worship for the great Union general, he might have suspected his own civil incompetency, or—what would have re-

sulted in the same way—the people themselves would have been able to see it. Their toleration of such gross civil incapacity was due to the blindness of the military spirit. Now the unconscious cry was, "The hero can do no wrong!" as of old it was said of the king.

There is scarcely a class that has suffered more, in mental and moral deterioration, from the influence of the military spirit than the clergy, from the time of Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine, all of them apologists for war. Much of the force and effectiveness of the clergy's ministrations in the interests of a gospel of peace and brotherhood has been lost by their apparent satisfaction with the prevailing methods of settling national disputes by killing people. It has resulted in developing a strain of cowardice in the clergy, who show a moral hesitancy in applying their gospel to the supreme test. The spirit of Christianity condemns war, but the clerics yield to its influence as readily as any class. They do not even attempt to adopt as a concession to the Christian faith the "wooden literalness" of the story which tells how an Archbishop of Mainz slew nine foemen with his own hand—not with the sword, "for that would have been contrary to Christ's word to Peter," interpolates the pious chronicler, but with a club.

It often requires a more keenly discriminating vision than is given to most of us to separate the "war spirit" from "the missionary spirit." One would imagine that the ideal missionary of some of these champions of Christ was not Livingston in Africa, nor even Gordon in China, but Clive in India, or Otis in the Philippines. It is clear that the ideal missionary of Bishop Cranston, of Denver, Col., is neither Clive nor Otis, but Ghengis Khan; for the Bishop says: "It is worth any cost in money, it is worth any cost in bloodshed, if we can make the millions of Chinese true and intelligent Christians." Of the same order of pious minds is Bishop Joyce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who says: "We should settle the Chinese trouble with guns. That seems to be the best way to Christianize these Celestials." The words of

Lord Westmoreland to the Archbishop of York, in Shakespeare's "Henry IV.," suggest themselves in this connection:

> "You, Lord Bishop,
> Whose see is by a civil peace maintained;
> Whose beard the silver hand of peace hath touched;
> Whose learning and good letters peace hath tutored;
> Whose white investments figure innocence,
> The dove and very blessed spirit of peace—
> Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself
> Out of the speech of peace, that bears such grace,
> Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war?
> Turning your books to graves, your ink to blood,
> Your pens to lances, and your tongue divine
> To a loud trumpet and a point of war?"

In this absorbing spirit of militarism that makes captive the minds of men it is your mitered Bishop who is the first to surrender all the Ten Commandments. His proselyting zeal becomes the fiercest as his murderous instincts develop (or perhaps the genesis is reversed); and as his passion for manslaughter mounts, his eagerness for the conversion of those that survive the Krupp and Mauser takes the form of positive mania. To protest that all this is un-Christianlike is ineffectual with those to whom church organizations are a militant army for missionary conquest. Most Protestant clergymen affect to look with horror upon what they imagine is a Jesuit dictum that "the end justifies the means;" yet they apply the spirit of that injunction with a murderous logic that they do not even dare to ascribe to the fictitious disciple of Ignatius Loyola.

Think of a militant clergy—and then of Him who stood against the world and asked the aid of not one armed man in all the earth! Then think of this Christ wielding a spear or Roman short sword! Yet was not his life the highest expression of ideal courage and manhood? Did not the Roman centurion, the man of war, recognizing that his own standard of manliness was shamed by comparison with that of this heroic figure upon the cross breathing compassion for his enemies, cry impetuously?—"Surely this was the Son of God." What would the honest soul of the centurion say, were he

alive to-day, of the Bishop who urges us to make war upon the Chinese?

Military men share with the clerics this strangely distorted conception of Christian ideals. I quote from General Longstreet's "From Manasses to Appomattox": "Micah Jenkins, who fell by the same fire, was no more. He was one of the most estimable characters in the army. His taste and talent were for military service. He was a humble, noble Christian. In a moment of highest earthly hope [that is, amid the carnage of battle!] he was transferred to serenest heavenly joy. May his beautiful spirit through the mercy of God rest in *peace,"* which, as his taste and talent were for military service, suggests a condition in which the warlike soul of young Jenkins will find small comfort!

To be true to conscience is the supremest manly virtue. Such virtue is impossible to a soldier. It is this that makes militarism so dangerous to a republic. For the qualities that make a good soldier are the antitheses of those that make a good citizen. Soldiers are the Acephala among the human species—belonging to an order having no head. How strangely perverted is the soldier's ideal of duty, which prevents him from throwing up his commission when ordered to fight in a cause that he knows to be unrighteous! But this is precisely because the soldier's ideal of courage is a low one; because he can conceive of no finer heroism than the passive kind—that merely animal sort, of which, as has been said, even the rodent has his share.

How this strangely corrupted notion of "duty" has led men to take up arms in infamous causes! Militarism makes a glory of that which is a shame, and a shame of that which is a glory. For devotion to duty is only admirable when the duty itself is admirable. I received shortly before his death a letter from General Lafayette McLaws, who fought with bravery and distinction through two wars, in which he said: "As for the war with Mexico, I have never read a reasonable defense of it, except that it was necessary to establish the principle that might makes right. The United States wanted

the Texas country, Mexico was weak and defenseless, and hence the war." Yet this able general of the Confederacy won his first brevet in that war!

Glorification of the military spirit has become common enough of late, owing to nearly a half century of immunity from its horrors. "The strenuous life" has received more than its meed of praise from the splendid savage who two years ago became governor of the great State of New York. In spite of certain admirable qualities, the Rough Rider governor is conspicuously lacking in those higher qualities which single out the man from among men. Impetuous as a Seyd of the desert, he seems to many the highest ideal of manly heroism. They have but to go back to the convention that nominated Blaine. Into that gathering our future military hero went breathing fire and fury against the candidacy of a corrupt man. It was thought that he would certainly march out of that convention along with those who had threatened to bolt in the event of Blaine's nomination; this impression the young civil service reformer had sedulously encouraged. But his manhood failed him at the critical moment, and two weeks later he was stumping the States for Blaine! Those who saw his shilly-shallying at Philadelphia must have wondered what kind of a hero our Governor is, after all!

I have spoken of Colonel Roosevelt as a "splendid savage," and I use this term advisedly. The Colonel of the Seventy-first New York is right when he says that the Rough Rider Governor furnishes one of the few instances of a soldier who, compelled to kill men in the discharge of his duty, has afterward boasted of it. This Roosevelt does in his account of the battle of San Juan, with all the indifference of a nature that loves carnage for its own sake. How different are the words of one of the bravest soldiers who ever held a sword—the peerless cavalry leader of the *Grande Armée:* "My sweetest consolation when I look back upon my career as a soldier, a general, and a king, is that I never saw a man fall dead by my hand. It is not, of course, impossible that in so many charges, when I dashed my horse forward at the head of the

squadrons, some pistol shots fired at random may have wounded or killed an enemy; but I have known nothing of the matter. If a man fell dead before me and by my hand, his image would be always present to my view, and would pursue me to the tomb." (Murat, in a letter to Count Marbourg.)

The spirit of militarism develops an unconscious hypocrisy, tending to obscure the real distinction of the rights of the weaker. We prate about "our rights" in the Philippines—"our right" to govern the Filipinos. Now it must be admitted that however little amenable men are to reason they are even less so to force. Then why not send 65,000 missionaries instead of soldiers to persuade the Filipinos that it is our "right" to govern them, and that it is right for them to yield? The only reason we do not do so is because our talk of rights in such connection is shameless cant.

Corrupting to the individual, and therefore corrupting to the nation, is the spirit of militarism at all times and everywhere. Let it rule among a people, and, however the forms of republicanism persist, the Republic itself is moribund. However institutions preserve the outward garb of democracy, the Republic is slowly shaping itself to empire and is all purple within. Militarism is the Tarpeian rock that lies ever near the Capitol; it makes and unmakes nations, molding to strange uses the arms of liberty-loving people; debauches republican ideals and makes national heroes of Bardolphs who, if possessing physical courage, are morally as pusillanimous; engenders hatreds of peoples, and upon the altars of force makes offerings of the first-born of conscience. It gives us strange notions of heroism, and blinds us to the true nobility of civic valor, in this day fallen so low, and without which we shall perish of an inward cancer, though we number our military heroes by the score; that valor which dares to face all for principle, and which has given us our Lovejoys and Garrisons, heroes of a kind who are alone worthy of the consummate flower of the world's eulogy.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

*New York.*

## BRYAN AS A SOLDIER.

MUCH has been written about different phases of William J. Bryan's social and political life, but little has appeared touching his military life—except what has been said by his political enemies. I had the pleasure and the honor of serving on his staff for some months as adjutant, and had a splendid opportunity to become familiar with his characteristics.

Colonel Bryan possesses in a remarkable degree the essential qualities of a soldier, viz., an active mind, a strong physique, courage, bravery, and tact. These qualities, in connection with his gentlemanly and scholarly bearing, his universal kindness and magnanimity of heart, especially endeared him to the members of his regiment. If any were sick or in trouble, he visited them. It was a common sight to see him by the side of a sick soldier, either in quarters or in the hospital; in fact, not a day passed without his visits to the sick. Many a fever-stricken boy was cheered by his presence. His greatest care seemed to be for the welfare of his men. He made frequent tours of the camp for the purpose of personally inspecting its sanitary conditions, and to my personal knowledge more orders were issued concerning the health and condition of the regiment than for any other purpose.

Not only was Colonel Bryan concerned as to the physical condition of the regiment, but its moral and intellectual welfare received his thoughtful attention. His name, accompanied by a handsome cash subscription, headed the list to purchase a large tent to supplement the one used by the Y. M. C. A. Besides this substantial encouragement in the work of the organization, his presence at the meetings and participation therein had a good effect. In one of his first recommendations he urged the officers to encourage their men to invest a part of each month's pay in a good book.

No regimental commander in the Seventh Army Corps more fully exemplified the duties of a soldier, both by precept and

example, than did Colonel Bryan. He was never absent from camp except on duty demanding his attention elsewhere. He was always prompt and ready to carry into execution the orders of his superior officers. While he believed in discipline, he was not wedded to what is known as "military etiquette," and much of the "red tape" of a military existence was distasteful to him. If the humblest private in the regiment desired to speak to him upon any matter, it was not necessary to make request through "the proper military channels," but a hearing was granted without unnecessary ceremony and delay. This waiving of what he deemed "useless red tape" especially endeared the Colonel to his men. No man was ever turned away feeling that his request would not receive personal attention and consideration. This necessarily engaged much of his time, but, being resourceful and physically strong, he managed to meet the exigencies of every requirement. He possessed the happy faculty of adjusting difficulties with the least friction of any man with whom I have ever associated. I attribute his wonderful success in dealing with men and problems of daily life to the fact that every question is settled on its merits. He asks the question, "Is it right?" and settles it on that basis alone, not considering for a moment what might be temporary "policy."

Colonel Bryan was the life of the officers' mess. Every meal was made enjoyable by his presence. He had a fund of good anecdotes, and was remarkably expert in telling them. The stories he told were always illustrative of some point, and differed from the anecdotes of many in that they were scrupulously clean and free from suggestions of impurity; in fact he would not listen to any other kind of story without manifesting his disapproval, which he usually did by treating it with silent contempt.

Emergencies were met as if they had been foreseen. One incident will suffice to illustrate this. One day, while the regiment was stationed at Pablo Beach, the cry, "A man drowning!" was heard throughout the camp. In a very few seconds several hundred soldiers were at the water's edge watching the

body of a Virginia boy being slowly but surely carried out to sea by the strong undertow. No sooner did the alarm reach camp than Colonel Bryan seized a coil of rope several hundred feet in length, which he had previously bought, and with the assistance of one or two others soon had it at the scene of danger, where strong, brave swimmers took the rope and attempted to reach the unfortunate boy. The tide was too strong, however, and the poor youth was carried out to perish. His body was found two or three days after about twenty miles below. This rope was the means of saving others who were too venturesome.

A few days after this incident, while attending one of the Y. M. C. A. meetings, the leader invited any one in the audience to name a favorite song. After others had made selections, Colonel Bryan suggested that we sing "Throw Out the Life-line," which was sung with considerable feeling. To all present the song had more than ordinary significance, and made a deep impression.

Bryan is conscientious on all occasions. Many, upon entering the army, throw off much of the restraint that obtains in social life and abandon many of the home observances. Not so with the Colonel. On one occasion the owner of "The Three Friends," the celebrated boat that was suspected of being engaged in filibustering, invited Colonel Bryan and a number of other officers of different regiments to accompany a select party on a fishing expedition out to the "banks," where red snappers were to be caught in abundance. The captain of the vessel informed the officers that the boat would pass our camp at a certain hour the next morning, which was Sunday. I believe all accepted the invitation, with the exception of Bryan. He declined the invitation, remained in camp, and attended church services, as was his custom.

With Colonel Bryan there was no distinction of rank. It was the *man* inside of the uniform, rather than the insignia on the shoulder, that appealed to him.

Broad-minded, and a lover of free speech, he always listened attentively to any suggestions that his officers made, but *acted*

upon his own judgment, which seemed to be as nearly perfect as it is possible for that of man to be. While there were partizans in the regiment, no word or act of his would indicate that he thought any the less of them for unfavorable criticism. In fact, throughout his public career he has never attacked man as such. He opposes principles advocated by others, if he deems them wrong, rather than the men that advocate those principles. He fights for the right as he sees it, and, had it been decreed that the Third Nebraska should be called into active service in defending the downtrodden Cubans, Colonel Bryan would have been found in the hottest of the fight; and, so strong was the attachment of the men of his regiment for him, they would have fought to the last man to defend him. Happily no bloodshed can be charged to the regiment of which he was the proud commander.

Who knows but that he may yet be called upon to solve the problems that have arisen in connection with the results of the war with Spain? Should he be so called upon, I am one of the increasing number who believe that he could settle the difficulties—and settle them on the broad basis of human liberty.

C. F. Beck.

*Lincoln, Neb.*

## PHILADELPHIA'S ELECTION FRAUDS.

THE phenomenal and invariably Republican majorities in the city of Philadelphia have often caused comment. Various causes have been assigned: The steadfastness of the Republican voters; the prevalence of strong party allegiance; the personal interest of the people in the maintenance of a protective tariff, etc. The real reason, however, was revealed when the former Deputy Coroner and eight co-defendants, charged in sixteen bills of indictment with ballot-box frauds, fled the country.

Prior to the November, 1899, election there had been a general agitation of the question of fraudulent voting. The Municipal League for years had maintained that the majorities given to Republican candidates had been largely fraudulent. The charges created a good-natured smile on the part of the "machine," and an incredulous smile on the part of the "good citizens." "The League means right, no doubt," they would say, "but it has been carried away by its fears and enthusiasm." Still, the League persisted, and added moral proof to moral proof, but owing to inadequate support was unable to secure the legal evidence needed to prove their charges in a court of law. The padding of assessors' lists with fraudulent names and the voting of repeaters were morally demonstrated, but to no avail, as it was impossible to get at the evidence hidden away in the vaults of the City Hall. Assessors' lists were purged in court, only to be followed by a wholesale voting on the very names stricken off.

This may seem strange to one not a Philadelphian; but it is entirely possible under the present laws and Constitution. There is a clause in the 7th section of the 8th article of the latter instrument that reads thus: "No elector shall be deprived of the privilege of voting by reason of his name not being registered." That does the business; that opens the door.

It makes no difference whether your name appears in the assessor's list or not so long as you can get some accomplice to swear that you are a qualified elector—an easy task in most districts. I recall one instance where nearly two thousand names were stricken off the lists in a single ward; yet every name was sworn in at the following election, and a few more for good measure, just by this very process.

But some one says, "Why not arrest the voucher for perjury?" First of all you must make sure of your voucher. He comes forward for the occasion and disappears like the waves of the sea, never again to be identified. But what of the board of election officers; cannot they be depended upon? No; because they are elected by the very method they help to sustain. Very frequently names only are elected, and men to fit them are supplied afterward. This is just what happened in the thirteenth division of the seventh ward last autumn.

The day after the last November election the chairman of the Republican State Committee rather contemptuously referred to the "five petty arrests" on the evening of the day before. Those "petty arrests" have shaken the machine and caused the flight from the jurisdiction of the court of one of its chief workers and eight of its tools. The story of their arrest, arraignment, and flight constitutes one of the most humiliating chapters in the municipal history of Philadelphia, and one of the most dastardly attempts to subvert the will of the people in the annals of any American city.

Step by step the whole plot has been unfolded and the most serious charges of the reformers substantiated. Three names that appeared on the assessor's list of this division in February, 1899, were placed on the ballot at that month's election and were duly declared elected. Three men to correspond to them were imported last November (1899) from Washington, where they held political positions under the Federal Government, thanks to the influence of the machine. Assuming these names, they went to the house of Samuel Salter, the "boss" of the division and a member of the legislature and subsequent Deputy Coroner, and were given the necessary election paraphernalia,

which he had previously secured from the complaisant County Commissioners, although the law explicitly required that it be delivered to the judge. At the time the blank ballots were given to these impersonators they were given two hundred ballots already marked, with instructions to place them in the ballot box. This was done, and the people of this division started in to express their electoral wishes handicapped by two hundred fraudulent ballots.

The sequence of events thus far is: 1. Padded assessors' lists. 2. Imported, subservient tools filling the places of the names fraudulently on the list. 3. Stuffing the ballot box.

The next step, under ordinary circumstances, would have been at the approaching February election to choose an assessor who would repeat the padding; and how easy this would be under such a system is obvious. From the padded names, three would again be taken and placed on the ballot, and so on through the remaining steps. This could have been continued uninterruptedly if there had been no break from the inside; but, thanks to the enterprise and ingenuity of *The North American,* a man was secured who had gained admittance to the circle and became a part of it, and when he became possessed of all the secrets gave the needed information that led to one of the most sensational exposures of recent years.

George Kirkland was brought to the city by the machine and given the name of Clarence Boyd, under which to serve. He was present when Salter gave his (Kirkland's) two colleagues the marked ballots, and during the day served as an election inspector under the assumed name, which was given to him on a slip of paper by Salter, and signed all the necessary papers, taking the precaution to mark them all with a "K." I mention this to answer the suggestion made by some that Kirkland weakened after he was caught and turned State's evidence; but while it is possible that he might have attached the "K" to the tally-sheets, etc., without any thought of giving subsequent testimony, it is hardly probable.

The men were arrested on warrants sworn out by a reporter, and at the hearing before the committing magistrate Kirkland

told the whole story. Nine men in all were implicated, including Salter, who had been a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature at the session of 1899 and had steadily voted for Quay and who resigned to become Deputy Coroner; a messenger in the Congressional Library, a lieutenant of the Capitol police, and several lesser lights.

When the cases came within the jurisdiction of the District Attorney, every precaution was taken. The ballot box was removed from its usual resting-place in the vaults of the City Hall, and by order of court deposited with its clerk for safekeeping free from tampering. Then District Attorney Rothermel proceeded to take a move that spread more consternation in the ranks of the corruptionists and has done more to clear the atmosphere and produce a feeling of security on the part of the city's well-wishers than any that has been taken for years;—he petitioned the Court to open the ballot box! This was almost unprecedented. "What! violate the sanctity of the ballot box?" the ringster cried. "What will become of free government if you destroy the secrecy of the ballot?" In 1897, just after a bill I had introduced providing for the opening of the ballot boxes under certain circumstances had been defeated, one member cried: "When closed on the night of election a ballot box should never be opened; a closed ballot box tells no stories!" This clearly stated the position of the ring and explains why the discovery of frauds has been so difficult.

District Attorney Rothermel believed the Court and jury should have the best obtainable evidence—to wit, the ballots themselves—and that the secrecy of the ballot should be maintained only so long as it did not serve as a cloak of crime, and he asked the Court for permission to open the boxes; and there was a judge on the Bench, the Hon. Thomas K. Finletter, courageous enough to take the same view, and he signed the order and at the same time practically signed the conviction of the nine defendants and inaugurated an era of better government.

The opening of the boxes and the counting of the vote in

accordance with the order of court was awaited with interest. Would it substantiate Kirkland's tale of wrong-doing or make him out a sensation-monger? He had testified that two hundred ballots numbered from 100 to 300 inclusive had been placed in the box by Salter, who had ordered him and his fellow-election officers to begin running them in when eighty-five regular votes had been cast. When the box was opened and the numbers of the ballots disclosed, it was found that the first eighty-five ballots were scattering. From voter No. 87 to voter No. 100, the names of all the voters began with B, and all but three were straight Republican, without a break, the names of the voters following in alphabetical order. There was one batch of 186 straight Republican tickets; 92 straight Republican except that one of the Republican candidates for County Commissioner was cut, and Ryan—the minority candidate, who was in some danger of defeat from the Municipal League candidate—given the votes. Then there was another bunch of 43 ballots on which the names of Ryan, Mestrezat, and Reilly, Democratic candidates, were so voted as to prevent their Republican opponents, who were being cut, from running behind in a strong machine district. The independent voter could not be controlled, but his vote could be offset; and this was done.

The charge was made that there had been a deal between the Quay Republicans and the Democratic machine by which the candidate of the latter for County Commissioner was to be elected over the Municipal League candidate for the minority place—a charge that the figures throughout the city and especially in this division amply substantiated.

The disclosures of Kirkland and the ballot box completed the evidence and wove a tight web around the defendants. As one reporter said, "Throughout the investigation evidence has piled up letter upon letter, syllable upon syllable, word upon word, each fresh addition to the testimony bringing accumulated force to the charges of flagrant fraud in the late election in Philadelphia." Their only alternative was either to plead guilty and undergo punishment or to confess their guilt by

flight. The latter course was adopted, and when they were called in court to plead on January 8 they failed to respond to their names and their bail was declared forfeited.

Another set of election officers hailing from the twelfth division of the fifth ward were indicted shortly after. As in the seventh ward case, the court ordered the ballot box to be opened upon petition of the District Attorney. The totals in this division form interesting reading and corroborate the charge that there was a deal between the Republican and Democratic machines. The vote was:

*For State Treasurer.*

Barnett, Republican, received 247 votes.
Creasy, Democrat, " 4 "

*For Sheriff.*

Hartman, Republican, received 248 votes.
Reed, Democrat, " 3 "

*For County Commissioner.*

Wildemore, Republican, received 248 votes.
Black, " " 82 "
Ryan, Democrat, " 169 "

What a remarkable showing on the face of the returns—166 Republicans cut Black and voted for Ryan and not one Republican cut Wildemore! When the box was opened it was discovered that Ryan's Republican friends had a habit of voting in regular sequence for him. For instance, Republican voters Nos. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, and 114 cut Black for Ryan; likewise Nos. 117 to 136, Nos. 138 to 150, Nos. 154 to 159, Nos. 182 to 190, and so on throughout the entire list.

I might produce additional evidence in both of these cases proving the grossest frauds upon the franchise. I might cite numerous cases bearing the earmarks of fraud. I might refer to the two repeaters sentenced within a year, one of whom confessed to having voted thirty-eight times in the November, 1898, election and another to thirty-three times at the same election; but all to the same effect. And yet the chairman of the Republican State Committee had the temerity to speak sneeringly of the charges of the reformers, and the Governor of the State had the effrontery to assume the power and veto

a proposed constitutional amendment intended to prepare the way for much needed reform in our registration system! This attempt of the Governor, however, has just been rebuked by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which has affirmed every point raised by the Municipal League of Philadelphia and overruled every point raised by the Governor and his Secretary of the Commonwealth.

In 1897 the proposed amendment in question was prepared by the counsel of the League in consultation with some of the best-equipped lawyers of the city. He introduced it in the Legislature of 1897, but it was defeated. He reintroduced it in 1899, and this time succeeded in passing it. In fact it was the only reform measure passed at that session; but the Governor interfered and arrogated to himself the right to veto it, though the Constitution of the State gave him no such right. Steps were at once taken by the Municipal League to test the right of the Governor to veto such proposals. Despite numerous obstacles and the most exasperating delays, the case was brought into the County Court, where the decision was adverse to the League's contention. An appeal, however, was taken to the Supreme Court, which has just handed down an opinion overruling the lower court and the Governor and sustaining the League at every point. This is justly regarded as a great victory for ballot reform, although the work is by no means completed. The proposed amendments must be repassed by the next legislature and then submitted to a vote of the people; but a long step forward has been taken. The fight from now on will be to elect legislators who will be favorable to the amendments.

As illustrating the work that the Municipal League has been doing in behalf of pure elections, I may quote from a recent report of the League's counsel to the board of managers. It refers solely to cases growing out of the last municipal election. In the first case a warrant for a repeater and his voucher was issued, but both defendants fled and are now fugitives from justice. In another case a judge of election has been indicted for accepting challenged votes without the prescribed

vouchers and for permitting a city magistrate, a worker about the polls who was also the "boss" of the division, to mark the ballots of thirty-four voters without being requested by the voter and without in anywise complying with the law. In the third case, the members of the board of election officers were bound over for serving illegally, not one being legally entitled to serve; while in another case the judge of election has been indicted for refusing to permit a regularly elected officer to serve. In another division warrants were issued for a board for receiving illegal votes. There were 146 legal votes cast in this division, and 217 voters were returned. The judge and two inspectors are now fugitives, as also one of the repeaters; one of the latter, however, has already been indicted. In still another division, three of the officers have been bound over to answer a charge of misdemeanor—a canvass of the division showing 79 votes for one candidate who was given but 51, and but 30 votes for one credited with 60.

The League has warrants ready for other cases, one of which involves a full exposure of the system of "repeating." Another case now before the court involves the disposition of the lists of voters. Under the Act of 1839, the clerks of election are required to prepare lists of those voting in each division, one list to be placed in the ballot box and another sent to the Prothonotary's office for the inspection of the public. In 1892 (midway between the two sessions of the legislature) the county commissioners of Philadelphia discontinued the practise of having clerks of election make and file lists in the Prothonotary's office; and since then there has been no check on repeating, as the lists are locked up in the ballot box. The League has undertaken to have this policy condemned by the Court, and accordingly has brought a series of cases raising the various points at issue. If it succeed it will enable independent bodies to enter future campaigns with an assurance that they will be able to detect some of the crimes now hidden from view in the ballot boxes in the vaults of the City Hall.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

## THE FUTILITY OF ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION.

THE present national campaign, true to precedent, has called into being a new issue. As a rule, campaign issues in the past have been little else than crucibles for making party thunder. The sympathies of the people are aroused in behalf of some particular class that they are led to believe have been unjustly dealt with. The injustice is always attributed to the political party in power. In some instances the so-called landslide is the result. Thousands vote for reform. The reform party is placed in power. What follows? A literal living up to the promises made at the nominating convention? By no means. The thinking voter is left to form the conclusion that, after all, the promises of the modern politician are very often lightly made.

People are slow to learn that laws promulgated to change born tendencies in men are in nine cases out of ten the laws evaded. The idea that legislation can be used as a sort of lubricant for diminishing the friction between man and man is a tenacious heresy.

The fact that one of our leading political parties has seized upon the Trust as an issue is not significant. Politics is a science, and the skilled politician knows that he must outline his position from a study of the times. He studies sectional dissatisfaction as an entomologist studies a rare bug. He goes among the malcontents like a ministering angel. He tells them of the enormity of their wrongs, and how he, and other leaders in his party, have pledged themselves to wipe out those wrongs. He emphasizes the fact that the people are in no way responsible for their condition. Misrule, he says, is the instigator of the evil, and the only way to secure their rights is through the ballot. And his audience believe him with the credulity of little children.

The present attitude of the trusts justly fills the mind of the true American with consternation. If the wholesale destruc-

tion of free competition is allowed to continue, every producer between the trust and the trust employee will be obliterated. This means more than that. This middle-class producer, as he may be called, will be simply reduced to the ranks of the trust employee. It is well known that the trust has as its secondary object the concentration of industry. The fact that such concentration reduces the amount of labor required in the production of a given commodity to a minimum is also well known. When this twofold character is considered, people of average intelligence ought not to require the aid of a text-writer in economics to point out the final result. The reduction in the quantity of labor required will be met with an increased number of laborers. Apply the law of demand and supply, and what have we? A reduced wage scale is the natural outcome.

Of course, the trust has been extended only to a part of American industries. The danger pointed out in the preceding paragraphs in general may be said to be in its infancy. However, the symptoms are clearly defined, and only minds addicted to the most palpable folly will deny the urgent need of prompt action. The tobacco industry may be taken as an example. Here we have the trust idea practically in a completed state. Many of the factories that were absorbed by the American Tobacco Company are now closed. The labor employed by these factories has been thrown out of employment, not because the consumption of tobacco is decreasing but because the absence of competition makes it possible for the American Tobacco Company to maintain only those factories that can be operated at the minimum expense. Other trust corporations might be cited, but the question is so plain that one, to understand it, has only to direct his mind to the conditions surrounding him; therefore, we will refrain from asserting self-evident facts.

When the present power of the trust is viewed in the knowledge of the fact that that species of industrial energy is still in the formative state, an ominous shadow falls across the future of the wage-worker and the independent manufacturer.

Total extinction confronts the latter, while the former must struggle under the demoralizing effects of a diminishing wage scale and complete subjugation to the employer. This will be the end. Theorists may cry: "Let things alone; matters are bound to readjust themselves;" but their words, however consoling, are false, because the inference giving rise to them is drawn from the contemplation of an ideal society. Such a society cannot *be* without ideal *men*. Perhaps the nearest approach the world has ever seen to such a society is to be found in Christ and his twelve followers. But even then the selfishness of Judas made perfection impossible. Therefore, upon whom devolves the duty of curing this hideous ulcer? Upon those whose flesh is burned by its virus.

A few years ago one of our leading ministers preached a sermon in which he said no end whatsoever could justify a man in arraying class against class. It does not seem to the writer that this statement is even generally true. Going back over the numerous governmental reforms and revolutions that have taken place during the past three or four hundred years, how many cases do we find free from class hatred? Did the leaders against the English barons do wrong in arraying their followers against the oppression? It is hardly possible that the reverend gentleman would maintain that these men ought to have loved their enemies as themselves, or that the end did not justify the means.

The trust is not the fruit of Republican legislation, as some would have us believe. It is the child of human selfishness. This trait has never been a characteristic by which a man's political affiliations might be determined. Men have recognized the advantage of combination in industry, and have put the same into effect. Democracy can do nothing, at least not in a legislative way, that will prevent such combination. Those opposed to the trust principle in industry must get over the delusion that the legislative and judicial departments of the government are able to do for them those things which they refuse to do for themselves.

In nearly all jurisdictions the courts hold that it is against

public policy for any individual or combination of individuals, corporation or combination of corporations, to stifle honest competition in the production of any necessary for the purpose of raising the price of the same. It is difficult to see how the courts can be expected to go beyond this. Their decisions surely cannot make those things necessaries which are in fact not necessaries at all. And to carry their protection to every branch of industry would be the direct means of degrading them from their present high position. They can say that one man must not enrich himself at the peril of another man's life, but they are not at liberty to say that they will, by their mandates, prevent one individual or class of individuals from outstripping others in every race for wealth. Such an attitude would be an insult to thinking men and women. Courts and statutes can protect a citizen in many ways, but it is not their province to ruin him by encouraging him in his indolence.

"Do it yourself" is a motto worthy of the wisest of philosophers. The pity is that so few understand the real meaning of these three words. It seems that modern society is bringing up its members in the detestable habit of delegating every task requiring the slightest effort. Indolence of this character is new to American manhood. Had it always existed we would still be a part of the British Empire. Perhaps the cause is to be looked for in our habits. It may be the result of our great activity. Again, we may have made the statement too broadly. At all events the tendency mentioned is present among us. It can be seen in our attitude toward the anti-trust advocate. How eagerly we rush to his side, proclaiming a faith in his promises that he himself does not feel!

"What?" some one asks; "are we and our children and our children's children without redress? If both the courts and the legislature are powerless to relieve us from the growing burden of the trust, we are hopeless slaves; we have no other sources of relief." Be of good cheer; your wrongs need not be borne unless you yourselves so will it. The means of deliverance lies in your own hands. It is for you to say whether or not such means shall be exercised; for without your permis-

sion the strongest trust must cease to be. Your desires, your appetites, your love of show, your cultivated tastes, and above all your debased thoughtlessness, are the springs from which all trusts draw their life's blood.

An absolute guaranty that each citizen shall be allowed the lawful exercise of personal choice is an indispensable attitude to every government claiming to be the representative of freedom. This right is so completely the citizen's own that no power within the State can take it away from him. The instant he is deprived of it the State loses its character of freedom and lapses into anarchy or becomes a despotism. By means of this birthright, this constitutional pledge, and not through the promises of the anti-trust candidate, you are to break the power of monopolistic corporations. Go into the market with eyes and senses open. Do not let that little difference in price tempt you; for it is always through such a reduction that these institutions deceive the consumer. They sell low to-day that they may be able to sell at a much higher figure to-morrow, or next week, or next year. The small merchant is the first victim; you are the next. The only difference between you and the independent dealer is, that from him the amount taken is limited, while with you the robbery is never ending. He is forced out of business; but you are the consumer, and must have the commodities. You are enraged; you find it impossible to utter half a dozen sentences without drifting into a denunciation of the trust evil. It never occurs to you that the crime of those hard-hearted capitalists has simply been to embrace the opportunities your own hardness of heart has made possible.

Every man and woman who are, or are likely to be, affected by the trusts owe to themselves and to each other an imperative duty. This duty is, briefly stated, immediately to discontinue the use of every article produced at the hands of such firms. This may mean a painful task in a great number of instances; it may mean privation. But what of that? Self-denial is one of the noblest of human virtues; without self-restraint lasting progress is impossible. Therefore, let those anti-trust in

theory be anti-trust in practise. If an article of whatever description is needed make it an unvarying practise first to ascertain the producer; and if such producer is found to be a recognized trust or a corporation with trust tendencies peremptorily refuse to purchase the same. If you are unable to find the desired article produced outside of a trust, then your duty is to look for a substitute if it is something that cannot very well be dispensed with. Bring your children up in this. Never mind about your neighbor's politics, but call his attention to plain facts. The truth is always convincing when presented free from abstraction.

In this way only can trusts be abolished. The optimistic sociologist imagines he is able to discern an upward trend in the moral tone of society. Perhaps he does; at any rate, it is not our present purpose to quarrel with him. Allowing all that the most sanguine can hope for in this respect, the hour is too late and the danger too imminent to wait for the maturity of a reform of so slow growth. The axe must be applied immediately. The consumer has the weapon in his own hands, and can deal a fatal blow at the very roots of the evil.

It must be confessed that what has been said sounds very much like a boycott. But upon a closer examination it will be seen that the disagreeable features of the boycott are absent. A boycott is invariably the outcome of a dispute between organized labor and the employer. The motive is often mere revenge. It is seldom, if ever, used to defeat the exorbitant demands of the manufacturer. A strike is declared; the demands are refused; then as a final measure a boycott is proclaimed and hundreds are asked to join in the discrimination against the offender. It may be that of those only a few can feel themselves in sympathy with the course adopted. If the employer comes to time the boycott is lifted, and once more labor and capital drift along harmoniously. The ostracized commodity is again purchased. Now, what has been effected—what lasting victory won? Our answer is in the negative, for the reason that those responsible were looking only to the success of their demands. They did not wish to

destroy their opponent—far from it; they were willing to compromise if a compromise would avail them aught.

Now, a general discrimination against trust products is based, not upon a specific grievance existing between labor and capital but upon the substantial liberties of the people at large. No compromise is sought, nor should one be considered. To advocate such a discrimination cannot be traced to selfish motives. The trusts are opposed, not in a spirit of blind hatred but from a sense of fear and duty. The ignorant as well as the educated now clearly see what the domination of the trust means. There is little excuse for either objecting to so strenuous a measure. It is not a boycott in the ordinary meaning of that term. Those of tender conscience need not fear to take part. No moral law is to be violated. The strongest lover of peace will not be heard to say that the other cheek should be turned.

Men are generally what circumstances have made them. The fact that certain men are at the head of trusts is not sufficient grounds to adjudge them scoundrels. Thousands of others are not trust magnates for the strong reason that circumstances have never put such opportunities within their reach. Often we find among this class philanthropists of the highest type. They are ready to contribute to every benevolent enterprise, and perhaps have come to look upon the sources of their wealth as mere incidents to their skill and enterprise, probably bothering themselves little about the moral side of the question, and, while law-abiding, yet apply but a single test to the business *régime,* namely: success.

However, admiration for the personal qualities of the trust organizer does not change the character of the trust. A church founded here, or a university founded there, must not be allowed to come between the people and their duty. The wolf is alive and waxing fat. Let each do his or her duty, resting in the determination that, within the time measured by a few years, we shall see this enemy of modern industry lashing his gaunt sides in the throes of death.

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# THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS.

IT is popularly said of late that the Indian cannot "for several generations" compete in the intellectual world, but that he is destined for an indefinite period to remain a keeper of flocks and herds, a tiller of the soil, or at the best a humble artisan. This was the burden of the remarks of two or three of the more prominent speakers at Charleston, S. C., where the Indian Service Institute was recently held in connection with the N. E. A.; and it doubtless appeals to many minds as a plausible theory, tending to show the general uselessness and impracticability of the "higher education," at any rate in connection with the members of an "inferior race."

Let us examine into the logic and justice of this idea. Since culture or any acquired trait, according to the highest scientific authorities and the widest practical observation, is not transmissible from father to son, it matters not in reality whether the red man have "several generations" of educated progenitors behind him. Many of our foremost Americans were born of illiterate parents; some of the greatest of them all, as we take a certain pride in recalling, were practically self-educated, and lived in early youth under conditions of almost as primitive simplicity as those that once surrounded the children of the forest. More than this, it is commonly reasoned that these very conditions favor the development of original gifts and the stern virtues of character; and we are told that the scions of wealthy and cultured families tend constantly to degenerate, while out of poverty and rude surroundings spring the hardy giants of the race.

As a matter of fact, probably the ablest and most cultivated men and women of native stock have risen direct from the wigwam to the pulpit and rostrum, and entered without delay into the common inheritance of mankind. A considerable list could be produced in evidence, from the name of Samson Occum, the famous "Indian of Mohegan," down to those of men of the present day who were trained in childhood to the warpath and the chase, and who, although beginning their

formal education no earlier than fifteen years of age, yet contrived in another fifteen years or so to stand upon an equal footing with their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries.

The representative Indian is a man of brains and ambition. He has no notion whatever of remaining "for several generations" in the ranks of the toilers, and the vocation of such a man should be determined solely by individual fitness and choice. It is fairly certain that his race will never be a race of servants. Their gifts and their traditions as a people lie in quite another direction.

It is safe to say that the graduates of the government Indian schools do not fairly represent the possibilities of their race. The oldest of these schools have not been in operation long enough to test the quality of their alumni; their pupils are mainly drawn from the more or less degenerate class of "agency Indians"; their associations in school are almost wholly among themselves; and it will be found, I think, that nearly all Indians who have thus far attained distinction were educated in other than Indian schools. Nevertheless, the record of former pupils of Hampton and Carlisle, both of which place great emphasis upon manual and industrial training, will show a remarkably large proportion of brain-workers. At Hampton, where the record has been kept with especial care, the last report gives 118 at work as teachers, clerks, missionaries, doctors, lawyers, artists, and in other distinctively intellectual callings, to 197 farmers, herders, and mechanics. It must be remembered that but a small proportion of these are graduates, and that the standard of graduation is only about equal to the intermediate grade in our common schools. Of course there are some who have taken higher courses elsewhere.

It would be quite absurd to argue from all this that the Indian is "above" manual labor, or that he will not or cannot live by it if necessary. It has generally been found to be necessary for a large proportion of mankind, and our red brother cannot expect that an exception will be made in his favor. Neither is he to be diverted from obvious facts by fine speeches about the "dignity of labor." It is perfectly clear to everybody, in-

cluding those who flatter the workingman with fair words, that the comforts and refinements of our civilization, the higher pleasures of art, literature, and travel, the society of cultivated men and women—all that the world calls success and honor —are the rewards of *mind,* not of muscle. Enough for him that lives by the plow if he can satisfy his hunger upon coarse fare, and his soul with the consciousness of duty done!

Brain is king. All payment, in this era of the world's progress, is in proportion to skill and knowledge, even in those pursuits which depend primarily upon the exercise of muscular power. A farmer, for example, who has mastered the science of agriculture, and is able to confine his work to planning and supervising the actual operations of the farm, is no longer a manual laborer but a professional man, and enjoys a corresponding gain in money and consideration.

It follows that all who recognize within themselves the germs of power, and are able to unlock the door of opportunity, aspire to cultivate their wits rather than to develop their legs and arms, believing that in no other way can they make the most of life. Is there not evidence of an unworthy feeling of caste on the part of those who would undertake to impose upon our young Indian-Americans an arbitrary code of limitations, to discourage them from entering the higher vocations on the ground of hereditary incapacity, and to confine their education to the merest rudiments?

Let improvement in the government Indian schools be in the direction of more efficient instruction in the industrial departments, giving to work of all kinds its full value as education; and heaven forbid that these rising young Americans be taught to look upon themselves as an inferior class, set apart by Nature and heredity to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the "superior" race!

One successful physician, or lawyer, or minister, or artist, or author, or educator, or statesman of Indian descent is worth a thousand day-laborers as a practical demonstration of the equality of the races.

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## THE ARTISTIC IMPULSE IN MAN AND WOMAN.

ART in which music, painting, poetry, sculpture—all of its manifestations—appear is but an effect springing from a single cause or impulse. All are but results radiating from an eternal center.

The history of art is closely associated with the fact of sex. Art has masculine emotions, representing the katabolic, militant spirit of man. Historical paintings and epic poems contain this motive. The connection between art and love, which reveals itself even in the song of a bird, continues to subsist in human art. The theme of all lyrics is love. The artistic impulse is but the biologic fact that the katabolic male seeks the anabolic female. It is the affinity of *Romeo* and *Juliet*—of prosaic Jack and Jill. The pictures of those artists that appeal to us are amatory instincts developed.

Since woman is by nature or cultivation passive, she possesses to a less degree than man the creative art. In regard to the inability of woman to create there seems to be no difference of opinion. Leaving the interpretative arts out of the question, one must confess that the artistic impulse in man is more spontaneous, more widespread and pronounced, than in woman. Freedom of expression has been more restricted among women; hence, freedom of impression has taken its place.

Human beings tend to reproduce. The creative impulse, the desire to express inner thought, is the characteristic of both sexes; but the power of repression has been cultivated in the female and the ability for expression in the male. Woman, because she has been denied free productive expression, has confined her creative skill to the restricted level of personal service; whereas in man the sexual instinct overflows in all channels. Early in the development of species, Nature established two sexes in separate organisms; and these differentiations were to the advantage not alone of the individual, but of

the artistic and intellectual impulse. Among birds, esthetic taste is earliest displayed by the male. Song, which may be considered their intellectual activity, is the monopoly of the male. The male bird constructs the larger part of the nest in which the young are to be reared.

If we go back to early times we may be sure that the rough drawings of men and animals and other objects found on primitive implements and rocks were the work of man. Primitive woman, however, in the maternal desire to serve her young, began the first of arts or crafts. While the male savage was a fighter, expressing masculine energy or katabolic force, the female worked out the personal, conserving force of feminine energy; but, after this artistic impulse passed beyond the rudiments, we find it in the hands of the men. Among the Indians of Canada, tattooing is done by women, who introduce charcoal under the skin. The making of pottery is also largely in the hands of Indian women; but when we come to the higher stages of culture the supremacy of man is unquestioned. Galton found, in investigating over nine hundred individuals, that the sexes were nearly equal in minor artistic taste. Even in the matter of cooking, as a rule, it becomes a man's business when it reaches an art. This again is due to man's reaching-out process and woman's restricted impulses.

Schopenhauer describes woman as the "unesthetic sex," but if this is so it is due to her sexual coldness and to lesser opportunities than are afforded men. On the other hand, we find in woman a lively appreciation and inventive faculty where mere prettiness and not strength is concerned. The manufacture of wall-paper and silk hangings is almost entirely in female hands. House decoration, too, is an art reserved for women. There can be no doubt that women are superior to men in epistolary style. This may be largely due to their finding life and movement in little things. The adornment of the person is nowadays almost exclusively a feminine art; Renan calls it an "exquisite art." In still another attainment women hold undisputed sway. In the art of conversation

woman has been a queen from the time of the Greeks down to Madame de Staël and the present. Conversation is woman's eloquence.

So far as music is a matter of the emotions, woman is much more sensitive to it than man: she absorbs it. She has accomplished great results because she has done so much for the art, and her influence has given support to composers. The emotional mind of the one sex has acted on the colder mind of the other. As an interpreter of music in song, woman excels. All the elements that woman has in her complex nature —love, sensitiveness, religion—combine to perfect her song, which is the first sound a child hears. A list of forty-eight women musicians has been compiled, all of whom lived during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries; but in spite of these statistics there is no art to which women have been so widely attracted and in which they have been so helpless to create success. The players of music among civilized races have been women; the makers, men. Woman has never invented any well-known musical instruments. Rubenstein wrote: "The two things most peculiar to women, love of a man and tender feeling for a child, have found no echo from them in music. I know no love duo or cradle song of artistic value composed by a woman." And again: "Woman, the noblest, most refined, most soulful, lacks in musical creation, which must combine all these qualities." The ability to limit emotions to the rigid law of harmony does not seem the province of the female.

On the other hand, her sexual nature, restrained by every law, has acted as a stimulus upon the free agent, man; and we see this most forcibly in the art of music. While a man that has learned to play upon an instrument rarely ceases to delight in it, the intense love of woman for music often ceases with age. This may be due to the emotional rather than the esthetic impulse. The mattoid, or crank, whose whole life is devoted to the pursuit of some eccentric whim, is seldom a woman. Among geniuses—so-called congenital forms of mental abnormality—there are more men than women. Idiocy

is of the same general tendency. Woman is more in harmony with Nature than is man. Precocity and genius frequently go together. Of musicians whose biographies were examined by Sully, ninety-five per cent. gave promise before twenty years of age. Handel wrote a mass at thirteen, and Beethoven a sonata at the same age. It is difficult to recall examples of women who have fought their way to perfection like Wagner; a woman craves sympathy, and she lacks, from years of repression, independence.

It has frequently been remarked that women are better readers than men. This may be due to their correct ear and quick perception of what they read. On the psychic side we see woman's conservative nature more inclined than man's to preserve ancient customs. Astrology is now chiefly supported by women. In Russia, spells and primitive methods of looking into the future are in the hands of women, who have a recognized position as soothsayers. In religious development the same repressive power has held women back. In early times woman was the sharer in the mysteries and rites; but as religion developed her place receded. As years went on, woman, strongly drawn to religion, did almost nothing to give expression to it. The manuals of devotion, which are essentially the same, are written by men and widely read by women. Lombroso, on the other hand, points out that the mortuary epigraphs found in the catacombs of Rome show that forty per cent. of them were of women. Two of the greatest festivals of the Catholic Church—the Feast of Corpus Christi and the Feast of the Sacred Heart—had their origin in the illumination of unlearned women.

Ladies' philosophers seem to be Schopenhauer, Epictetus, and Plato—from which one would infer that women are attracted to abstract thinkers as well as to religious expounders. Ferrero calls attention to the fact that among the Greeks thirty-four women distinguished themselves in the Pythagorean school of philosophy, and one among the cynics. This is due, he thinks, to the Pythagorean school being a sort of "company of Jesus appealing to the emotions."

In imitative art, women succeed much better than men. If we look back to the history of the stage we see more famous actresses than actors. This emotional explosiveness is largely due to this same repression of sex and social compunction that puts women by their very natures in the position of actors. Great actresses in a way express their own natures. France can show no male rival of Sarah Bernhardt. In the art of dancing, women excel; and powerful and sagacious queens the world has seen in plenty, from the Queen of Sheba down to the present. In Jane Austin, Charlotte Bronté, and George Eliot, we possess three story-tellers who for artistic production are equal to male novelists. Women have done well in fiction because they have supplied the emotional as well as the intellectual. A woman's book is worth more in detail. Her mind is more concrete, the man's more abstract. The quick perception of character necessary for a novel is natural to all women. In poetry women have done much. We have a Sappho, a Christina Rossetti; and emotional poetic energy is in English best represented by Mrs. Browning. Every one will have to admit, however, that women's poetry is apt to lack virility. Woman's passive, anabolic nature again shows itself, and strong development has proceeded along the male line. Mr. Edmund Gosse has remarked in regard to the place women occupy in the poetic literature of the world: "That Shakespeare should have had no female rival; that the age in which music burdened every bough, and in which poets made their appearance in hundreds, should have produced not a single solitary poetess, even of the fifth rank—this is curious indeed." And writing of Sappho, he declared: "She is the type of woman poet who exists, not by reason of the variety or volume of her work, but by virtue of its intensity, its individuality, its artistic perfection."

In the exact sciences Mrs. Somerville and Charlotte Herschel have gained applause; in political economy, Miss Martineau; in politics, Madame Roland. Joining these facts with the consideration that women have been placed at a disadvantage in every department of learning; that for ages she has been

taught to repress the mainspring of all creative ability; that she is less often than men exposed to the necessity of earning a livelihood—we find women have achieved much in spite of the drawbacks of Nature and society. In sculpture the great names are mostly those of men. There have been a few women, however, whose names deserve mention; Harriet Hosmer, for instance, has made the marble live with a man's force and skill.

There are few women whose names would occur to one in making out a list of the great artists of the world. Women have lacked the masculine emotions necessary for the production of great paintings. Rosa Bonheur is perhaps the only woman who was man's equal upon canvas. China painting and decorative art in general are the specialty of woman, who excels in the minor, personal artistic impulses, and in this way gives vent to her restricted life. Even the idea of maternity—the Madonna and Child—has found expression at the hands of men.

Woman has inherited from endless generations this anabolic tendency. Social conditions have caused it, and still tend to foster it. This has hampered her in giving the creative impulse room to spread in all channels, as man has been enabled to do. Galton presents interesting data upon the artistic faculty. Prefacing his remarks with the statement that the artistic impulse is inherited, he divides his data into classes: the first for music alone, the second for drawing, and the fourth for minor artistic impulses. It is, however, hard to reach definite results, for psychology is yet in its infancy. The male and female come together through sexual attraction, and the chances of artistic life are increased through this association. A large part of the joy that men and women find in each other's society is rooted in this sexual difference and variability. If woman has been restricted in her creative ability, she has caused human development to proceed in the male line by influencing man with her concealed, suppressed energy.

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# STATUS OF THE MODERN HEBREW.

## I. The Secret of His Immortality.

THE genial and brilliant humorist, Mark Twain, thus finishes his essay, "Concerning the Jews": "The Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Persian, rose, filled the planet with sound and splendor, then faded to dream-stuff and passed away; the Greek and Roman followed and made a vast noise, and they are gone; other peoples have sprung up and held their torch high for a time, but it burned out, and they sit in twilight now or have vanished. The Jew saw them, beat them all, and he is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no infirmities of age, no weakening of his powers, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind. All things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?"

In discussing that subject, the humorist analyzes with keen insight the Jew's good qualities as well as his alleged faults, and arrives at a very favorable conclusion. The writer gropes a little deeper and endeavors to disclose some of the reasons for the world's prejudice against the Jew; and yet he ends with a query,—What is the secret of his immortality?—without realizing that he had answered the question already.

This problem is particularly interesting at present. The nineteenth century is breathing its last; nineteen hundred years mark the periods of Israel's continued suffering—nearly two thousand years of incessant blows at the mighty trunk of Judea; nearly twoscore hundreds of winters and summers were added to the life of the vagrant race—and Israel, the oldest, the feeblest, survives. Neither the sword nor the faggots of the stake, neither the knout nor the pen, could annihilate him; he lives under all predicaments and trying circumstances; he

outlives his persecutors, and shouts of defiance, as it were, reëcho again and again throughout all lands and continents. He laughs the world to scorn, and you can almost hear him murmur, "I am eternal, everlasting; my name is Israel." What is the secret of it? Where has the Jew secured this *aqua vitæ?* Is it a miracle? Is it a physiological or psychological problem; or is it perhaps a simple, every-day social question?

The mystery of the Jew's indestructibility has troubled the Gentile mind for ages. The Christian missionary tried to solve this puzzle by the crucifix and baptismal font, and failed; Russian tyrants sought to accomplish the same end through cruel and inhuman methods, with no better results; the philosophic Teutons hoped Jew-baiting might be the best means, and they also have discovered their error; and even the most civilized and enlightened communities tacitly apply ostracism for the same purpose. And the Jew lets them rack their brains and continues his existence as unbroken and as hopeful as of yore.

Some regard it as miraculous—the Hebrews being the "chosen people"—and others look upon it as the fulfilment of some curse; but neither hypothesis will satisfy a person of sound reason. The former might gratify the fancy of a simple-minded Quaker; the latter of a medieval Christian. But there must be something more authentic and in accordance with the natural sequence of things—some theory that is based on facts, not fiction. The Jews no longer assert any superiority because of their being "chosen" (save for persecution and prejudice), and I doubt if they ever laid claim to this dignity, except in Biblical tradition. We must disregard divine blessings and demoniac curses, and scrutinize more closely the Jew's character—the inner nature of his being. For therein lies the secret of his survival, and this cannot be disclosed unless he is thoroughly understood. The Jew has ever been misrepresented and misinterpreted: in history, in fiction, on the stage, and in the daily pursuits of life; and even his very *belief* has been misunderstood. The world has regarded the Jew as an enigma and refused to see him in any other light. Furthermore, the

influence of his environment misled the Jew himself to overestimate his powers.

The secret of the Jew's immortality is not hidden: it is patent on the surface. But the commonly assigned causes for his survival are: (1) persistence in his faith; (2) seclusiveness; (3) ancestral pride—regarding himself as God's "chosen"; (4) the Saviour's malediction. The first three causes are emphatically insisted upon by Mr. Arnold White in his latest book; yet the Hebrew race is utterly devoid of these characteristics, as we shall see. The Jews are neither persistent nor seclusive, nor do they take "pride" in their race. The last statement may be denied by some Jews, and I do not ask the reader to take my word for it, but will illustrate it in this article, which is not intended to be laudatory nor condemnatory, but simply a presentation of facts, be they in praise of the Jew or otherwise.

First, as to persistence. Peruse the Bible and Jewish history to the present date, and synthesize this particular feature —and you will be surprised to find the reverse is true. The Jew has been and is the least persistent in his creed. Compared with professors of other faiths, the Jew might be regarded as an all-around apostate. Moses, the wise lawgiver, knew his people well enough, and "he led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines," although that was near; for God said, "Lest peradventure the people repent and return to Egypt." At the very first step of the Exodus their faith was shaken. A short while after the children of Israel "sang unto the Lord because he hath triumphed gloriously," and redeemed them from bondage, the same people murmured, "Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots." After taking another step the children of Israel again murmured, "Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt?" They no longer had faith, and never ceased to murmur throughout the journey under Moses's leadership. Taking another step, "Israel joined himself unto Baalpeor." Joshua died, and his generation were gathered unto their fathers; "and there arose

another generation after them which knew not the Lord. And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim, and followed other gods, the gods of the people that were round about them." In fact, the Biblical history of the Jews is a chain of disobedience, infidelity to the faith of their fathers, and *lack* of persistence. Not a decade passed but they had forsaken their creed and worshiped other gods. The Maccabean epoch is especially noted for Jewish indifference toward their faith. The cultured classes were striving after Hellenism, and aspired toward the Grecian mythology. Had the Maccabeans not arisen, the Jewish problem would probably then have been solved for all time. At the time of the illustrious philosopher Maimonides, the Jews had been so ignorant of their faith that they could not even pray in Hebrew, and Maimonides complained of their gross ignorance of Judaism and urged that a reader should pray and the congregation intone "Amen."

Now, let us examine the inner life of Israel during the passing century. When Moses Mendelssohn stood at the gate of a German ghetto a century ago, the Jews' condition in Germany had been most deplorable; the baptism of a Jew was a rarity, if not an impossibility. Penned up in barricaded, dingy inclosures, they were almost barred from engaging in any honest profession or trade; every branch of industry by which one could procure a livelihood was forbidden them; even the dead in their graves were frequently molested. Under the hood of hypocrisy and in the name of Christ, the so-called Christians had robbed, plundered, and killed the unfortunate adherents of Judaism. But they could not crush them; they rather strengthened them. At every new restriction and abuse the Jews of the ghetto added a new ceremony, a new law, and revived an ancient ritual or custom. With Mendelssohn a new epoch had begun for the Jews. The light of his brilliant mind filled the uncouth Jewry of his time with new life and splendor, and had cast its reflection even among Gentiles. The existence of this witty philosopher was felt in Berlin. His precepts and philosophy were discussed in intellectual cir-

cles; his sayings were repeated in aristocratic salons; his humor and wit were talked of among the literati; and Moses Mendelssohn had become a favorite name in every house of culture. He was a Jew, and was not ashamed to proclaim it.

So the Jew became a subject of interest. It was Mendelssohn the Jew who had drawn the attention of the German people. Germany had become ashamed of itself—but prejudice cannot be easily shaken off; it is rooted too deep in the baser element of man. However, persecution was ameliorated and more freedom was granted to the Jews. In rapid succession the Jews crept forth from the ghettos. They had changed their dress and mode of living, and adopted those of their German neighbors. Mendelssohn opened the gate to culture, and his co-religionists streamed in profusely. In a short period the number of distinguished Jews was too large to enumerate. They dropped their ancient customs, abandoned the Yiddish dialect, and became German in every essential respect. The Jew Heine sang for the Gentiles the sweetest songs of life and love, and Meyerbeer and Felix Mendelssohn filled the air with heavenly melodies. Equal rights had been granted to the Jews. Resistance was no longer of avail, and the Jewish cohesive strength was gone; for therein lay their power. The Jews forsook the tents of Shem and moved to the house of Japhet. Thousands went willingly, nay eagerly, to the baptismal font. Mendelssohn's own flesh and blood became Christian. Intermarriage had become a daily occurrence. Judaism was no longer a religion, but a compromise. The rabbis modified and framed their creed according to the Christian pattern—that it might be easier to cross the barrier that divided Jew and Christian.

There was no hope for the Jew's survival. It was only a question of time, and the twentieth century would undoubtedly have found the Jews absorbed by the Gentiles. The Jews were only a handful as compared with the people among whom they dwelt. But the Germans have had little patience. Seeing the Jews climb too fast to the top, anti-Semitism arose to check their progress. Now resistance was again in demand, and the

Jews' strength revived. The Jew was now opposed, and he met this with resistance. Again he espoused his old faith and obstinately clung to his own. This is the story of the Jew in Germany and the secret of his survival there.

The Jew is a being of resistance, not persistence. In order to win the sympathy of a stubborn person we must dispense with force. Force will bend the weak and yielding, but the strong and obstinate must be won through kindness. What is true of the individual is also true of the race. The greater the force used against the Jew, the more invincible becomes his resisting power. Every race, every nation, has its peculiar characteristics, and resistance is the one by which the Jew is distinguished. Every time a "blood accusation" is aroused against the Hebrew by Gentile fanatics, it assures another century of life for the Jew; every time a Jew is persecuted for his race and faith, another decade is certain to be added to Israel's history; every time a Jew, for racial reasons, is ostracized at a summer resort or denied admission to a club, it invigorates and unites the Scattered People more closely. This is the Jew's power; this is the mystery of his survival. The Jew has always known it, and he never grumbles at persecution. Persecution has been and is his stronghold. Without persecution and prejudice the Jew would have been a relic of the past. Prejudice is the salt, so to speak, that preserves the Jew. Burn him, slaughter him, knout him, ridicule him—and he becomes stronger and clings more devoutly to his faith; treat him leniently, compliment him, show him friendship—and he will do more than you ask of him.

Very similar is the history of the Jews in Russia. During the reign of Alexander II., when persecution was merely mitigated, the young generation turned their back on Judaism. Thousands drifted away and were amalgamated with the Gentiles; thousands adopted the Old Greek Church faith. Then, also, the Jew was easily rocked in the cradle of hope and had golden dreams of "assimilation." But the burning roofs over their heads and the hurling stones in their windows in 1881 rudely awakened them. Jewish children wept and asked

their mothers, with innocent tears in their eyes, "Are we also Jews?" "Back! Back!" resounded throughout Russian Jewry. "They force us to it, and we won't! We would do it of our own free will, but no compulsion!" This is the interpretation of the reaction after the "riots." Again resistance was in demand, and the Jew was rejuvenated. He girded his loins and paid measure for measure. Again he tightened his relaxed creed, readopted some of the abolished Oriental customs, and laughed the whole world to scorn.

Jews in the United States enjoy equally the rights and privileges of American citizenship with their Gentile brethren. Still, there exists even here the old prejudice, and they have gained very little ground after all in their attempt to remove the barrier that separates them from the world. There are three Jewish denominations in this country. Although the difference is practically trivial, they are divided into Orthodox, Conservative, and Radical branches. Accurately speaking, these are the three stages of Jewish indifference. It is a shifting trinity, and every Jewish immigrant begins with the first and ends with the last. Orthodoxy is the faith of Judaism unpurified; Conservatism is purified Judaism without faith; Radicalism is neither faith nor Judaism. The last is the latest fad of compromising Judaism. Under no interpretation can it be classified as a creed. It is the ultimate degree of indifference that verges on agnosticism. Judaism in this country is a compromise, which according to one of the most erudite rabbis has proved a failure. The modern "temple" in this country is a lecture-hall, pure and simple, with no logical right to be classified among the faiths; and the services are chiefly of a vaudeville character. Whether or not it is the right substitute for religion is another matter. But I use it merely as an illustration of the Jews' lack of persistence in clinging to their faith, and incidentally revealing the Jewish nature.

Ethical Culturism is a frank offer and compromise for assimilation, which the Gentiles are not willing to accept. The Radical rabbis cowardly shield themselves under the petticoat of Judaism. They fear to face the naked truth; for the Ameri-

can Reformed Jewish congregations are like ready-made clothes that fit the buyer. Primarily, they are neither Conservative nor Radical. The rabbis solve this riddle for them. The congregation dances in accord with the rabbis' tunes: should the latter cease playing, the former would quit dancing. Had the American Jews not met with opposition in joining Gentile clubs and society, Judaism would expire in this country in a short time. It is hovering between life and death anyhow, although the influx of Jews from countries of cruel oppression tends to revive it. The Dreyfus case was a stimulus for the Jew to take up his own again—which also proves that prejudice is the only cause of the Jew's immortality.

Secondly, as to seclusiveness. The Biblical passages already cited might clearly show that the Jew is by nature an assimilator. It is exclusiveness, rather than seclusiveness, that characterizes the Jew. To ask why the race remains a distinct, separate people within the bulk of humanity is like asking one who was successively kicked out of a house why he does not return.

Israel's record during the Biblical era is familiar. Whenever he waxed fat he rebelled and took unto him wives from the Gentile peoples. King Solomon and the whole line of the royal family, without exception, had been assimilators. I am not citing these facts panegyrically, but simply as an illustration of the point at issue. When Greece flourished the Jews wished to flourish with it—as Hellenes, not as Jews. The same was true in every country where the Jew was allowed to rest his weary feet. I have previously pointed out the Jewish eagerness for assimilation in Germany and Russia—when fortune smiled upon the race and they were allowed to breathe freely. Israel's mission is peace, and through peace only will the Jew be identified with the people among whom he sojourns.

Furthermore, the Jew's instinct of assimilation is so strong that his very nature and character are molded according to his surroundings. Consider, for instance, the cultured Jews of Russia. They adopted Western civilization and have nevertheless retained the traits of the Slav, in contradistinction

to the Teutons and Anglo-Saxons. They are of the Turgénieff type. Had educational institutions not been closed against them for one or two centuries longer, there is no doubt that the greater portion of the Russian Jews would have been absorbed by the Aryans. The reason for this is obvious. The Jew, though often original, is an expert imitator. To-day the Gentiles will set an example for him, and to-morrow he will surpass the original. This is his genius—adaptability. This trait also is perhaps the effect of incessant hardship and trial. Modern Judaism itself, for instance, is an imitation of Unitarianism; but, while the latter retains the spirit of Christianity as well as the devotion of prayer and faith, the former is shallow, without any vitality or religious spirit. It is imitation, and therefore affected.

Not only spiritually, but also intellectually, the Jew is an assimilator. The peculiar qualities generally attributed to the Jew become extinct after a decade of freedom. Shrewdness and economy are said to be particularly Jewish. Does the American or English Jew betray any signs of shrewdness? Is the Jew in this country parsimonious? Are Hebrews not the best patrons of the opera, the lecture-hall, and other places of entertainment? Are they not more charitable than the Yankees? Economy with the Jew is a thing of the past; in short, he is an adapter to an extreme degree.

Furthermore, the Jew is capable of assimilating physically as much as other races. The Jews are not only a religious sect but a race in contradistinction from the Aryans, notwithstanding the ridiculous assertions of some advanced Hebrews that they are Jews by faith only. It requires centuries for a race to lose its identity and undergo a physical change. However, making due allowance for the peculiar situation and severe persecution that compelled the Jews to retain their radical characteristics, we may say that they assimilate physically as well as otherwise. Any one familiar with the southern Russian type will realize the influence of the climate and environment upon the Jew. Not even the most skilful physiognomist could detect any difference between some Jews and Gentiles in that

part of Russia. The southern Russians, Jew and Gentile alike, have sandy hair, straight noses, gray or grayish-blue eyes, and thin lips, and even their untrimmed beards shape themselves strikingly similar. There is scarcely a trace of Semitism in their features, except the badge of sufferance which is still uneffaced. The same is true of the Bohemian and Hungarian. The German and Lithuanian Jews are perhaps physically the most persistent—the former in particular; their features are purely Semitic: jet-black hair, long aquiline nose, thick lower lip, and pensive look. But the cause of this is self-evident. The German Jews were shut up in ghettos more rigidly than any of their co-religionists—especially in the eighteenth century. The atmosphere of the ghetto was so peculiarly distinct that it left its impression almost indelibly. And Lithuanian Jews, though never inclosed in ghettos, have separated themselves from the outside world and lived an *imperium in imperio* through the barbaric ukases and inhuman treatment of their oppressors. The forced system of their education and Talmudic atmosphere forced the Lithuanian Jews back to Orientalism; for education acts powerfully even on the physical constitution of man.

The so-called Jewish clannishness is that of sheep on discovering the approach of a wolf. It is intimidation, because they feel—and they have good cause for so feeling—that they are never safe or secure in many so-called Christian countries. Civilized countries, professedly Christian, which at the close of the nineteenth century still find the ritual "blood accusation" against the Jews a debatable subject, are not fully civilized and trustworthy, and there is yet fear of danger for the antagonized race.

Only a superficial cynic could make so unfounded a charge as ancestral pride against the Jews. One meets every day with Irish boys and girls who acknowledge their origin with pride, and with Catholics professing their faith boldly; while one has to search with flaming torches to find American Jewish boys or girls who, if they only could, would not like "to pass for Gentiles," and blush when reference to Judaism is made. The average American Jew, notwithstanding the repulsive

blows he often meets with, is ever seeking to expatriate himself from his race; and if possible he would perhaps go so far as to shape his nose after the American model. How many American Jewish ladies could be found who would wear the emblem of Judaism dangling over their breasts? To be the only Jew on a street is one of the heavenly privileges the propitious gods are not indulgent enough to grant to all of them. The Jew is least of all proud of his faith and race. Nay, he is often ashamed of it, and the little pride he sometimes seems to display is only the self-reproach that awakens out of self-respect. Degrade any human being for his origin or nationality, and you inevitably stir up pride in him. It is not pride in fact, but rebuke that assumes the dignity of pride.

Lastly, we come to the malediction of Christ, on which I lay most stress; not that I am irrational enough to believe in the potency of a "curse," but for the significant interpretation given to it by the Christian world for nearly two thousand years. Trivial as this may seem to the liberal and broad-minded Christian, those who take the Bible literally *ad absurdum* sincerely believe that the Jews are to be kept down in order to fulfil that malediction. They emulate the sharp-shooter who first shot at a target and then made a circle around the arrow. No matter how enlightened many good Christians are on other points, they cling to that literal and preposterous interpretation of "His blood be on us, and our children." But this is only a cause for prejudice, not for the Jews' existence. It is true that Jew-hatred is found even among non-believers, but this is the natural outgrowth of the former. Christianity in its general acceptation rooted deep prejudice toward the Jew in its professor, and though he often outgrows his religion he rarely outgrows that prejudice. Evil is often more tenacious than good.

The secret of the Jew's immortality is prejudice and violence, and prejudice and violence are the offspring of religious differences. Mark Twain's allusion to the hostility of the Gentiles toward the Jews before the Christian era merely reaffirms the fact that the majority hates the minority for repelling its

views, and that history repeats itself. When one out of a whole society fails to follow the accepted conventionalism, he is regarded as a "crank" and is disliked. The same is true of a small class of people within a large one. But while some may yield to the majority through compulsion or ostracism, the Jew is not moved by either of these social weapons; indeed, these means only strengthen his individuality. The greater the violence the greater is Israel's force of resistance; this and this only is the secret of the Jew's immortality.

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## II. JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE.

WHEN Goethe outlined his famous scheme of a universal literature, he did not hesitate to place Jewish literature in the very front rank. In an age when the Jews were just emerging from the ghettos to breathe the fresh air of political and religious liberty and to try their wits in intellectual competition with their Gentile brethren, it struck the great German savants with utter dismay to see the literature of a despised and persecuted race thus made to stand gigantic in the van of the world's literary treasures. And to think that a *German* should thus have apotheosized Jewish thought and learning!

Perhaps no other literature is so nearly world-embracing in its prevailing tone and bearing as that of the Jews, and we are ready to agree with Goethe in his daring literary estimate enunciated in their favor so many years ago. It was its undoubted cosmopolitan characteristic that made of Jewish literature a happy and perhaps providential vehicle for the sustentation and perpetuation of learning in Europe during the Middle Ages, when science was languishing among the Christian populations and when the Jews and Moors of Spain alone kept burning the lamp of scientific research.

The Jews of Spain acted as intermediaries between the

ardent, fantastic Orient and the cold, sordid Occident. They received from the Greeks, Persians, and Arabs the old Greek and Indian fables, such as the "Fox Fables," so dear to students of comparative mythology, and, translating them into Latin, not only preserved them but spread them all over Europe, subsequently to become popularized in the various countries that had arisen on the ruins of the Roman Empire: countries without national literatures because devoid of fully-developed literary languages. Spain was the only soil on which pure science could flourish; for there alone, in all Europe, might have been found, after the Moorish conquest, a national tongue equal to the task of embodying and perpetuating the science and philosophy of both Jew and Moor: Arabic.

The Talmud was the power that launched the Jew on his career of scientific study and discovery, for in it he found those germs of medicine, anatomy, botany, geography, astronomy, jurisprudence, and history that sooner or later were bound to grow up into actual sciences wherever the Jew might chance to settle in his wanderings. From time immemorial the holiest duty in Israel has been the study of the Law, which early came to mean to nearly all Jews the Talmud. For five hundred years the Jewish mind was exercised with Talmudic lore and rabbinic dialectics, ere it launched out independently into the fields of pure science and philosophy in sunny Spain under the caliphs. This rabbinic training prepared the Jew to handle weighty problems in science and philosophy, while the "haggadah," or parabolic portions of the Talmud, bristling with wit and humor, brightened the burden of his exile and gave to his poetry a touch of buoyancy and vivacity.

Jewish literature has always had a mission to fulfil in spreading religious and scientific truth throughout the world, and its beneficent course may be traced from the days of the old Talmudic academies that arose and flourished wherever the Jews of the *diaspora* were settled. It was an ancient and learned oriental rabbi, Samuel, who declared that he was as well acquainted with the stars and their courses as he was with the streets of Nahardea, in Babylonia, where his academy flour-

ished. This old saying of Rabbi Samuel was but a confession of the Jew's love of astronomy in every age, a science in which he has excelled ever since Samuel's day. Gamaliel, another Talmudic rabbi, both astronomer and mathematician, no doubt made use of a rude telescope, while Rabbi Joshua as early as 290 A.D. probably calculated the orbit of what is known to-day as "Halley's comet."

These early investigators were but the prophecy of that mighty scientific wave that was destined to sweep over Spain hundreds of years afterward under Jewish inspiration. All that was known, not only in Spain but in all Europe, of astronomic science in the Middle Ages was based upon Ptolemy's "Almagest," which a Jew early translated into Latin and made accessible to all lovers of learning, thus preparing the way for a truer astronomic science at the Renaissance. In Spain the field of scientific research was made brilliant by the labors of Abraham ibn Ezra, known to Latin scholars as Abraham Judæus, or Avenare, and Abraham ben Chiya, or Savasorda, the latter of whom discovered the stellar parallax and explained for the first time the sphericity of the earth. He also wrote for his contemporaries the first systematic scheme of stellar science. Jacob ben Machir, also known as Profatius Judæus, wrote on the inclination of the earth's axis, and thus laid the foundation for the investigations of Copernicus. Gerson ben Solomon composed a useful summary of all the scientific knowledge of his time, while Levi ben Gerson, astronomer, physician, and theologian, wrote a book on arithmetic and invented at least one astronomic instrument. John, of Seville, issued the first practical text-book on arithmetic and was the first to make mention of the system of decimal fractions, of which he may also have been the inventor. The court of Alphonso X. was made illustrious by the labors of many Jews learned in astronomy and mathematics, their discoveries paving the way for Kepler and Tycho Brahe, Isaac Israeli's "Foundation of the Universe" having been one of the best mathematical works of the Spanish-Jewish school.

The "Zohar," that wonderful cabalistic production of the

Middle Ages, of all Jewish books the most mystical, sustained the claim of Jewish literature as being cosmopolitan in that it teaches, in the clearest possible way, the sphericity of the earth and its revolution on its axis as the satisfactory explanation of the succession of day and night. The love of astronomy and mathematics so early displayed by the Jews of Spain never faded, the period of the Renaissance furnishing many Jewish names of lasting scientific worth. It was the Jew Abraham Zacuto, professor of astronomy at the university of Salamanca and resident at the Court of the King of Portugal, who, on the basis of his learning, was the king's final court of advice when De Gama appealed to him to equip an expedition for a voyage to the Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Zacuto was without doubt the only man at Court whose learning could convince Manuel the Great of the advisability of fitting out the ships. It was, moreover, the Jew Gaspar, the learned pilot of De Gama's vessel, to whom the world is indebted for the scientific account of De Gama's remarkable undertaking. This same period of Renaissance also produced the famous Joseph Vecinho, the originator of the globe still in use for the study of the earth, while Pedio di Carvalho vied with his Gentile contemporaries as a successful and scientific navigator of unknown seas.

Jewish scientific literature maintains its cosmopolitan spirit quite as much in the field of medical science as in that of astronomy and mathematics. As the latter sciences were only of value in Jewish eyes so far as they served to advance the happiness and civilization of all mankind, so likewise, even when Gentile laws forbade the Jew to practise it among non-Jews, the humanitarian sons of Abraham studied medical science as much for the good of their persecutors as for their own. Upon the unscientific medical and astronomic attempts of the Talmudists the Jews of post-Talmudic days reared a wonderfully correct system of medicine and became the authorities in medical and related sciences for a thousand years. They not only showed their zeal and unselfishness by personal investigation under the most trying political and religious condi-

tions, but were eager translators of the medical works of others. It was a Jew of Bassora who first translated the "Pandects of Aaron" into Arabic from the Syriac, while in the ninth century Isaac Israeli, of Kairwan, Africa, wrote a medical work that became the authority in Europe for upward of five hundred years, through its Latin translation by the monk Constantine. The deep thinker and physician Maimonides, three centuries later, was the greatest medical practitioner of the Middle Ages. Sabbatai Donnolo, of Salerno, composed a "Materia Medica" that met a long-desired want among medieval practitioners, and Chasdai ben Shaprut translated into Arabic the "Plant Lore" of Dioscorides, botanic study having been quite generally identified with that of medicine. The best Jewish physicians of early Europe were also the best botanists —in fact the only ones.

In the realm of pure philosophy, as distinguished from that of practical science, the Jews have always been preëminent. Jacob ben Abba-Mari Anatoli, who resided at the Court of Frederick II., was the original translator of the works of Aristotle; and Solomon ibn Gabirol explained the essentials of the neo-Platonic philosophy in his work entitled "The Source of Life." This great book was afterward translated from the Arabic into Latin, the Jewish author's name having been altered to Avencebrol, and later to Avicebron, by those "Christian" scholars of scholastic days who feared or disliked the work's Jewish authorship. "The Source of Life" was regarded for hundreds of years as the undoubted production of some Christian scholar and philosopher, until it was proved beyond all doubt, in our own day, to have been written by the Jew Gabirol. The book became a storm-center of contending scholastic parties, having been defended by Duns Scotus, but bitterly attacked by Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus.

The ninth century saw the rise of that star of the first magnitude, Sa'adia of Faoum, the first translator of the Old Testament into Arabic. He and Judah ibn Tibbon did as much good for learning by their translations as they did by their thinking, the latter's vast "Compendium of Science" and

his cyclopedia of the Arabic and Hebrew languages, literature, poetry, botany, zoology, and religious philosophy constituting two of the most important Jewish contributions to the world's scientific literature. Rashi, the French Jew and Biblical commentator of the eleventh century; David Kinchi, the grammarian; Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, under Robert of Naples; and Chasdai Crecas, the author of "Free Will" and the "Divine Nature" in the fourteenth century—not to speak of Abraham ibn Ezra, the rationalistic theologian—were a shining galaxy for this time. Crecas is considered to have been the precursor of Spinoza.

In geographical science the Jews of the Middle Ages were the unchallenged leaders, and have left to their posterity an abundant literature. There were more Jewish than Gentile travelers in those days, and such men as Eldad ha-Dani, Petachia of Ratisbon, and Benjamin di Tudela opened up vast fields of hitherto unknown or forgotten lands. The Jewish contribution to geographical literature was greatly enhanced by reason of the many and widely-scattered Jewish communities by which the Jews sustained an active international commerce. In the Middle Ages, even down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the sons of Abraham were the pioneers and chief supporters of interstate trade. They built up the commerce of Pisa, Florence, Genoa, and Venice by their peculiar business acumen, but principally by the invention and use of bank checks and bills of exchange, which made foreign trade easier to conduct. The first banks in Italy were founded and managed by Jews. The vast Jewish commercial interests kept up a constant and intimate connection between Europe and the Levant, and, like the crusades, brought the knowledge of the East home to the West. Even the crusades were dependent upon Jewish bankers. Back of every crusading host was a Jewish pocket-book.

This commercial activity of the Jews in its Eastern extension, together with their uninterrupted literary and scientific labors, were the chief factors in the revival of European letters. To one versed in the history of the Jews in post-Biblical times it

is hardly possible to ascribe the Renaissance to any other prevailing cause than that of Jewish intellectual supremacy coupled with an ever-increasing Jewish international commerce. The Renaissance began in Italy, where Italian Jews, in constant contact with the old Byzantine lands and civilization, became the "go-betweens" with respect to the corresponding diverse civilizations. The prominent Christian leaders of the Renaissance all caught the spirit of the great "rebirth" of learning from Jews whose names have come down to us.

Jewish humanists preceded the Gentile and taught the latter their first lessons. Jacob Mantino, physician at the Court of Pope Paul III.; Bonet di Lattes, the astronomer; Judah Abrabanel, the philologist; Elias Levita, the Hebraist—these constituted that little group of Hebrew humanists whose influence was overmastering in high places, while Reuchlin himself learned Hebrew from the Jew Obadiah Sforne.

The first books ever printed in Europe were in Hebrew. The Jews, after laboring for two thousand years with pen and parchment, on the invention of the printing-press were the most ardent in adopting a means that would not only lessen their literary toil, but furnish them with a medium by which to do more for science and civilization than ever before. The Hebrew books printed in the early days of the printing-press were out of all proportion to those printed in other languages; while the Jews also issued Latin translations of their own and other's works, thus flooding Europe with the best scientific thought. The printing-press was at first feared by the Christian Church. Christians learned to appreciate its value only very slowly, but the Jews at once accepted it and employed it. The first printed Hebrew book was Rashi's Bible and Commentary.

The Jewish ascendency in the revival of learning may not be safely challenged by the Christian world. The Reformation in Germany and England owed much to Jewish books, Luther's Bible and Commentary, in its Old Testament portion, being nothing short of Rashi's, issued centuries before; while the great centers of learning in Italy, Spain, and France were fairly alive with Jewish savants.

The Renaissance was to the Jews that intellectual awakening toward which all Jewish philosophy and learning had been trending for upward of eight hundred years. It was the climax of ages of Jewish intellectual endeavor and persistency, and, while it came as a surprise to the Christian body, it was to the Jews but a *new birth,* resulting from causes long operative and well understood by themselves. To the Christian world the Renaissance appeared as the result of a sudden inspiration from the East—from Byzantium and the Levant—but to the Jews as a happy and exalted stage in Europe's scientific, philosophic, and esthetic evolution under their own fostering care as the paladins of progress.

But no sooner had Jewish and Byzantine thought met and produced the revival of European learning than the Jews themselves sank out of sight in the darkness of the ghettos. For three hundred years, covering the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the Jews of Europe lived a segregated existence—excluded from Christian society, from the professions, and from the trades. They ceased to be the paladins of science. Christian Europe had learned all it could from the Jews and might then afford to ostracize them. But, though lost to sight in the ghettos, the Jews still kept up their intellectual activity. Italy, during the ghetto period, enjoyed the labors of Abraham de Portaleone, the first scientific archeologist; while in Poland Jewish scholars and thinkers arose to keep aglow the torch of knowledge. Issereles translated "Theorica," while other Polish Jews, like Luria, Cohen, and Elias of Wilna, labored nobly against that intellectual stagnation occasioned by the hopeless ghetto life. Spinoza, Uriel Acosta, David Neto, and other Jewish thinkers and philosophers kept up the intellectual life of the Holland Jews.

Nearly all of the ghetto (or early post-Renaissance) Jewish works of every description, scientific and literary, were written in what is known as "Yiddish." From the twelfth century Yiddish became the every-day language of the continental Jews, especially of Poland and the Slavic lands; and scientists will be interested to learn that it is still in full vigor in America as

the house language of thousands of American Hebrews—immigrants from Russia and Galicia. It is a mixture of Hebrew, German, Russian, and Polish, and is a living witness to the wanderings of the Jews in many lands. Yiddish dates its origin from the period of the Crusades, when the German Jews were forced eastward by the hordes of Christian fanatics into Slavic countries. It is a language forced upon the Hebrews by stress of political, social, and geographical conditions, and the Yiddish literature that grew up has enjoyed upward of four hundred years of patronage. David Gans and Bassista, the former the first scientific Jewish historian, the latter a learned bibliographer, both wrote in Yiddish.

Like the Jews of the Middle Ages, the modern Jews have been among the foremost in scientific attainments, Zunz, early in this century, having been the leader in modern Jewish scientific research. Sir William Herschell, W. Meyerbeer, Reiss the physicist, Jacobi, Sylvester, Cremona, Loewy and Cantor, mathematicians—all were Jews, while in physiology Remak, Bernstein, Rosenthal, and Valentin long since spoke and wrote with authority.

The field of medicine is radiant with the names of Traube, Lombroso, Liebreich the ophthalmologist and inventor of the eye-mirror; Hirsch, once the unquestioned authority on medical botany; Zeissl, the last court of appeal for many years on syphilis; and M. L. O. Liebreich, the discoverer of chloral-hydrate. David Ricardo, Cremieux, Karl Marx, Lasalle, and Edward Lasker loom up resplendent in the field of economics, vying with their Gentile brethren working in similar lines. Joseph Wolff, Vambéry, Sir F. H. Goldschmid, and the half-Jew W. G. Palgrave, as scientific travelers, have opened up wide stretches of hitherto unexplored areas in Arabia, Asia, and Persia.

But of all fields of learning traversed by the Jews, and one in which they have always claimed supremacy and authority, that of philology has been the most thoroughly explored. Abel and Geiger stand foremost in comparative lexicography. Freund published a Latin lexicon that has become the basis of

all similar lexicons used in England. In philology the Jews appear to pose as specialists. A. L. Davids still holds the pre-eminence of authority in Turkish, Vambéry and Bloch in Hungarian, Benfrey in Sanscrit, Abel in Coptic, Ebers in Egyptian, Oppert in Assyrian, Levy in Phenician, and Leitner in Hindustani. Weil is a recognized authority on ancient epigraphy. In modern languages the Jew Darmesteter sustains his philologic supremacy in French, Landau in Italian, and Sanders in German and Greek; while Ollendorf is a linguist and author of text-books used by thousands of Jewish and Gentile students to-day.

Historic research has not wanted Jewish learning and enthusiasm. This attractive field of study is redolent with some of the greatest names in literature. Neander, the Church historian; Sir F. Cohen Palgrave, author of the first really scientific history of England; Geiger, the historian of the Renaissance; Klein, who wrote the best work on the history of the drama; Jafté, the authority for many years on the Papacy—all were Jews by blood, and nearly all by religion. Graetz, Jost, Herzberg, the Greek historian; Romanin, historian of Venice, and Frankel, historian of Hungary, shed luster upon the Jewish name; while Philipson and Breslau in Germany were scientific historians of the highest rank.

To-day we possess about twenty thousand Jewish works telling of Jewish scientific and other labors in the past, nearly all of these having been brought to light during the last fifty years as a happy result of the modern Jewish renascence under Mendelssohn, toward the end of the eighteenth century. Nordau, the criminologist of our own day, is a Jew. The Jews themselves have only recently learned what a mighty force they have been in the progress of science and civilization.

* * *

## III. The Future of the Jews.

The Jew belongs to no particular age or country. He has lost his ancient provincialism and become a citizen, not of

Judea, but of the world. Happy wherever he may be treated as a human being and entering into the common life and activities of the Gentile population around him, the son of Abraham is, in every age, a genuine cosmopolite. The Jew believes he has been given a cosmopolitan mission to fulfil. He explains his perpetuation through all the political and social revolutions of his history from the standpoint of this commission. He maintains that he is still in the world in order to keep alive the belief in "one only God" among the nations of the earth as a consecrated and "peculiar" people, but, while regarding his own race as the "chosen" of the Lord, the Jew seldom seeks to proselytize among Gentiles. He has always looked upon his people rather as heralds and torch-bearers than as seekers after converts to Judaism, holding aloft as they have the light of pure monotheism as opposed to polytheism and Christian trinitarianism. Such has been the Jew's religious position from time immemorial.

Just as the Hebrew has had an eventful and consistent past, so is he destined to enjoy a yet more remarkable future; but precisely what his ultimate destiny is going to be not even the Jew himself can foresee or prophesy. The Jew, while progressive in his ideas and tendencies, is not inclined to cast horoscopes, being, as he is, of an exceedingly practical turn of mind. He lives partly in the present and partly in the venerable past: in the atmosphere of the nineteenth century, redolent with its spirit of intellectual and social advancement, and at the same time among the sacred memories of Biblical and rabbinic days. The recollection of patriarchs and prophets, of kings and palaces, of temple and priest, does not unfit the Israelite for the duties of American citizenship. Indeed, his past reacts upon the Jew as a kind of moral and intellectual stimulus, spurring him onward as one of the "chosen" people. Even the sad ghetto period, comprising the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, during which Europe would have crushed out all self-respect and hope from the hearts of the sons of the covenant by segregating them from contact with Christian society, was unable to quench the old-time spirit

of progress that had characterized the persecuted race for upward of fifteen hundred years; for, although the Jews issued from the ghetto at the beginning of the nineteenth century half brutalized, suspicious, and sordid, yet it was in the same sorry period of Jewish history that some of the best Jewish works were produced in the midst of ghetto squalor and filth.

Thus it is quite evident that the Jew has within himself a power of recuperation of which few races can boast, and which rises as a perpetual protest against the wild theory of the coming final absorption of the Hebrews by the Gentile peoples of the earth. Even among the Jews themselves to-day there is an advanced school (if we may thus denominate them) holding this hypothesis as a distant possibility. They anticipate loss of Jewish racial identity through intermarriage with non-Semitic blood. But any theory, of whatsoever kind it may be, demands ready facts to sustain it ere it can become erected into an accepted truth; and, since it has been unswerving loyalty to both race and religion that has perpetuated the Jew and preserved intact his racial identity, it is not at all within the range of probability that he will ever undo the work of three millenniums by amalgamating with the Gentile world. He may, and undoubtedly will, continue to lose many of his ghetto features that so readily offend both reformed Jew and Christian; but love of race and religion must still survive and thus tend, as heretofore, to preserve and intensify racial distinction. The Jews of the Far East, in China and Malabar, breathing for fifteen hundred years an Oriental and pagan atmosphere, have so far kept intact both faith and blood, notwithstanding all the temptations to intermarry with Oriental stock; and it is not reasonable to think that such a racial jealousy will so easily be surrendered by the Jews of the future.

The Jew to-day is more zealous for his own people than ever before, and this interest is seen not only in the old-fashioned ghetto Jew, with his phylacteries and prayer-cloth, mumbling over his prayers, but equally ardent in the "reformed" Hebrew, engaged as he still is in the great reform movement

inaugurated in the latter half of the eighteenth century by Moses Mendelssohn, grandfather of the famous musical composer of the same family name, whereby the ghetto Jew, fresh from the ghettos of Poland, Galicia, and Odessa, becomes elevated morally, socially, and physically, while still clinging to the general practises and beliefs of orthodoxy. Testimony from every quarter presents, not a people about to cast off Judaism and lose itself in the Gentile population, but rather one undergoing a surprisingly active revival of racial pride. The Jew holds his head higher to-day than ever in the past, and, if he at times apologize for his existence, this is really but an unnecessary attempt to differentiate between his own enlightened self and the refugee from the Russian pale—than whom, it is said by the Jews themselves, there can be no lower type of American citizenship.

The future of the Jews, from present indications, is destined to be fraught with greater self-assertion and more fervent because more intelligent devotion to race and religion than the past has ever witnessed. Jewish education and literary life, dormant for many centuries except in the narrow field of rabbinic lore, is now undergoing a resurrection to a new life and vigor. Emma Lazarus, that sweet singer, in whose verse one can almost hear the uttered wail of sorrowing Israel, Grace Aguilar, Zangwill, and Cahen form a brilliant galaxy of popular Jewish writers during the middle and latter half of the present century; while the fields of medicine, law, and science are replete with Jewish names. Indeed, it is one of the persistent charges of the modern anti-Semites in Germany that the chairs in the German universities are fast becoming usurped by the hated Jews—a usurpation that savors more of ability and learning, however, than anything else.

In America the bright intellectual future of the Hebrews is prophesied in the recent establishment of a Jewish publication society, the main purpose of which is the education of the Jews, not in the lore of the Gentiles but in their own racial and religious history, of which a vast number of Israelites throughout the world are lamentably ignorant. Thus it is that every step

taken by the Jew to-day is in the direction of an intensified Judaism!

The "reformed" wing of the modern Jews, while devoid of much that is characteristic of the great body of the race, is nevertheless thoroughly orthodox in its love of Judaism and the Jew, and bespeaks a brilliant future for all Israelites coming under its sway. The questionable tendency of this body to imitate the Gentiles, and to apologize too often for the Jew's presence in the modern world, is by no means a sign of approaching dissolution. On the contrary, the reformed Jew is the real power behind the present Jewish educational movement. He sees in education, in its broadest sense, the practical means not only of uplifting the ghetto Jew morally and socially, but of rendering him more intellectually faithful in the future to the religion of his forefathers and prouder of his blood. But as a subject for Gentile study the reformed Jew of the future will not be of that surpassing interest to the Gentile that now characterizes the Hebrew in his orthodox state, since it is the many survivals of Bible and ghetto usages that make the orthodox the only kind of a Jew worth a Gentile's studious attention.

The Zionist craze, so lately enjoying the support of the orthodox, while purporting to be the beginning of the final fulfilment of prophecy, is in reality but another phase of the modern Jewish social reformation and helps us to form additional ideas as to the Jew's future. Its practical meaning is the awakening of orthodoxy to a newer life than that afforded by the ghetto. As far as its connection with a return of the Jews to the Holy Land is concerned, Zionism is all pure sentiment, but nevertheless it is prophetic of better things to come. To the more than a million of Hebrews now dwelling on our shores, the United States of America constitute their "promised land." Indeed, Judaism in its purest form does not involve a future repatriation of the Jewish people, nor does it contemplate the revival of the Jewish State—the adoption of a Jewish flag by the Zionist convention at Basle, in August, 1898, having been greeted with a perfect storm of derision among the Jewish-

Americans, who know no other flag save the "stars and stripes." The Zionist flag—a white field with two blue stripes and a star in the center—although the mark of Jewish fanaticism to the average intelligent American Jew, is nevertheless the ensign of an extensive reformation among the nine millions of Hebrews in the world, very few of whom wish to go back to Palestine. It means that the Jew is waking up to that self-respect which he lost during the ghetto age, the Zionist congress and its flag acquainting the world with the fact that the Jew still exists and must be recognized as a powerful, even if small, element in modern society. This is about all that the Zionist movement amounts to, although masquerading under a kind of messianic dress. No intelligent Zionist believes in the possibility of a future return of the "chosen race" to Canaan; and if this feeling continues to be the prevalent one, it is perhaps unreasonable to expect that prophecy will ever be fulfilled in this regard. It is unreasonable also to suppose that Divinity will ever force a restoration to the land of the patriarchs upon an unwilling people. Fulfilment of prophecy is understood by the best theologians to involve the coöperation of those whom it would affect for good; and, moreover, it is a fact too well known that the modern Jews regard prophecy as having been already fulfilled in the return of the Israelites from Babylon in the year 536 B.C., when they rebuilt the walls of the city of David and inaugurated once more the daily sacrifices. It is mainly the "kassidim"—the fanatical pietists—who still shout "next year in Jerusalem!" with honest fervor at the close of the Passover service. It is the fanatic who, together with the financial schemer, is always ready to institute funds for the purchase of the Holy Land from the Sultan of Turkey!

Looked at from a psychologic point of view, Zionism is only a dignified substitute for the false Messiahs of old who, ever and anon, have shaken post-Christian Judaism to its very core. The enthusiastic leader of the Zionists, Dr. Hertzl, is really a "false Messiah," historically considered; yet in him we behold, at the same time, a striking result of the intellectual, social, and religious evolution of the Jew from the dark ghetto

days of Zabbatai Zevi, in the sixteenth century, when all Europe and Asia were aflame with the messianic insanity. In the Zionist Hertzl's scheme of Jewish colonization in Palestine—a very practical move were it not met by the edict of the Sultan forbidding the further entrance of Israelites into his dominion—we are afforded an insight into the future of the Jews; for it assures us of the final substitution of practical methods in lieu of the old-time messianic upheavals. Zionism, representing the best Jewish minds of our day, while yearning after Zion, by its utilitarian method of attempting to purchase the Holy Land from Turkey protests against those few remaining fanatics who would sap the life of the Jewish body in their mad endeavors to lead the Hebrews in triumph back to the land made sacred by the feet of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! All future tendencies Zionward will become more and more leavened with modern, practical ideas, like that now famous undertaking under Hertzl's direction; and the fruit will be the uplifting and broadening of the Jews, not by fervid appeals to unfulfilled prophecy but by the electric power generated by contact of Jew with Jew in ecumenical Zionist conventions.

The future of the Jewish race is destined to be characterized by a vast increase in their number. Even to-day they outnumber the Jews of the "days of the kings" twofold. In the palmiest days of Jewish history the descendants of father Abraham never exceeded four millions at the utmost, while to-day they exceed nine millions, notwithstanding two thousand years of persecution and exile. If the Jews have thus increased under the most unfavorable circumstances, what may we not look for even a century from now? Since the year 1861, when the American Jews amounted to only one hundred thousand, the Jewish population of the United States has increased so rapidly as to astonish statisticians, the present figures being 1,043,000—an increase in forty years of more than 900,000. Of this enormous aggregate only half a million at the most can be accounted for on the basis of immigration; so that the original hundred thousand in 1861 must have been augmented, by natural accession, to the extent of four hundred per cent.

It would appear that the Jewish population is destined to be augmented, for many years to come, much faster than any other of the varied elements that go to make up American society except the negro; and if we were to venture a cause for such growth we might suggest the observance of the Jewish *health laws* as being the most influential. Yet, with all this natural increase in America, and in the face of the nine millions of Hebrews altogether in the world, the whole Jewish race represents but six-tenths per cent. of the world's population! If the Jews in ages past, when not exceeding three or four tenths per cent. of mankind, could have played the important part they have in the progress of the human race—religiously, morally, and intellectually—beginning with Abraham and Moses, what may they not accomplish in the dim future, when, on the basis of present statistics, they will number at least as many millions as do the most enlightened Gentile people to-day? In other words, if, while being but a diminutive minority, the Jews have exercised a vast influence upon the human family, their future, perhaps, is destined to be of yet greater moment to the world at large than their wonderful past. The Jew heretofore has been a practical illustration of the power of the minority in questions affecting the welfare of men, but in the not distant future he will very likely have a correspondingly far-reaching voice, not as the minority, but as an ever-increasing majority in more lands than one.

(Rev.) A. KINGSLEY GLOVER.

*Wells, Minn.*

Cordially Yours

B. O. Flower

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HEINE.

# THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV. NOVEMBER, 1900. No. 5.

## HAVE WE AN AMERICAN RACE QUESTION?

### I. THE NEGRO VINDICATED.*

ONE must admit that it is not easy to answer or refute the many false statements and ingenious arguments so persistently foisted upon the public of late with regard to the negro—his alleged intellectual inferiority, criminal propensity, moral turpitude and degeneracy—especially when one must, to a great extent, rely on statistics whose accuracy is extremely doubtful. However, following the statistical path blazed by Prof. John Roach Straton, in the *North American Review* for June, 1900, and gathering up a few scattered figures here and there, perhaps unobserved by him, I may venture the suggestion that, although "figures do not lie," when "juggled" their value may be increased or diminished according to the

*George Allen Mebane, the author of this article, was born at Hermitage, Bertie county, N. C., July 4, 1850, of slave parents. He ran away from his master at the age of thirteen, and was mess-boy in the 85th New York State Volunteers for one year. He came North and located at Prentissvale and Eldred, Pa., and remained six years. Returning South, he taught school for fifteen years in three counties. He was nominated for Representative of his county in 1874, but declined to be a candidate. Nominated for Senator of the Third District, composed of the counties of Northampton and Bertie, in 1876, he was elected for two years, being again elected in 1882 for a similar period. Elected Registrar of Deeds in 1884, he carried a strong Democratic township that had never before gone Republican. Mr. Mebane was the author of the present Sunday prohibitory law of North Carolina, and introduced the first reformatory bill in the legislature. At present he is engaged as financial agent of the Normal and Industrial Institute at Elizabeth City, N. C., of which he is general superintendent.—ED.

position they occupy, whether they be digits or ciphers. And it is hoped that the effort to mold public opinion and to fix the eye on the false lights set by the wayside may not mislead the honest searcher after truth.

The past history of the negro in America has been one of submission, hardships, endurance, and patience. His present is but an incomplete step from the past. He catches a faint and indistinct glimpse of the Star of Hope through the veiled future to guide his wanderings in the wilderness of ignorance, superstition, and oppression; but, just as its flickering rays dart about him, a mighty cloud overshadows the horizon and the thundering denunciations and censures from his enemies shake, as it were, the very battlements of heaven, and Christianity, to which was intrusted his destiny, halts and quails beneath the mutterings. Of late, every Southern pen seems to have been surcharged with imprecations and bitterness—every orator's tongue tipped with a fiery wire and given a new lease to lash the wronged and unhealed soul of the negro.

Without stopping to investigate, the world believes that these strictures upon the race result from the existence of a "negro problem." "Will education solve the race problem?" is the question asked by Professor Straton. The belief that there is a "Southern problem" with which the negro is connected has become so universal that to deny its existence may be considered presumptuous. This, however, shall not deter me from so doing. I do not admit there is such a thing as a "problem" with which the negro is identified, and, therefore, do not write from a problematical view-point.

A problem is a question to be solved. To solve a question is to unfold it—explain it. There is simply a perplexed condition of things brought about by a revolution in the affairs of the Government. The condition is a natural sequence of revolution, and needs no unfolding or explanation. It is a patent fact, the existence of which is known and acknowledged by all and is not in the least intricate. If there *is* a problem, it lies in an effort on the part of the negro's enemies to prove

that his condition is worse by reason of his manumission. And that is the only problem (?) with which the South is at present wrestling. It is an imaginary problem, however, the solution of which will never be attained, because to attempt to solve a problem that has no existence in fact must of necessity result in failure. There can be no other termination of a theory based upon a false hypothesis. Strange though it may seem, this false doctrine has been adhered to as tenaciously as were many of the false issues of antebellum days.*

Mr. Samuel Creed Cross, for whose judgment I have great respect, nevertheless insists that there *is* a negro problem, and offers the following rule, which if diligently applied would doubtless secure a betterment of existing conditions: "Prejudice, ignorance, hatred, and revenge have no sympathy or respect for the superiority or knowledge of those they despise and detest. Civilize the hater and you have accomplished and achieved the great result. What is this problem? The white man is stealing the negro's rights. Then make the white man quit his robbery, give the negro simple justice and common liberty of hand and brain, and the problem will be solved." "That is," says Professor Straton, "will it [education] bring about such an advance on the part of the negro as will adapt him fully to his environments and make him a worthy integer in our national life by the breaking down of prejudice and antipathy against him?" Again: "If education will not accomplish the desired advance, what are the causes that prevent such a result?" The answer is easy. Prejudice itself and the failure of the Anglo-Americans to characterize their dealings with Afro-Americans with absolute fairness and justice preclude an amicable adjustment of existing conditions, for which both races are, in some degree, responsible.

The "criminality" of the negro, as summarized and charged by his enemies, who profess to have gathered their data from

*The effort should be made and the labor spent upon those responsible for existing conditions, and not upon the negro, who has no problem save that of securing an honest living in the face of individual and organized opposition. Yet if he *have* a problem his moral courage, which has never deserted him, is sufficiently strong to solve it.

the census statistics, is indeed astounding if true. But I shall endeavor to prove to the satisfaction of his friends that the statistics are not worthy of confidence. And at the outset I give notice that the negro does not purpose to be saddled with the crimes of the 325,464 Indians, 2,039 Japanese, and 107,475 Chinese whom the government officials have lumped together and classified as "colored." Subtract these from the colored population, and every figure will be changed; every item will assume a different and more favorable aspect. "So by the census of 1890, twenty-five years from his emancipation in the South," says Professor Straton, "we are confronted with the fact that the race, though constituting less than 12 per cent. of the population of this country, furnish 30 per cent. of all the crimes of the country, including 37 per cent. of all homicides, 57 per cent. of all female homicides, and 40 per cent. of all assaults. This in the face of the facts that over $100,000,000 had been spent on their education in 25 years, and that illiteracy among them had decreased by 42 per cent."

*The negro emphatically denies the accuracy or truthfulness of the foregoing statement.* It is true, the criminal record of the negro as written by the merciless pen of his enemies has been made to appear extremely appalling; but, when we consider his environments and condition when inducted into the body politic, his ignorance of law and his faithful though terrible struggle to master political and civil government, since his emancipation, while surrounded by a people who denied and still deny his right to citizenship, the record may be measured with some degree of extenuation even by the most uncompromising enemies of the race—because, as Mr. Cross says, "in the courts they do not receive justice." But, even if the allegations were true, there exist many potent reasons to justify the alleged condition. The two reasons given by Dr. Murphy, of Montgomery, Ala., are true, and would of themselves account for the apparent preponderance of crime on the part of the negro. He says "it is hard for the negro to get justice," and "the result is due, I think, not only to the negro's weaknesses, but to the popular prejudice everywhere against

an inferior race." There can be no accurate measurement of criminality without a fair dispensation of justice, and this fact of itself undermines and removes the foundation upon which is built the criminal statistics regarding the negro; for, where prejudice controls, convictions do not represent a fair ratio of the crimes committed. We call as witness to refute the unjust charges a government statistician, the superintendent of the census, who, on February 14th, 1891, in his Bulletin for June, 1890, said: "The foreign population of this country contributes directly or indirectly, in the persons of foreign birth or of their immediate descendants, considerably more material for our State prisons and penitentiaries than the entire native population."

Just what the negro's enemies hope to gain by a deceptive display of statistics remains a mystery. It is claimed by Professor Straton that "the number of negro criminals in the North is much larger, in proportion to the negro population in those States, than in the South. In the North Atlantic States there were, in 1890, 7,547 negro criminals to the million negro [colored] population; in the South Atlantic States there were only 2,716 to the million." Where numbers are small, proportions are high. To illustrate: In a community there are ten white men and two negroes. One white man commits a crime, as does also one negro. The negro criminal represents fifty per cent. of his race or population as criminals, while the white man represents only ten per cent. of the white race as criminal; yet the degree and amount of crime are the same. While the negro in the country at large may show a higher criminal rate than the foreign white, if the investigation be limited to States where the foreign population is small, the conditions are reversed. To illustrate, the following table from the census of 1890 is submitted:

*Number of Prisoners to the Million Population.*

| | FOREIGN WHITE. | NEGRO. |
|---|---|---|
| Mississippi..... | 3,884 | 1,876 |
| Georgia..... | 7,232 | 3,477 |
| South Carolina.... | 10,582 | 2,027 |

Statistics show that Massachusetts has a greater number of criminals per million inhabitants than New York, Georgia, or Texas, but no one will essay to prove that the people of Massachusetts are more "criminal" than those of the other States. It might be proved, however, that the laws are more strictly enforced. But, according to Professor Straton's theory (the rule applied to the negro), the statistics are true in the main, and Massachusetts, which contains the "Athens of America," is more criminal than the others.

The negro has never learned the science of crime nor the art of "covering his tracks," but it is feared that constant contact will make him an adept in these as in other things imitated. Surely, then, his criminal rate will be lowered. Such crimes as abortion and the like will be unheard of. "Let us notice here, too," says Professor Straton, "that in the three States where their crime is least (Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina) the population is densest." This speaks well for the negro, but looks poorly for white civilization.

A few figures regarding the indigent classes of our population may serve to shed light on the subject treated. The number of paupers in the alms-houses of the United States in 1890 were 73,045. Of these, 6,400, or a little more than eight per cent., were colored.*

A strange fact in connection with these figures is that Louisiana, with a colored population of 559,193, supports only 8, or 15 to the million, while New York, with a colored population of 70,092, supports 225, or 3,215 per million. Again, the benevolent institutions (not including alms-houses, hospitals, schools for the deaf, dumb, blind, and feeble-minded) contained 102,592 inmates. Of these, 5,068, or about 20 per cent. of the total number, were colored. This shows that 80 per cent. of the inmates were white. Another curious fact is that New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts support as many colored paupers as all the Southern States combined.

A still further investigation develops the fact that the refor-

*Whenever the word "colored" is used, it includes negroes, Chinese, Japanese, and Indians.

matories contained 14,846 juvenile offenders (including all races), but they were maintained by the North Atlantic States, which cared for a greater number than all the Southern States put together; for in the latter they are treated as criminals and sent to the penitentiaries, and thus the colored criminal record is unfairly and unduly enlarged.

The negro of the South is taxed to support benevolent institutions from which he is excluded, although every other race may be admitted without question. Only a few of the Southern States have provided for some of these institutions for negroes. The subjoined table, from the census of 1890, is suggestive:

| | Prisoners. | Juvenile Offenders. | Paupers. | Inmates of Benevolent Institutions. | Insane Paupers. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Native White | 40,471 | 11,078 | 36,656 | 76,270 | 31,677 |
| Foreign White | 15,932 | 1,405 | 27,648 | 26,322 | 20,758 |
| Negro | 24,277 | 1,930 | 6,418 | 4,102 | 3,601 |

The following exhibit from the same source is not in the least discouraging to the negro race—the presumed downward tendencies of which have been so adversely criticized. It is a stimulus both to the negro and his friends for continued effort to realize their cherished hope of reclaiming him from the evil influences of slavery and ignorance:

*Crime Against Public Morals to the Million Inhabitants.*

| | NATIVE WHITE. | FOREIGN WHITE. | NEGROES. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Juvenile, | 467 | 144 | 25 |
| Rape of Juveniles, | 14 | — | 2 |
| Adults for Rape, | 1,849 | 1,423 | 1,036 |
| Fornication, | 32,050 | 10,676 | 7,254 |
| Forgery, | 2,774 | 1,423 | 1,554 |

The above calculation, it must be remembered, is based upon one in a million of population, and for crimes that our enemies claim are peculiar to the negro as a freeman.

The various methods of dispensing justice to the negro in the South constitute the basis of an apparent increase in crime from 1880 to 1890. The most important and complete of these was a system of special and criminal courts, forming a machinery by which negroes were convicted and sent to the peni-

tentiary by thousands—until the plantations were beginning to be depopulated. This plan had to be changed in the interest of the planters. Then negroes were convicted on the slightest charges, disfranchised and judgment suspended; so that, while allowed to go free, they could not vote. Local disturbances, usually heralded over the country as race riots (and there has not been a *riot* in the South in many years), are "massacres," and end by the arrest and conviction of negroes in blocks of thirty and upward. The recent mobs in New Orleans and New York abundantly justify Dr. Murphy's reasons, above quoted, and make further citations unnecessary. But the negro has met this onslaught of envy, cruelty, hatred, revenge, and repression with profound courage and sublime patience.

Nothing but an intense solicitude for the preservation of the negro race could have conceived the artful and scientific methods adopted to get rid of it. It is declared that "the race is degenerating morally and physically, and will eventually disappear." How much better the world might have been had these latter-day prophets made their appearance three centuries ago will probably never be known. It is barely possible that they might have succeeded in persuading the people of this country that slavery was wrong and would be unprofitable, as the negroes were destined to disappear. And Christianity and civilization would have been the gainers. The negro will not disappear unless he be absorbed by the Caucasian.

A few figures, not yet seen or studied by the pessimists, may serve to give some information on the subject and perhaps change their ideas of the probable destiny of the race. The importation of negroes was prohibited in 1808. In 1810 there were in round numbers 7,000,000 white inhabitants and 1,000,000 negro inhabitants. During the present century 25,000,000 white immigrants have come to this country. The white population in 1890 was about 55,000,000 and the negro 7,500,000. Deduct the 25,000,000 immigrants and you would have an actual population of 30,000,000 whites as against 7,500,000 blacks. Within ninety years, therefore, the negroes have increased at the rate of 6½ to one, and the whites 4½ to one.

But the "juggler" calculates from 1860 to 1890. Let us see how well he succeeds in disposing of the race:

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1860, white population | 27,000,000 |
| " colored population | 4,500,000 |
| In 1890, white " | 55,000,000 |
| " colored " | 7,500,000 |
| White immigration from 1860 to 1890 | 10,700,000 |

Deduct these from the total white population, and there remains an actual increase of 17,000,000 whites, against an increase of 3,000,000 blacks, in thirty years. Thus it will be seen that in 1810 the negro constituted one-eighth of the population, and in 1890 one-seventh—a gain over the white population of one per cent. In this calculation I have given the white population the advantage of the increase in immigration. Says Professor Straton:

"If they remain in their present environment, should we be much surprised to see the vast body of the race presenting in the future a parallel history to that of the Indian? The negro has undergone a greater change in habit of life within a few decades than has the Anglo-Saxon in a thousand years. The theory here suggested is not invalidated by the advance of individual negroes. We must not confuse the rapid development of exceptional individuals with the evolution of a race. Picked individuals, strengthened often in mental vigor by infusions of white blood, may grow rapidly; but the evolution of the race comes slowly—a part of each element of strength being transmitted by the laws of heredity from father to son and on to succeeding generations; and so, slowly and painfully, a race advances."

That the evolution of a race must come slowly I admit, but I cannot agree with the Professor's theory that a race may advance independent of individual growth. No race has ever advanced as a whole at one and the same time. Individuals have first advanced, and that was an incentive to other individuals; besides, those who first advanced furnished means in various ways to enable others to do likewise. Individuals taken collectively make the aggregate advancement and elevation of a race. These individuals prove the theory of reproduction: first the few, then the many; hence, the sophistry of Professor

Straton's theory is evident. The Indian has shown his inability not so much to cope with the white man's civilization as with his lead and whisky. But comparison between the negro and the Indian is odious. The two are as dissimilar in character as races can well be. The Indian has almost absolutely refused the white man's civilization. He has fought for his inalienable rights always, and preferred extinction rather than accept the white man's religion; and, though fed from the public crib and housed and educated by the government, he has not kept pace with the progress of the negro. The conditions of the two races are in no wise analogous.

"The negroes in their unalloyed nature," says the Professor, "are hard workers and are faithful to a trust. It is possibly true, too, that they are the best-natured people on earth; and this is by no means the smallest element in the foundation of racial greatness." The unalloyed consist of about seven million, and, possessing such strong and essential characteristics, furnish a never-failing foundation upon which to build up the race.

But even if there had been a diminution of the increase in population within the last two decades, it would not necessarily imply that the total extinction of the negro race must follow. It is an accepted theory of sociologists that as races improve and advance intellectually the age of marriage is postponed, and it follows that families are smaller; hence a decrease in population. This is true of every civilized people. And it might be well to note that many prominent educators are advocating a shortening of the college courses—that the young may enter life earlier. It is noticeable that young negro men and women who go to school learn early to recognize the responsible duties that marriage involves and postpone it until they can secure a competency. It is noticeable that the French and other nations are decreasing in birth rate; no one, however, expects a total extinction of these peoples, nor will the decrease, as in the case of the negro, be attributed to change from slavery to freedom.

Knowing full well that the permanent progress of any race

must rest on its moral worth, I approach this part of the wholesale indictment of my race reluctantly—yet with an abiding faith in its ability to produce and sustain a moral altitude far greater than that bequeathed to it by slavery. "The negro's growth in sexual immorality goes on like his growth in crime," says Professor Straton. "It is the common belief among the whites, especially in the South, that the idea of chastity is scarcely known among the vast lower strata of the race." It is some relief to the negro to learn that there is a lower stratum. It is a concession not usually made. Should I plead to the above indictment, I might be charged with self-interest; therefore, appeal is made to Mr. S. C. Cross, a Southern white man to the "manner born," to state the case for the defense:

"If the negro women and men are bad, so much the worse for the Caucasians. Let the whites reply. In matters of fornication, lewdness, and licentiousness, they charge the negro with great proclivity of crime. And yet fourteen illicit colored children in every hundred are of white parentage. All of this illegitimate progeny is crowded on the colored race. What right has white domination to force the blacks to father and foster all their own illegitimacy, and the carnality and indecency of the whites besides? This rascality has misrepresented and cursed the negro ever since white Christianity held cruel sway. Let the whites support their own negro children and be fair. But the most virtuous, genteel, talented, and refined negro lady in the South is not generally regarded good enough for the vilest white man politely to recognize upon the streets!"

The census of 1890 ascribes to the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons a population of 1,132,060. These are the direct descendants of the first families, and, whatever be their idiosyncrasies, the crime inherited or committed should be shared morally by the white race. If these were accounted for and properly assigned in the statistics, there would not be so wide a field for "juggling" figures; for "the laws of heredity from father to son, and on to succeeding generations," are unfailing.

Every Southern State has laws on its statute-books prohibiting intermarriage between the races; yet white men of high social standing, according to Southern ethics, are living

with and supporting negro families. These men are invited to high social functions, and take part in them. Some of them thus live until tired, and then marry, not having had their social standing impaired; while the negress and her fatherless half-white children have to bear all the odium.

The people who denounce the whole negro race as immoral would not dare accuse one of these men, but delight to treat them all as social equals. The newly-married man, through his second (white) wife, may raise a respectable family, while his first choice (the black woman) and a half dozen or more children, with blighted futures, are credited to the negro race. If the white man maintains a high social position among white people, why should not the negress and her children (the latter in no way responsible) occupy a position of equal elevation? The moral judge may not always close his eyes to these conditions. The slave, though held down morally to the lowest possible stratum, had little or no inclination to commit crime and was always proud of his ability to imitate the white man; and thus the whole race at emancipation, with the restraints of slavery removed, sought to imitate him in every respect. It was not unnatural that a majority should follow the evil example set by the white man, for apparently a majority of every race tends toward evil. And it is possible that the slave—driven, chained, and guarded—had not been permitted to reach the depth of degradation in many things to which the white man had descended. Thousands of houses of ill repute and gambling dens, some even under license, were kept by white people in every large city of this country. They still exist in great numbers where the young of both sexes of every race are ruined. In antebellum days these, as well as many other sins of the white man, were total strangers to the negro. Such sins as rape, homicide, etc., were then as foreign to his nature as America is to Africa.

Apt learners and genuine imitators, the negroes' elevation would have been imcomplete and extraordinary without their having bathed in those cesspools of sin. They have no such temptations in their native land. If the negro's postbellum

ethical decline has been rapid, as stated by Professor Straton, he still has faith in the white man and has lost none of the art of imitation. Example, not precept, is the negro's most effective teacher. "While I offer no extenuation for any immorality that may exist among my people," said the Hon. George H. White in his speech in Congress last February, "it comes with rather poor grace from those who forced it upon us for two hundred and fifty years to taunt us with that shortcoming."

It is announced with a great flourish every day or two, through the press and from the hustings, that the South has spent on negro education $100,000,000 within the last twenty-five years; that is, $4,000,000 a year. On its face, counting the 1,000,000 negro children in the public schools, according to the census of 1890, it would appear that the South appropriates about $4.00 per capita, when in fact the average has not been one-half that amount; yet we are told that education increases the negro's criminality! Many of the North Atlantic States appropriate from $15 to $20 per capita annually. My object is not to criticize the smallness of the appropriations made by the South, because she was greatly crippled by the late rebellion; yet protest is made against the every-day prominence given that $100,000,000 and the unfavorable comparisons made with respect to the negro—as if the amount were sufficient and had *really* educated him. The hundreds of millions wrongfully wrung from the negro by the ruling race to educate themselves and their children are evidently forgotten. "Every educated Southern white child owes its education to some black child who has been deprived of equal opportunities for acquiring knowledge; and when, in spite of difficulties, an opportunity for education is obtained, the black child is denied an equal chance of developing the highest and best within him." "The plea that education will take the negro out of the cotton-patch will not stand the test of experience. For one man who is educated, there are ten negroes born into the world to take his place in the cotton-patch. If we educate these, we should find that, so far from their tuition hurting the cotton-

patch or the negro, the negroes who remained in the cotton-patch, by their trained labor, better habits, and increased efficiency, would add to the wealth of the planter"—perhaps revolutionizing existing methods.

From time to time we see articles in the Southern press declaring that education itself has only increased the immorality of the negro. This statement is reiterated without the slightest regard to the necessity for verifying so astounding an assertion. It is absolutely baseless as a matter of fact. *Not one of the hideous crimes against women on the part of the negro race has ever been traced back to a graduate of any of our great industrial schools.* As Dr. Murphy says: "Let us be as fair to the black man as we are to the white man." The recklessness with which false statements regarding the negro and his interests are heralded throughout the country is incomparable. But the truth must eventually prevail. "The educated negro, like the educated Indian, is often a most dangerous criminal," says Dr. C. M. Blackford, in THE ARENA for January, 1900. It is admitted that education increases and strengthens the resources of all rascals, whether they be negroes, Indians, or Anglo-Saxons. There is no exception to the rule. I could name a dozen bank robbers who, within the last decade, have stolen more money than all our negroes, and hundreds of educated white lawbreakers and murderers a majority of whom have gone "unwhipped of justice." "We have faulted him [the negro] for ignorance and left him ignorant," says Dr. Murphy; "we have called him brutal and then have treated him with violence; we have blamed him for indolence and then have at least denied him the great civic inspirations of labor, the inspirations of political responsibility, the quickening and steadying powers of a vote freely cast and fairly counted."

The one thing concerning the negro which stands the indisputable, uncontrovertible test is his advancement along the lines of education. The remarkable reduction of his illiteracy to 55 per cent. in 35 years has both startled his friends and baffled the judgment of his enemies. Yet the latter find consolation in declaring that it has been "the wrong kind;" he has

"misapplied it," and therefore he is the worse for having secured it. Says Mr. Cross:

"When critically analyzed and examined, nearly every argument and accusation made against the negro race becomes the dwarfed and deformed monstrosity of vilification, falsification, and hate; and it is astonishing how fairly intelligent people thoughtlessly accept these falsehoods as the truth.

"The negro woman has as much to do with the progress or retarded growth of the race as any other agency. Uneducated, she becomes the cook, house-servant, or field hand of the whites at very small wages—sometimes at less than three dollars a month. Such a sum is not equal to the requirements of life, and it ought not to be surprising if she is duped or led astray by one of her own race, whose wages are often less than ten dollars. In her estimation, marriage to a man who earns ten dollars means a fortune. *The educated has a double burden.* It is well known that the peasantry of all countries is the prey of the upper class. The negro is the peasantry of the South. Education not only enhances the worth but changes the physical appearance of a person. This fact has much to do with the odds with which the negro woman of school training has to contend. The Southern idea that education unfits her for the prosecution of the useful arts puts her at a disadvantage in almost every occupation save that of teaching. Her own people think, generally, that to work as a cook or laundress degrades her; and, besides, she knows that the paltry wages paid for such are not a fair remuneration for the labor. Constant preparation for examinations after her three or four months' school is out consumes not a little of her time. In the securing of schools it is darkly hinted that her womanhood must often be compromised. She is subjected not only to the temptations of her own race, but also of those who preach that the negro is inherently immoral and who delight to utter the maliciously false statement that all negroes are alike."

Dr. Murphy has well said: "No people can do what is right, or love what is good, if they cannot earn what they need." The negro, though taught to admire the right, must also have the wherewithal to support himself while seeking and cherishing it. No white man would like to have his honor tested by being deprived of food to the point of exhaustion, and then be placed in reach of a sumptuous repast and forbidden to

partake thereof. Should more be expected of a negro, whose past is distorted by every degrading influence that slavery could bring to bear, than of an Anglo-Saxon whose line can be traced back to Hastings? Is it easy for a hungry or destitute man to practise the higher virtues?

Around the negro woman must be placed restrictions and safeguards as secure as those that fortify the F. F. V. When this is done, and the last vestige of the sour grapes of slavery has been removed, then it will be fair to test her by the unerring rule by which the best white woman is measured. In the face of the disadvantages referred to, the testimony of many of the leading white people of the South can be had in support of the just contention that there are thousands of families in which purity and chastity rule, and the womanhood thereof is unquestioned. This certainly indicates the benefits of education, for in slavery prostitution was encouraged and fostered. In order that the negro woman may be better safeguarded, certain thoughts present themselves. She should be given the education that will (1) make her condemn the debasing, (2) aspire to the ennobling, (3) fit her to earn a competence, and (4) protect her in her efforts to do so. This would suggest not only a good high-school education, which Mr. P. P. Claxton, professor of pedagogy in the State college for white women of North Carolina, urges for all the people, but also trains the hands to that point of skilfulness which will enable her to win her bread out of the schoolroom if need be. The man should be similarly prepared for life, so that he can support her as sister, mother, wife.

The enemies of the negro place much adverse stress on his economic condition. He is charged with being "thriftless" and declining in industry, the great foundation upon which modern civilization rests. Negroes in the South work from twelve to fifteen hours a day, and receive from $2.50 to $20 a month. They do more work for less wages than any other people on earth. "They are skilful in mechanics," says Mr. Cross—"artful hands to hammer, shape, and fashion wood and ore and stone." Eighty per cent. are tillers of the soil, the great

wealth-producing element of the earth. Yet Dr. Blackford says: "For field work the negro is excellent; for house service he cannot be surpassed; but, when anything that demands nicety of touch is attempted, failure follows almost invariably. Experience has shown that few of the race can pass the limits of the simplest skill. . . . He lost the habit of labor and looked on toil as degrading." People that have been driven day and night for centuries are here charged with not being skilful artisans, and fit only for common labor! Why should they be otherwise? That the negro should have lost the habit of labor and looked upon toil as degrading was perfectly natural; but *he did neither.* These were some of the things that he failed to imitate, although he had been taught that labor was not honorable for a freeman. It does not seem to have occurred to the negro's defamers that there has always been a considerable class in the South who have always been strangers to toil, both mental and physical, and that they were not negroes; nor is it thought that such are competent judges of the negroes' industrial proclivities. It may not be amiss, also, to call their attention to the fact that the Southern field of literature is almost as barren as the desert of Sahara—save an occasional oasis based on attacks on the negro, or where the negro furnishes either the warp or woof of the production.

It has been said by our enemies that a large proportion of the property owned by negroes in the South is owned by ex-slaves, and that there are only twenty per cent. of them alive. This is the old "shiftless" class of a few years ago. It speaks volumes for the oft-abused younger generation when we consider that eighty per cent. of them compose the farming population, and that the property of the South has been enhanced in value from $6,000,000,000 in 1860 to $13,000,000,000 in 1890, although their forefathers were counted as personal property in 1860.

But there is still another reason for the failure on the part of the younger generation to accumulate property. The older people, fresh from slavery, with nothing upon which to live or with which to work, had no time to give to books. They

made no effort to acquire an education. Their energies were expended in trying to make a living and to educate their children. It was not expected by reasonable persons that the younger generation should educate themselves and at the same time accumulate property. It was they who put to flight the enemy by refuting the oft-repeated charge that the negro is not susceptible to education, and who have also made the enormous reduction in the illiteracy of the race, the South, and the Republic, in the short period of thirty-five years. They have done well, and even if they never own property they have satisfactorily demonstrated the intellectual capacity and worth of the race.

"It is rather hard," said Congressman White, "to be accused of shiftlessness and idleness when the accuser, of his own motion, closes the avenues for labor and industrial pursuits to us." And it has been said by Mr. Cross that "he has outstripped the whites in both the industrial and educational realms."

Having failed to keep the negro ignorant, to prove that he is "shiftless," to make the race one of thieves, criminals, and rapists, a last and desperate effort has been made by his enemies to reduce his longevity—to argue him out of existence: to which he positively and unequivocally demurs. The negro does not thirst for the blood of the rich; he does not tear up railroad tracks and wreck trains; neither does he throw dynamite nor carry the torch of insurrection. He is not a tramp; he does not plead for free bread or clothing, but for an opportunity with other men and women to earn them. He subordinates everything to law and order, whether given work or not, and pursues peaceful methods when permitted to labor. Without books, he has learned to read and to write; he has labored without tools—made "bricks without straw," and lived without food, fighting the great battle of life against awful odds in every vocation. Without clothing he has endured sun and rain, and met without flinching the chilly storms of prejudice and hate. He has fought the enemies of his progress and elevation, and of his right to exist at every turn; and thus far

he occupies an advanced position on the rugged field of life—surrounded by his enemies but a total stranger to defeat.

If the efforts made by the South to legislate the negro out of civilization, to prove that he is not a man, to prevent him from demonstrating his worthiness to be counted a man, to prove that both freedom and education have been detrimental to him, and that he has degenerated morally, physically, and socially, and cannot long exist as a race: if these and other misspent energies were used in the application of Christian principles to existing conditions, there would be no so-called "negro problem" to haunt the South, but millions of wealth, endless prosperity, and countless blessings would make that section the paradise of the Western Continent.

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## II. PASSING OF THE RACE PROBLEM.

EVERY outbreak of mob violence against negro criminals in the Southern States is followed by a flood of written and spoken protest on behalf of the blacks, and apparently endless discussion of an imaginary or theoretical social and political condition classed as a "race problem." Many of the writers and speakers on the subject possess only a superficial knowledge of the conditions they discuss, or else their utterances are so influenced by racial or sectional prejudice as to be valueless. A great many intelligent and well-meaning persons of both races assume that in the present racial, political, social, and industrial relations of whites and blacks in the former slave-holding States there is some radical wrong, dangerous to the permanent peace and prosperity of both—a condition requiring legislation, education, or a new moral training as a remedy—and that therein lies a problem grave enough to engage the attention and earnest consideration of the wisest statesmanship of the country. This conclusion is utterly at variance with the facts, and no evidence to sustain it can be

obtained from a dispassionate and unprejudiced study of the situation at close range.

There was a race problem in the South a third of a century ago—the gravest, darkest, and apparently the most hopeless ever faced by men of Anglo-Saxon blood. But that problem is passing away before the march of social and industrial conditions that no human power can shape or stay. The final solution will be worked out by the two races under the same skies where for so many generations one was master, the other man; and no amount of outside pressure, no wise meddling or ill-timed advice can hasten the day when black and white shall again dwell together upon the same soil in a peace so rational and enduring that no threat of conflict can disturb it.

A temporary solution of the gravest feature of the problem was accomplished almost a quarter of a century ago, when negro suffrage was nullified by methods that need not be defended or discussed at this time. A permanent and peaceful ending of an unbearable condition has now been accomplished in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where ignorant and half-savage blacks have by legal means been deprived of the right to vote. Other States will follow until the suffrage is limited to those members of the inferior race who have demonstrated their right to such an evidence of free citizenship, and then all political features of the problem will disappear. In the coming national election less than 500,000 negroes living in Southern States will cast ballots that will count in that contest, and within ten years probably not more than half that number will possess or attempt to exercise the right of suffrage.

While the political privileges that they so grossly abused are passing from them, the blacks of the lower class are returning rapidly and without a struggle to a condition of industrial slavery that will be more binding and enduring than the legal bondage of other years. When these new bonds of servitude have been riveted upon all who are too ignorant or too indolent to shake them off or evade them; when those who still retain the franchise have ceased to be the marketable units of corrupt politics—then the solution of the problem will be complete.

The action of the Federal Government in conferring the right of suffrage without qualification or restraint upon the negroes of the South as soon as they were released from bondage was perhaps the gravest political mistake in the record of American statesmanship; it did more than all other causes combined to bring about the bloody conflicts between the races that marked the second reconstruction. Persons that advocate political and social equality between the races in the former slave-holding States do not understand the white race and know nothing of the great mass of negroes of that section, or else they are deliberate hypocrites or demagogues. To say that the blacks are the equals of the whites, mentally, morally, or physically, is a libel on the Anglo-Saxon race. Wherever two or more races occupy the same country the superior will rule. Such is the history of the world, and no preponderance of numbers has ever enabled an inferior race to maintain industrial, social, or political supremacy. With the example of 70,000 Anglo-Saxons in India governing 300,000,000 Hindus, the proposition that negroes should control local government in the South, in States, counties, or cities where they happen to constitute a majority of the population, is too absurd to receive serious consideration. When the American people as a whole cease to protest against the fact that Southern negroes are an inferior race but a few generations removed from a savage ancestry, then they will no longer see from afar a race question or a political problem.

It was no more than obedience to the first law of Nature—the survival of the fittest—when the white men of the South overthrew the rule of ignorance, crime, and stupidity forced upon them after the war, overcame the ballot of the half-savage black (wherever it predominated) by any means at hand, and asserted the inherent right and power of the superior race. To overcome the negro *vote* was the first race problem. That problem was solved in fraud and bloodshed, it has been charged, but it was accomplished; and never again, while intelligence remains superior to brute force, will there be negro government in any American State. The right or wrong of this situa-

tion may be argued indefinitely by those who love the discussion of abstract questions; but the fact remains that the negro vote, standing alone as the suffrage of a race, will never again be a factor in the politics of the country. The white men of the South were not slow to realize that they could not go on forever nullifying the votes of negroes by the methods employed in 1876. Three States have already faced the situation boldly, and by legal restrictions upon the exercise of the suffrage they have eliminated the race question from local politics. Other States will follow as the issue arises to trouble them. This solution of the political feature of the problem is not only peaceful and legal: it will be enduring, and arouse little or no resentment. The negro whose right to vote has been taken away does not suffer in his pride of citizenship or consciousness of freedom. He never understood the privilege that had been thrust upon him. He made no serious effort to understand it, and the sentimental idea that he was a "sovereign" did not appeal to him. His right to vote, when he had it, was a privilege to be sold—nothing more. It was a vague element of freedom worth from fifty cents to two dollars on election day, according to the market rate for "coons;" and he could no more understand the rights and duties of American citizenship than he could compute the vastness of the solar system.

No legislative action has been or will be necessary in the disposition of the industrial feature of the race question in the South. The negro will remain the common laborer of that section, and his want of thrift has already bound him in the chains of a new slavery. The sum total of physical freedom conferred upon the great mass of the former slaves by war and constitutional amendment was the right to indulge their inherent indolence unmolested until hunger drove them to toil. The negro labor in the South is largely employed in agriculture, under a system of sharing crops with the white owners of the land. The proprietor of a plantation divides his land into small plots for purposes of cultivation. These subdivisions are known locally as "one-horse" or "two-horse" crops, the term designating the number of plows to be used in the work of

planting and cultivating. The negro tenant, known as the "cropper," furnishes all the labor and receives in return one-half of the crop produced. The owner of the land provides a cabin for the tenant, the horses and tools, and the seed for planting. At the beginning of the year, or the planting season, the negro tenant is penniless. His entire possessions consist of a few clothes and a minimum of household furniture and bedding, with possibly a dog or a few domestic fowls. The landlord either advances provisions for the spring and summer direct to the negro or becomes surety for him at the nearest supply store, where he may buy food and clothing on credit, not to exceed a fixed amount for each month, until the crop is harvested and ready for market. The ration account is always restricted to an amount within the probable value of the tenant's half of the prospective crop, and there is no allowance for extras of any kind. The arrangement is usually sealed by a written contract between landlord and tenant supplemented by a mortgage on the tenant's half of the product of the field. By this means a "cropper" who leaves before the crop is harvested has no claim upon the product of his toil and receives only the rations he consumed while at work. Compelled to buy his food and clothing on credit from the landlord, or from the merchant who "advances" to the plantation, the negro laborer must pay a high price for everything; and if the crop is short he considers himself fortunate if his share of the cotton or other produce is sufficient to make the account even at the end of the year. In the event of an extra large harvest, or self-denial strong enough to enable him to live on a little less than the amount of his allowance, the black "cropper" may receive a few dollars in money at the end of the year. Unless compelled to apply the entire sum to the purchase of additional clothing or household articles he will indulge in the luxury of a few days in town and a visit to the circus, if one happens to be within reach. The extra money gone, there is nothing for the laborer to do but make a contract for another year in order to obtain store orders for food, unless he can find employment at day labor for a month or two in midwinter.

This labor system is now in general use in the cotton-growing States. It is not entirely satisfactory to either landlord or tenant, but owing to the indolence and unreliability of the negro as a race it seems to be the only method possible by which the soil can be tilled. The negro "cropper" has no incentive to keep land, fences, or cabin in repair; consequently, the general condition of the plantation grows steadily worse, unless the owner can afford to employ extra labor to make improvements. On the other hand, the risk of employing the negro as a farm laborer to be paid fixed wages by the day, week, or month is too great. He cannot be held by a contract and will leave in the busy season without notice if it suits his fancy to do so. If employed for a fixed wage he wants his pay monthly, or oftener if he can get it, and the plantation owner cannot obtain the money to pay for labor for six months before his crop is ready for market.

The business of the South, from farming to banking, was established upon a basis of six and twelve months' credit during the years immediately following the civil war, when there was little currency in circulation in that section; and it has not yet outgrown the system. In other words, the South has not produced enough in any one year to pay off the debts incurred in production and leave a cash balance large enough to pay for the cultivation of another crop. This condition applies to the output of coal, iron, and manufactured articles as well as to cotton, sugar, rice, or tobacco. The section is always six to twelve months in debt, and the negro laborer is the pawn that stands as security for payment.

From this industrial servitude and the poverty that binds it with chains stronger than steel, no power of government can release the negro. He is again a slave—this time to a condition that will probably endure for many generations. He is free at the end of each year to find a new master, to move from one plantation to another, to make a new contract as a "cropper;" but his indolence and his poverty doom him to a slavery that is harder than that of his fathers, who were fed and clothed by the master. This condition does not apply to *all* the negroes in the South, nor to all the farm laborers—only to the

majority. By industry and economy a few will in time rise superior to their environment, and, becoming laborers of more skill or owners of land, will attain independent citizenship.

Not all the negroes in the agricultural districts may remain bound in the industrial slavery that makes them tenants of the soil, for a bare subsistence, but the mass of them are devoid of the ambition and the physical energy necessary to command a place in any other field of labor. When a negro farm hand leaves the plantation he drifts naturally to the nearest town, where he becomes a common laborer, without steady employment, or a loafer. In numbers, always in excess of the demand, they follow every new avenue of labor that is opened to them, especially if the work is convenient to a town or city where they may spend the earnings of a month in one night of revelry. The average negro cannot become a skilled artisan. He is devoid of the intelligence necessary to master a trade requiring skill in the use of tools, and without the patience requisite to successful apprenticeship. He may become a bricklayer, but never an expert mason; he can whitewash a fence, but he cannot kalsomine a parlor; he may become a carpenter of the second class, but never a skilled and intelligent builder. Employment in factories and machine-shops, where skill and intelligence are required, is closed to the average black. The trades-unions are practically shut against him, because he cannot be organized and disciplined and he must of necessity remain a common laborer, accepting such employment as offers and such pay as the industrial conditions of time and location may determine. Therefore, he is doomed to a new slavery, which may be enduring but never galling, because the wants of the negro are limited and his necessities few. He cannot be replaced in the field, the mine, or the mill, where cheap and patient labor, which never strikes nor rebels, is required. He will work when necessity drives him to it, and remain idle when he has the means. The white men of the South understand this and accept the negro as he is.

In a certain mill in a Southern State, known to the writer, where the employment of 200 common laborers is required, 450

negroes are carried on the pay-roll. The wages paid are $1.25 per day, and a negro can live a month on what he earns in two weeks. The employees are paid semi-monthly, and those who work during the first half idle the remainder of the month.

The negro who obtains a little education or some knowledge of a trade will not remain on the plantation, and after a short residence in a town or city he moves North or West if possible. This gradual movement of the surplus negro labor out of the South is one of the safest and surest ways leading to the final and peaceful solution of the industrial as well as the race problem. Idle negroes soon become criminals and dangerous to the peace of any community where they congregate in large numbers, but there is never a race problem where they are in a minority—any more than there is where they are in a majority and usefully employed, with no political or social agitation to arouse evil passions. The lynching of a negro, or any armed conflict between the races, rarely occurs on the great cotton, cane, and rice plantations of the South, where the blacks outnumber the whites ten to one, or in localities where the proportion is reversed. The poor whites, the small farmers of the hills and valleys, live in peace and harmony with the few black neighbors who struggle in a friendly competition for existence. The social lines are clearly and firmly drawn in such localities, and there is no political agitation. The friendly and helpful black neighbor is always welcome to a meal in the kitchen of the white man, but he must enter by the back door, hat in hand.

Conflicts between the races, as well as most of the deplorable outbreaks wherein the Anglo-Saxon seals with blood his right to rule, occur in localities where negroes and whites are almost evenly divided as to numbers, or where long-continued political agitation has made the black man an enemy of peace and good order. When the laws restricting the suffrage have been extended to all the States where any part of the race problem remains unsolved, and the negro is no longer a factor in politics—to be bought, bartered, or shot on election day—the chief cause of friction between the races will have been removed and the permanent establishment of new and better conditions will

be an easy matter. All the negroes who make themselves capable and worthy of the franchise will be able to retain it, but the great mass of them know not what it signifies; and they should and will be deprived of a weapon so dangerous to peace and good government when placed in irresponsible hands.

As to the other right of full citizenship, the holding of public office, the negro must be content to make his way by slow degrees through a civil service that will reward him for merit alone. It will be a long step toward the final solution of every feature of the great problem that is passing when political parties in charge of the national government shall cease to reward the negro for political service. The appointment of a negro to a Federal office in a Southern State over the protest of the whites, because he is a Republican or a Democrat, is a political mistake little short of a crime; and those who persist in the error should in some measure share the responsibility for the violence that is almost certain to follow.

The prevalent opinion that the lynching of negroes in the South is proof of a condition in the general relation of the two races amounting to a grave problem is entirely erroneous and is founded largely on misinformation and misrepresentation. A pimple on the skin does not prove a diseased organism, and two crimes of violence do not indicate an unhealthy body politic. It is not the purpose of the writer to condemn or to commend lynching in this article, but there is no case of such summary execution on record that when fully and impartially investigated will disclose any substantial evidence that it was caused by general and lasting hatred or antagonism between the races. Lynching as a punishment for any crime may be a degrading and demoralizing evil, but the practise in the South must be cured from within. No amount of outside denunciation, well-meant advice, or promiscuous abuse will save a single negro from the rope, the bullet, or the torch. There is every reason to believe, however, that with the rapid settlement of the political and industrial status of the negro, which is now in sight, the lynching evil will be gradually reduced to a minimum if not entirely suppressed. When all laws in the South are

rigidly and fairly enforced, respect for law and patience with its unavoidable delays will increase among all elements of both races. All human life is held too cheaply in that section, perhaps, and much of the fault is due to the lax enforcement of minor laws tolerated by public opinion. In too many cases the victims of mob violence had become desperate criminals because their first offenses went unpunished.

A large proportion of the negroes in the South are seemingly thieves by nature. They will steal without reason or purpose, and in far too many cases their petty thefts are accepted by the whites as a matter of course. Many household servants are chronic thieves, yet it is a rare case when one is handed over to justice. The lowest class of negroes have no regard whatever for the marriage relation, either as a matter of morals or obedience to law. A couple marry and live together as long as it suits their whims or convenience; then they separate, and it often happens that each contracts another marriage in the same town or county within a few weeks or months. This is sometimes repeated again and again, yet in most communities a proposition to punish a negro for bigamy would be treated as a joke. The crimes they commit against one another must be very serious to command the attention of the officers of the law. It is not deemed worth while to arrest and prosecute one black man for assault and battery upon another if the assault stops short of murder. If the courts of the South should suddenly take cognizance of all the crimes committed by negroes, and arrest and conviction should follow only in the cases where the facts are well known, the capacity of the prisons of that section would have to be largely increased. A better enforcement of existing laws against minor crimes will work the beginning of the end of mob violence. There will be no sudden increase of law enforcement, but the people of the South are beginning to realize that there must be a change. When the negro is once made to understand that punishment will follow swift and sure when he offends against peace, morality, and good order, his fear of the law will deter him from crimes of violence except in rare cases.

The suggestion of certain alleged leaders of the race that the only hope of the negro is deportation, or wholesale emigration, is not worth consideration. No government ever has or ever will undertake to deport 8,000,000 subjects to another continent; and few American negroes would leave the country willingly, no matter what the opportunity or inducement might be for them to seek new homes in another land. The great mass of those in the South are content with their present lot, and the discontented are slowly but surely working their way into a better citizenship, or going away into other fields of human endeavor that are open to them, under the flag that will always protect them in the full enjoyment of the greatest amount of liberty to which honesty, industry, and intelligence may entitle them. There is no widespread discontent or protest among the lower class of blacks—the element deprived of suffrage and reduced to an industrial slavery from which there is no escape. The inferiority of the race is demonstrated by their acceptance of the new condition without a murmur and without realizing that their situation is changed in any material way. Those of the lower class who learn industry and economy will in time rise above their present condition of serfdom and they will be protected and respected in their rights of property and citizenship.

The negroes are not without teachers and leaders of their own, and men like Booker T. Washington are doing much to settle the race problem in the South. They are teaching their fellow-blacks that honesty, industry, and self-reliance are essential to success in every walk of life and that the negro must command advancement by his own efforts, not beg it. The negro who seeks social or professional recognition solely on the plea that he is black now receives little sympathy or encouragement South or North. The time has come when those who possess talent and education enough to enter the professions and the arts to compete with the whites must stand upon their merits and win recognition as men and women, not beg it and accept it as a gratuity to an inferior race. The spectacle of men crying aloud that they are denied justice and opportunity be-

cause they are black, and in the next breath pleading for unearned preference on account of color, is not one calculated to improve the character or standing of the race. This constant outcry of the blacks of feeble ambition and no self-respect, who would trade upon the social inferiority that they parade before the world, is in a large measure responsible for the continued agitation of a simple question that is too often magnified into a "problem."

There is no element of real danger in the present situation in the Southern States. The law-abiding black is safe in person and property. His dream of social and political equality is passing, and with it goes the chief cause of whatever antagonism there was between the races. In the present era of peace, order, and prosperity the white man and the black are dwelling together in harmony, asking only to be left to themselves to solve their own problems in their own way—each accepting the fact that no human agency can undo the work that made one master and the other man.

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*New York.*

## III. LAWLESSNESS *vs.* LAWLESSNESS.

WHEN the American people, North and South, come to realize the fact that violence begets violence, and that no people can be safe where law is ignored or disregarded on the merest pretense, then perhaps we may look for a better state of things than can possibly exist under present conditions. To attempt to right wrongs, real or imaginary, in the present lawless way is simply to invite lawlessness in return. The negro is a human being and possesses all the attributes of human beings. As such he must be treated if peace and harmony are to prevail. Only in this way is it possible to prevent crime and disorder, with all their attendant evils.

The South is largely responsible for the condition of things now existing in that section. It has only itself to blame.

We would suppose that thirty years would have taught the Southern white man that it is far better to practise the Golden Rule than to repudiate it by resorting to mob violence at any time. It has been well said that the New Orleans riot supports the gloomy view that direct wreaking of lawless vengeance on helpless objects fosters a spirit of inexcusable lawlessness for its own sake, and that habitual application of lawless remedies to criminals of one race begets indiscriminate disregard for the legal rights and mere human privileges of that race as a whole. This was shown to be true in the recent riots in New York City. The further thought is added that such a state of things as existed in New Orleans could not have happened in a civilized community unless its civic virtues had been enfeebled by a long training of indulgence in acts not more lawful but less absurdly senseless.

That the time for reform in the method of dealing with negro criminals has not only come but is long past goes without saying. The law should take its course in every instance, whether North or South, whether the accused be white or black. It is a cowardly thing to refuse to give the black man a chance. It is beneath the dignity of any one calling himself an American citizen to refuse this right. The negro has rights as well as duties. I believe that, if granted the former, he will take care of the latter. As a rule, when let alone he is both law-abiding and patriotic. An insult to his country's flag is an insult to himself, and it is felt as keenly by him as by any other American citizen. It is not necessary to bring forward proof of this. History is full of examples of his bravery, his prowess. He has taken some part in all the wars of the country, from the battle of Bunker Hill to the present, and has never been found wanting. He is still ready, willing, and even anxious to shoulder a gun in his country's defense. He is neither a coward nor a traitor. All he asks is fair treatment, fair play—a human being's chance. The question rests with the American people—with their sense of right and justice.

The negro has been greatly misrepresented by emissaries from the South—so much so that his friends seem to be grow-

ing less while his enemies multiply. This is one cause of discontent and restlessness on the part of the race. The better class of colored people is no more responsible for the conduct of the hoodlum element than is the better class of white people. Hoodlums are hoodlums, whether white or black, and they should be dealt with to the fullest extent of the law. The mistake of the South lies in its tacit sympathy with these lawbreakers, while there are too frequent unions in deeds of violence. Take the following as an example of this sympathy. It explains itself:

"Edward McCarthy, a young white man who came to this city from New York several days ago, appeared before a police magistrate here in New Orleans. He was arrested yesterday morning to protect him from a mob, which was endeavoring to lynch him because of some remarks he made in connection with the negro riot. McCarthy had said that negroes had white hearts—were as good as white men—and not all of them should be lynched because of the action of two of them.

"'Do you consider a negro as good as a white man?' asked the judge.

"'In body and soul, yes,' replied the prisoner. He was fined $25 or thirty days in the parish prison."

This is only one of many incidents where blind, unreasoning prejudice gets the better of judgment and defeats justice. Its purpose is to degrade and intimidate, and there is a strong showing of a strain of the vengeful element permeating such acts. To fine a man for the expression of an honest opinion when he is asked for it is barbarism pure and simple. Such a judge has no business to sit upon a bench that represents justice.

It is this inability to express one's convictions in any sense if it does not accord with Southern ideas of the race, or with the idea of its inferiority wherever found, that breeds trouble. This is supposed to be a free country. In it the anarchist can air his sentiments to the verge of declared purpose to assassinate; strikers can in the hearing of officers of the law make threats, and rioters can say whatever they will, to say noth-

ing of deeds—and what is the result? No such gagging of the mouths of these as of a man by fine, imprisonment, and bodily injury if he but dare to say that the negro is the equal of a white man. There are thousands of negroes the equal of the best of white men, in body, mind, and soul, and the superior of tens of thousands who can boast nothing in a mental or moral way—yes, or in a physical way either, except that they are "white."

Such treatment as this creates the race antagonism we deplore. There are bad black people as there are bad white people, and this bad blood in the negro is aroused to that retaliatory stage where crime is committed. It is this state of things that brings it to the surface. It is not freedom *per se*, as some claim, though there may be cases of depravity as total as any found in the white race, which the negro has imitated in everything since he was placed here without his consent. There are some in all races that cannot stand alone, that need restraint; and there are those to whom freedom from oppression of any kind means simply opportunity to oppress in turn. This is seen daily in the conduct of the foreigners who come to us from countries that have held them in close subjugation. The moment they step out from Castle Garden they pounce upon the negro race as an object of contempt and hatred, and one they can exercise their license upon.

It is from cases like this, too, that the negro perceives that the statement so often made that the Southern people are the negro's best friends is false—simply a play upon Northern ears, designed to win sympathy for the South and thus let it be left to do as it pleases in reference to the race, which they in reality ardently despise. The negro as a race will never consent to leave so vital a question as this, a question that means so much to him and those near and dear to him—that means so much to his future—to people that represent a section of country in which an official dares to fine a man for saying that a negro "in body and soul is as good as a white man."

In the new outlook for the United States it is a question

that will bear deep consideration—how can justice be assured the race that fought to make the country what it is and preserve its integrity, and that stands now in part as a bulwark against invaders, or willingly steams off to the Orient to protect its interests wherever they may lie? In the face of the race riots, when *no* negro is safe, and the seeming powerlessness of government to hold such in check or bring the guilty ones to punishment, there is little wonder that the darker races of the isles of the sea look with suspicion upon a people that permits such outrages to take place under the very flag we have asked them to look upon as a sign of sure protection. What guaranty have they that their fate will not be like that of the negro? What guaranty have they that, if they yield to this country's will, justice will be done them? The doctrine of State sovereignty has been carried so far that it seriously interferes with the provisions of the Constitution, and makes the amendments to that document to all intents and purposes of no force in reference to the negro. The South is permitted to do as it pleases, and the negro finds all the odds against him. His friends in the North and the few he may legitimately claim in the South are intimidated—made to feel that it is disgraceful to attempt to defend the black man or espouse his cause in any way.

Much of the lawlessness on the part of the negro, therefore, can be accounted for. With the injustice, the malice, hatred, and contempt because of color confronting him at every turn, all that is bad in the race is constantly being roused to assert itself. It is a continuous exercise of retaliation, which will grow as it rolls on unless some measures be wisely instituted looking to the protection of the race, to the meting out of justice rigidly to any one and every one—but justice most rigidly kept within the law. Let justice be done in every case, and let the best element, both North and South, fearlessly unite to demand that the country shall be governed by law, not by lawlessness. It is a serious reflection upon the white race, which can claim so many years of advance in civilization, culture, wealth—in all the power and material resources of this

world—that it must confess its inability to set proper examples for the belated races of the world to follow, by allowing indulgence in the lawlessness that has recently swept as a wave over the land.

In no case has it been shown that lynching has proved an adequate remedy for crime. In no case has mob violence been productive of good. The opposite has been the rule. Retaliation has been engendered, desperadoes have been made still more desperate, and the innocent have suffered far more than the guilty. No attempt to disregard the processes of law—to defy legal authority—can bring about the desired results. Civilization itself is bound to go down before such repeated assaults upon law. The infection of lawless conduct will spread to an alarming extent, and the evil will be something terrible to contemplate unless our boasted Anglo-Saxon superiority shows itself superior to the mob, and to injustice; for until man is regarded as man, black or white, in North or South—until equality before the law is made something more than a name—we may look for such an increase in these periodic disturbances, these seasons of riot and bloodshed, as will appal the whole nation. They are bound to come, as effect from cause; and who will be responsible?

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## IV. A Plea From the South.

THE race problem that confronts the country and seems to grow in interest as the years advance is undoubtedly of far-reaching importance, both socially and politically. The great North, with its teeming millions and wealth, far removed from contact with the question and only indirectly influenced thereby, will be brought to realize, sooner or later, that the Southern white man faces a question of greater significance to the whole country than the tariff, trusts, or imperialism. It is indeed the "paramount issue" where the negro population

equals or exceeds the white. The threatening possibilities involved have attracted the thoughts of many of our eminent citizens. The race conference recently held at Montgomery, Ala., was promoted by representative men from every section of the country—men of national influence and distinguished for high character, culture, and patriotism. Their presence and utterances confirmed the truth of its far-reaching importance, not only to those immediately concerned but to humanity. The high aim of this conference has never been doubted or questioned.

The solution of the problem so menacing to the political and social well-being of the South should, for this and other reasons equally potent, be left to the guidance and control of those vitally concerned. The South has less of racial antipathy to the negro than the North. The Southern white man and negro having been reared together with kindly feelings of interdependence, this prejudice was softened by the influences born of the protecting care of the master over the confiding ignorance of the slave. It is admitted that this peculiar condition was not universal at the South; but it is claimed that from this relation has resulted whatever advancement in civilization the negro has attained. Association with and dependence upon the superior white race through his generations of slavery—albeit the South is not responsible for that condition—have rescued him from savagery and made him capable of receiving the impression of Christian civilization. An intelligent Northerner and prominent Republican who resided at the South for a number of years, and had employed the negro and closely studied his true relations to his white neighbor, was recently heard to affirm that the Southern white man was the negro's best friend; that not only had he, with singular patience and fortitude, lifted himself out of the valley and shadow of poverty and want since the war, but that his strained shoulders had carried the negro with him. This frank and honest assertion of a typical Northerner is emphatically true. When the mist before the eyes of some of his political brethren at the North is removed by experience, they also will acknowledge,

we hope, that the white man of the South has been more the victim of persecution than his black neighbor.

The Southern white man *is* the negro's best friend. This is often illustrated by the forbearance shown him even when his worst passions have been inflamed by designing demagogues.

The South claims the possession of knowledge superior to that of the North with regard to the negro's wants, character, and condition. The Southerner is "on the ground" with generations of experience and with every facility for accurate information. The Northerner without this experience is necessarily ignorant of matters viewed principally through the distorted media of partizan newspapers and speakers.

Considering the negro's present status as a privileged factor in this enlightened white-race government, and recalling analogous incidents of history, his condition appears the most favored of all races of whatever color that have come out of barbarism and ignorance to be guided and protected by the Caucasian. Every facility in the power of the impoverished South has been granted for his advancement. Yet this problem—this paramount issue—instead of being solved remains the greatest menace to the social and political well-being of this unfortunate section.

The homogeneity of the white race at the South cannot be sacrificed for the advancement of mushroom politicians. Education does not fit the negro for social or political equality with the white man. In the vanity of his newly-acquired and smattering knowledge of books, he is made arrogant and assertive of privileges that are more repugnant and less apt to be granted by the white man of the North than by him of the South.

The persistent agitation of the negro's social and political rights and equality with the white man will result, if not adjusted, in his ultimate ruin. The frenzy of the mob, when maiden innocence has been defiled by a black brute, cannot be appeased by the law's delay and the quibbling technicalities of the courts. Swift vengeance upon the criminal who in this heinous manner outrages God's law and the sacred rights of virtue will ever be the rule, the right, and the duty of the white

man that is loyal to his race. No section of Christian civilization was ever subjected to such an ordeal as the South; and, in the name of all that is just and holy, have not her white men rights quite as sacred as the negro's? During the negro's single generation of freedom and so-called education and advancement, these revolting crimes have originated, and, according to statistics recently published, have increased instead of diminished.

It is conceded by all fair-minded men, both North and South, that giving the negro, along with his freedom, the unrestricted right to vote, was a great mistake. It has been termed by some "the crime of the century," in that, eventually, it will work his ruin.

The engrossing interest of the question has recently been manifested by discussions in some of the leading magazines. In the *Forum* for August, General Grosvenor, of Ohio, begins a paper on the subject as follows: "If I for one moment believed it possible that in any contingency I could have feelings other than those of absolute fraternity and cordial good will toward the people of the South, I would not put pen to paper upon the subject matter of this article. All my animosities of the war period have been long since lost sight of." These are noble words and are appreciated by his fellow-citizens of the South, whose great desire is that others who discuss the question may be animated by the same lofty motives. But the honest conclusion of the gentleman, that the negro's privilege to vote in the South should not be restricted, we as honestly believe to result from ignorance of the true conditions. It is further believed that with the experience of personal contact and observation the distinguished Ohioan would change his opinion and agree with those of the North as well as the South who have personal knowledge of the question.

Two notable articles, which discuss the problem in its many phases—political, social, and educational—appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly* and the *North American Review* for June: one by Professor N. S. Shaler, of Harvard University, and the other from the pen of Professor J. R. Straton, of Mer-

cer University (Ga.). These thoughtful papers from the North and South, and by gentlemen distinguished for scientific attainments and study of Nature and her laws—whose habits of thought and training have especially adapted them for seekers after truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—should invoke universal attention and consideration.

What the people of the South desire is the untrammeled right, within the Constitution, to regulate this race question, since it affects so materially their home life. Restricted suffrage is believed to be an important step toward the adjustment of the difficulties; and, in the interests of humanity, the South demands the control of a question so fraught with the destinies of its own people.

Race prejudice is seemingly inherent in all men. The enlightenment that comes with intellectual culture may temper its exercise with forbearance; but the instinct is there and cannot be eradicated, save perhaps in poetry and romance, as where the love of the gentle *Desdemona* is sacrificed to the blind and brutal jealousy of the dark-hued Moor. Any tendency to mongrelism should not and cannot be tolerated at the South. Enforced political equality does not imply social privileges to the negro; yet it would seem that the accident of his birth at the South and the avarice of our ancestors who sold him into slavery have imposed upon the Southern white man the responsibility of transforming him, within a single generation, into a refined gentleman and useful citizen. Wherever the Caucasian has come in contact with an inferior, either of the black, yellow, or red race, he either dominates or exterminates. Amalgamation is but the prelude to degeneration and degradation. The civilization of the ancient Greek owes its potent influence upon the enlightenment of the nineteenth century to the purity of that Caucasian blood that was kept inviolate. The age of Pericles and Alexander, with its grand achievements in molding the destinies of the civilized world, is a striking illustration of the supreme mission of the white race. The South, inspired by the old Roman's reverence for his household gods, claims the right of holding sacred this heritage,

and like him to keep pure and undefiled the spirit that worships at the family shrine. He that pollutes this divine inheritance can be thought of only as one who—

> "Like the base Judean, threw a pearl away
> Richer than all his tribe."

WALTER GUILD.

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## A PSALM OF BROTHERHOOD.

### I.

THERE are times when I am moved to found a brotherhood;
To withdraw and be clean from the present evil order of the world;
To take vows of renunciation, poverty, equality, and the like.
It sometimes seems to me that this is the only way to dramatize the law of love;
The only way to disclose the brotherhood for which history reaches a myriad bleeding hands.
But I know that this would really be the denial of brotherhood, the giving up of its spirit and substance;
For brotherhood is here, before my eyes.
Wherever man is,
Wherever a heart beats or a star shines,
Wherever a beast fights or a worm crawls,
Wherever a god comes to give his life on a cross or in a martyr-fire,
Wherever a convict bears his chains or swings from his scaffold,
Wherever a brakeman lies mangled under his train,
Wherever a miner digs fuel from the earth while his children shiver and starve,
Wherever the vulgar political huckster administers the affairs of State,
Wherever the pulpit-slave preaches his servile piety,
Wherever the plutocrat plots the economic massacre of the people,
Wherever the academic soothsayer performs his scientific tricks,
Wherever buyers and sellers administer the sacraments of association—knowing not the holy thing they do and promise to the world—

Wherever mothers and births and deaths are,
Wherever life and its unceasing change,
There is brotherhood:
The brotherhood in which all the worlds were founded;
The brotherhood in which we each had our birthright and being before our world was.

II.

Let me not say, Lo here, or there, is brotherhood!
For the ever-ascending common life is the one sole brotherhood of man, and the brotherhood of all the gods;
The brotherhood that is the real and visible presence of the Most High;
The brotherhood that is terrible to all who are not lovers of its fellowship;
The brotherhood against which the world has no weapons that can be lifted, save to turn to ashes in the hands that lift them;
Nor can any monopolies or competitions prevail against its law of selfless love, nor any legislations or ballots or bullets, nor any priests or temples.
I need not wait for some institution to fulfil my sovereign brotherhood for me;
For brotherhood comes to remove institutions, so that its fellowship may have free course and be glorified.
I dare not say, Come, let us escape from the monopolies that devour the people, from the governments that betray them, from the competitions that slay their souls;
For I can escape only by creating for myself a selfish order still more evil, though it should seem to be a shining sacrifice.
I will not flee from brotherhood to bondage by separating myself into some brotherhood of my own making;
I will not surrender my sacred freedom to vows nor covenants;
For it is in the freedom of my soul that brotherhood has its throne.

III.

I will arise and be the brother that I am;
The brother that I was before Moses or Jesus spake;
The brother that I was before St. Francis or Mazzini came;
The brother that I was before Marx or George went preparing the way of the Lord.
The brotherhood in me speaks to the brotherhood in the downmost man and the upmost man.
Brother plutocrat, brother political huckster, brother pulpiteer, brother academic juggler—we are one in our degradation, our want of pity, and our self-conceit.
Separate, we fall still lower in the service of our lost selves;
Together, we may rise to the selfless service that is freedom and the joy of heaven.
Patient toilers in the factory, in the mine, in the sweatshop, on the farm, on the sea—let me stand with bowed head and measureless shame before you;
For I am a parasite on you;
Your toil is my bread, your blood my drink;
Even while you feed me, even while I rob you, let me help to break your fetters, so that you may free yourself from me, and free me from my shame by sharing with me some of your over-portion of the world's real work.
Dear sister in the street, where our hideous virtue has driven you, let me touch you tenderly, reverently;
For I am not deceived about you by the monstrous morals of the world;
Beneath all the seeming, I see the virgin whiteness of your soul;
Yea, I kneel to you as a shrine;
For I see hid in you the spirit-beauty of one who gently took from my hand the sword I meant for tyrants and bravely sealed my heart with the love of the brotherhood.

IV.

I will sell all that I have, and leave all to follow the brotherhood of the glorified common life that draws near—

The heroized common life that is man's awakened godhood.
I will give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow I will not turn away.
I will defend myself from no attacks, and claim for myself no rights.
I will love as the sun shines, giving all there is of me to those who are called good and to those who are called evil, making no discriminations, measuring no gift.
I will ask no reward for service save power better to serve, no wages for love save capacity for greater loving.

V.

Having left all, I have found all.
Calling nothing my own, all the universal tides bear infinite wealth to my soul;
I have all that God has, and I am all that God is.
The universe and I at last understand each other; we know each other's secret, and between us is the peace that passes explaining.
The secret is this: I love; therefore, I am free.
Loving every one and everything, no harm comes to me from any one or anything.
Through the service of the selfless love to which the brotherhood has led me, I have made the universe helpless to do anything but good.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

*Grinnell, Iowa.*

# DIRECT LEGISLATION IN AMERICA.

FROM THE NATIONAL PLATFORMS OF 1900.

*Democratic Party.*

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

*People's Party.*

We demand direct legislation giving the people the lawmaking and veto power under the initiative and the referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

*Middle of the Road Populists.*

We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate for such changes of existing fundamental and statute law as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire, to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests, and to recall unfaithful public servants.

*Social Democratic Party.*

We demand the adoption of the initiative and the referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

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ALL observant students of popular government must be impressed with the great progress that has been made in the last ten years in English-speaking countries in regard to a far-reaching political reform likely to exert a grave influence upon our constitutional systems. It has not been long since the terms, "the initiative" and "the referendum," were almost unknown in the English language. Some who knew them could not tell what they meant. The government of Switzerland was a closed book to all but a few careful students of comparative politics. Readers of Freeman may have noted his entertaining account of a primary assembly of citizens in some of the mountainous rural cantons of Switzerland, where in the *Landsgemeinde* the people voted their own laws by show of

hands; but, as for the legitimate successor of legislation by mass-meeting, the referendum, it had been generally overlooked. When this institution made its appearance in the Swiss federal system, to which it was transferred from the cantons in 1874, there was greater chance of its gaining some notice outside the country where it is a native growth. As a matter of fact, this was the natural result in a short time; and to France, Belgium, England, America, and Australia came accounts of this interesting development in popular government.

There are jangling voices, however; not all are in unison. Indeed, there is considerable testimony to be got out of the Swiss experience which is not entirely favorable to the referendum even in its home country, where we must conclude that the environment is better suited to its thriving than in some other lands. To-day there is scarcely a country in which great bodies of the people do not know that the "initiative" is a system by which the citizens may originate bills and have them referred to the people, and that the "referendum" is a constitutional device by which the people may demand a vote upon and may repeal bills already passed by the representative legislature. The referendum thus becomes an agency that supersedes, or at any rate materially modifies, the representative system of government. It commends itself at once to the curious attention of men in all countries in which this system has been established and its weaknesses have been revealed. It has been made the subject of scientific study and popular discussion in Belgium, and to a somewhat less degree in France. It is discussed from time to time in England, and closely interests her most incisive students of constitutional subjects. It has won a goodly share of attention in Canada and Australia, while in the United States it has swept the country like a wave.

Claiming the interest here at first of the Socialist and Labor leaders, it grew to be a demand that was generally incorporated in the platforms of the People's party. The referendum then made its way into the platforms of the Democratic party in Nebraska, Massachusetts, and many other States; and finally

this year it has been raised to the national Democratic platform, occurring also in the national platforms of the two wings of the Populist party as well as one or two more of the minor political factions that have placed Presidential tickets in the field. Mr. Bryan's sympathies are known to be on the side of direct legislation by the people, and the propaganda makes rapid headway throughout the country. At least one commonwealth in the United States—South Dakota—has lately amended its constitution so as to introduce this reform in the legislative practise of the State; while the change is pending in Oregon and some other Western States.

When the subject is analyzed and resolved into its parts in the light of history, it seems like an extraordinary development. From a few governors in administrative offices to a parliament or legislature representing the whole people was a long step, and one that we Anglo-Saxons took only gradually and with a certain amount of caution and reserve. The American system of checks and balances, which is the British system of Montesquieu's time crystallized in a hard and fast written constitution, illustrates this fact at one stage of the development very pointedly. We were not willing to go headlong into a government by parliament—as the French nation did, for instance, in the closing days of the eighteenth century, with results so disastrous to itself. We adopted popular forms more gradually and sought to add certain complications, so that the process of government would not suffer from any sudden gust of popular passion. Our constitutional development has been of the more natural sort, and the representative system when it was introduced presumed certain things to be true. It was assumed that the people who exercised the suffrage would cooperate in each district to choose representatives from among "the wisest and best," as some of the early constitutional writers expressed it. It was assumed that in each community there would be so much pride, not to speak of the considerations of self-interest, that the citizens would return men of more than the average amount of knowledge, character, and capability. It was not foreseen that in a democracy they could

by any chance be brought to the point of voting for delegates who are in many respects the least fit to represent them, which is not far from being the case under the "boss" system as it manifests itself to-day in some parts of the United States of America.

From the point of having for lawgivers a representative body of "the wisest and best," drawn from widely-separated areas and from different social classes, to a lawmaking body that includes the entire voting electorate, seems to the student of government a radical departure. How can it be, many will ask, that hundreds of thousands and even millions can legislate for a State with the same wisdom and certainty and effect as a few who are specially appointed to the task? It is plainly an impossibility—except by some such device as the referendum, by which mere physical difficulties are overcome, though it is a question whether there do not remain other obstacles that are not to be surmounted so easily. Even if it be possible to take the sense of multitudes of people in regard to a legislative measure, is there any advisability in doing so from the abstract point of view of those whose only concern is for the greatest good of society? If representative parliamentary government were in reality to measure up to the high standards that theory has set for it, one could answer this question in the negative unqualifiedly. When, however, the weak places of the present system are discovered, and such offensive evils are developed as those, for instance, which have made the politics of America so notorious for many years, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that there should be a grasping after what may appear to be even a straw.

It is not to be doubted that much of the favor accorded to the referendum in America, among informed men at any rate, is to be traced to the fact that there has lately come about a notable decline in the character and influence of the State legislatures. The people's distrust of these bodies has been spreading and growing intenser till it is to-day one of the most striking of modern political tendencies in the United States. The referendum at once suggests itself as a method by which the

legislature's influence may be broken, and it would seem that another system, if not ideal, may perhaps be better than that which has preceded it. A very practical question, however, arises in this connection. We must ask what reason we have to believe that the people who have shown so little capacity in the choice of *men* to represent them will display any greater discrimination in regard to *measures*. Are they indeed so good judges of concrete propositions, many of them of a difficult kind, as they are of human character? Is there not much psychological and sociological evidence to show that a large proportion of average men can distinguish men better than books, newspapers, bills, or laws? Their daily experience is such that they know a man better than a law. They know what they call a good man, a selfish man, an able man; and, though their judgment be sometimes at fault, when citizens of a community are left to themselves and are not corrupted and misled by designing leaders they are not wholly without this power to draw simple distinctions.

And where there are dishonest leaders, or "bosses," is there proof to show that these would find it more difficult to gain their ends at an election for measures than at an election for men? This question has not been answered up to this time, and many persons of conservative inclinations regarding constitutional subjects would like to have it answered out of the natural experience of mankind before they are willing to cast off the representative system as if it were some outgrown garment inherited from another time.

It is likely that too much attention has hitherto been given to Switzerland in regard to the referendum, while not enough guidance has been sought in our own Anglo-Saxon experience. It is only lately that there has been any appreciation of the fact that the referendum existed anywhere outside of Switzerland. America has known the direct principle in lawmaking throughout a long period, though even in the United States, where so many are asking that the Swiss example shall be followed, there is now just beginning to be a realization of the fact that the referendum is not a new thing in our practise. The town-

meeting, the primary assembly of citizens in New England, has existed since government in America was first established. Constitutions and constitutional amendments are submitted to the people in nearly all the American States. State capitals are rarely removed except with the approval of the citizens at large. The conventions that frame the constitutions, looking about for new agents to supersede the discredited legislatures, now submit to popular vote subjects of many different kinds; and, as already indicated, in South Dakota general authority is conferred upon the people to vote upon their own laws. Laws providing for the incorporation and organization of banks of issue and discount are sometimes submitted to popular vote, as are acts that propose an increase of the State's indebtedness beyond a certain limit established by the constitution. The people are called upon not infrequently to determine whether loans shall be created on the State's credit for the erection of State capital buildings, the execution of various kinds of public improvements, and for other purposes. There is of course no question as to the legislature's right to submit such matters to the arbitrament of the citizens when the constitution specifically authorizes it; indeed, it is a duty of the legislature that it cannot escape.

When laws are to be submitted to popular vote, however, and no authorization for such a vote is contained in the State constitution, there is only one of two courses open to the legislature. It is a rule in American public law that any agency or tribunal exercising delegated power may not re-delegate it. The State legislature is such a body. It acts under authority derived from the sovereign people and expressly delegated to it by and through the constitution. It is not permissible for the legislature to decline to perform the task set for it, the task of making laws, and pass it on to some other body. The legislature could not resign its functions in favor of the governor, the courts of justice, or any extra-constitutional body, as for instance a board, or a commission. No more can it refer its work to the whole people. The legislature, in short, cannot escape its just share of responsibility as an organ of the gov-

ernment. In this view corroboration is found in a long line of opinions from the American State courts; and the submission of laws to popular vote, when the constitutions say that they shall be passed definitely by the representative legislature, is clearly an irregular and invalid proceeding.

If, however, the legislature for any reason, as because of its timidity or indisposition, should desire to evade its duty, there are, as already said, two avenues of escape. The measure may be passed in the form of a constitutional amendment, which must then go to the people for ratification, or the legislature may ask the people for their advice in an unofficial way. The first alternative is a familiar one. Constitutional amendments are passed in increasing numbers and with increasing frequency. For a long time a modifying and liberalizing tendency has been at work in regard to constitutional law in the United States. Constitutions have been growing longer, and they have become repositories for legislation regarding many subjects that could not in any strict or accurate sense be considered germane to a constitution at all. Statutory law, formerly passed by the legislature, is now disguised as constitutional law, contributing greatly to the confusion of legal ideas and standards in America. What in other countries would be definitely excluded from a constitution on account of its trivial or mutable character has pressed its way into the American State constitutions.

The legislature, which does not have the general power of submitting statute law to popular vote except in South Dakota, does possess general authority regarding the submission of constitutional amendments. Whenever a subject comes up concerning which the people's representatives are in doubt, there is this course open to them: they may embody the measure in a constitutional amendment, and in that way refer it to popular vote. In recent years the question of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, a moot point of considerable difficulty to weak legislatures, has frequently been submitted to the people in the form of an amendment to the constitution. Although a measure of this kind could not in strict

justice be incorporated in a constitution, yet, in common with many others quite as extraneous in character, it is commonly dignified with a place in the fundamental law of the States. There is no authority in the American constitutional system with power to prevent such a departure from sound organic principles. There is indeed a strong public opinion in favor of the practise, since it is one link in a long chain of restrictions with which Americans are now closing in upon their State legislatures. The distrust of these bodies has become so great that the disposition to introduce the people as a direct agency in government is increasing constantly. There are few in a democracy who will stop to consider the strength of historic tendencies and traditions regarding points that appear to the masses to be purely academic when anything stands between them and the attainment of a purpose.

The second method by which the legislature may escape the full measure of its responsibility as a lawgiver is to submit a statute unofficially. It dare not pass the law in such a form that its taking effect will be conditional upon a favorable vote of the people of the State. Since the passage of the New York Free School law in 1849, there have been few legislatures bold enough to attempt so open a violation of the rules and precedents of the American constitutional system. The legislature may, however, ask the people for advice concerning a matter upon which it has not yet acted. For instance, the legislature of New York a few years ago required the people informally to pass upon a disagreeable point as to the employment of convicts the products of whose hands would come into competition with free labor. The legislature of Massachusetts, another State little behind New York in the weight and authority of its example, recently took the sense of the people with reference to granting municipal suffrage to women. These were mere propositions, not laws. The poll of the people was binding upon no one, neither upon the citizens nor upon their representatives. The legislature, being in possession of the information it desired, could still pass a measure in reference to this topic or not, as it chose. The constitutionality of such a device

can certainly not be questioned, and the legislature's position when it pursues this policy remains quite secure.

In regard to local matters the American State legislatures can work with a freer hand. Subjects of the greatest variety are submitted to popular vote in cities, counties, towns, and other local districts. There is not a State in the Union in which the legislature does not submit questions pertaining to local government to the citizens residing within the jurisdiction of that government. The legislature may do this either by virtue of the authority it derives from the State constitution, or by reason of its extensive native powers over municipalities and the local political subdivisions of the State. There are in the main three large classes of measures submitted to a vote of the people in the localities: (1) City charters, local government acts, and bills affecting the form and character of the local governments; (2) loan bills, financial proposals, and measures authorizing local officers to borrow money and levy taxes for various local purposes; (3) vexed questions about which the people may become much wrought up, such as prohibition of the liquor trade and the running at large of domestic animals. As the peaceful acquiescence of the people in a measure defining public policy is much to be desired, difficult questions of this character are often submitted to them to avoid social friction later on, when the law comes to be administered and enforced. When the people have made the acceptance of the law their own act it is conceived that they will obey it more willingly. These local referenda are features so characteristic of the American political system to-day that it would be difficult to suggest any substitute at all satisfactory to great bodies of the people.

The selection of sites for county capitals; the adoption of city charters; the annexation of territory to a county, town, or city; the creation of a loan to erect court-houses or jails, repair the roads, or enable the local corporation to engage in other works of public improvement, to build or furnish school-houses, purchase or improve water systems or lighting plants; the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages within town

or county limits—all are matters concerning which the sense of the people is frequently sought and secured.

The courts, with few exceptions, have upheld the local referendum. The submission of such questions to popular vote is considered to be "constitutional;" for, although it is in general true that the legislature may not refer laws to the people, but must pass upon them finally and definitively itself, it is conceded that the legislature has extraordinary powers in reference to municipalities, and that considerations of expediency make it desirable for a distant authority to consult with local agencies regarding local subjects and secure assurances that certain lines of policy will be agreeable to a majority of the citizens. This theory, whether it be sound or not from the standpoint of political philosophy, is at any rate well established legally. It has strong support in American practise throughout a long period of years. The highest State courts have recognized the distinction between State laws passed to apply to the whole commonwealth and State laws to apply to the local districts thereof. They defend the referendum in the latter case with as much uniformity as they have exhibited in the former case in denying the contention for the constitutionality of lawmaking by popular vote. If the line of argument may seem not quite clear, except to the legal mind, it must be remembered that the difference exists and must therefore be taken into account.

In connection with the local governments there are other legislative agents—the various local legislatures. The State legislatures pass laws for the local communities; so also do the local councils, governing boards, etc. The latter are established by the State legislature, and they act under delegated authority. It is plain, therefore, that they cannot re-delegate their power to the people and may not at their own instance submit by-laws to popular vote. However, if the State legislature or the constitutional convention should see fit to authorize the local legislature to submit certain of its enactments, or all of them, it is a different matter. In South Dakota the people of municipalities and local districts have the general power of demanding a poll of the citizens in reference to local by-laws,

as they have also in Nebraska by virtue of recent legislation. Such a popular privilege is enjoyed in certain local districts in Iowa and California, and in San Francisco by the new charter of that city.

Whether it be in State or local elections or laws, one striking fact is emphasized by the American experience—the strange apathy and indifference of the people respecting measures even of great importance. A larger vote is usually polled on a measure having for its end the prohibition of the liquor trade than on laws in reference to any other subject. This is true of State prohibitory laws as well as those applying to towns or counties, usually known as "local option" laws. Even in a plebiscite on such a question there are usually many absentees, and the pollings show totals considerably below those for leading candidates. Nevertheless, there is much more public interest expressed in "prohibition" elections than in most other referenda in America. A proposal to deprive many persons of their means of profit and livelihood and to regulate the personal habits of men comes closely home to them. Quite independent of any general philosophic notions that they may entertain as to the right or wrong of governmental intervention in such a case, all of which they might know or care very little about, they have deep concern that their liberty to use or to make, sell, or distribute liquors shall not be interfered with. It is a subject, therefore, upon which a large vote is usually polled.

Generally, too, a proposal to remove a county seat from one town to another will develop much popular feeling and interest. The adherents of the respective towns display a rivalry that is abundantly reflected in the return of votes on election day. Proposals for the creation of loans also appeal to large numbers of the electors, especially when the subject for which the money is to be borrowed is of a kind to awaken extraordinary resentment or enthusiasm among the people. A bill that proposes to put a large sum at the disposal of politicians for no particularly good end will sometimes stir the citizens from their natural lethargy. A bill to purify the water supply of a city or to bring public utilities within easier reach of the

people is likely to awaken the interest of a large number of voters.

On the other hand, constitutional amendments and statutory measures of the ordinary sort are certain to be neglected at a referendum. They are treated with the utmost coolness, and those who do vote either for or against a measure oftentimes are not able to give their reasons why. Even though the elections on measures are held at the same time as the elections for individual candidates, and though the proposition may be printed on the same Australian "blanket" ballot, so that the voter need only place his cross-mark in a space reserved for that purpose, not more than one-half the electors who vote for President or Governor or Congressmen are likely to put themselves to the trouble of saying either yea or nay.

All this furnishes ground for discouragement to those who have closely studied this phase of popular government in the United States. We could wish that the results might be of a different character, especially when it is considered that the referendum is now in such general use and is likely soon to be even more widely employed, particularly in the Western States, where changes are easily and rapidly effected. If the people *en masse* are to enact their own laws, it is much to be desired that they should exhibit some real interest in and capacity for lawmaking. If they are to be our lawgivers they should be able and willing to form intelligent judgments concerning legislative measures. They should not be swayed by prejudice or selfish personal feelings. They should know why one law should be favored and another should be opposed, and should then be in the mood to record themselves on one side or the other. It is easy to see that it is somewhat difficult and expensive to take the sense of thousands of citizens, though the obstacles with present ballot systems are much more easily overcome than at a former day. If we are to consult thus intimately and directly with the people in regard to the making of laws, they should have some advice to give which it would be worth while for the government to be in possession of. If but a small faction is to vote upon a law, and its activity is only of a half-hearted

sort, we shall have to conclude that such lawgivers are far from being what we would wish them to be.

Representative legislatures, it is necessary to admit, have been developing weaknesses of a most serious character. Are their shortcomings on the whole worse, however, than the disorders we may possibly invite when we turn to the referendum as exemplified to-day in Switzerland and America? This, it would appear, is still an open question, and one upon which all students of constitutional subjects the world over are eager for genuine knowledge and enlightenment, such as are only to be got out of our experience of men acting as members of the political society of which we are ourselves a breathing part.

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* Author of "The Referendum in America." (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1900.)

# PROSPERITY PROBED.

A COUNTRY may be said to be prosperous when its people enjoy justice, health, peace, and plenty. An industrious people should prosper in a country having fertile soil, a favorable climate, and plenty of timber, metals, coal, and other natural raw materials.

The true prosperity of an individual must include his development physically, mentally, and morally. A nation, being but an aggregation of individuals, can prosper only by building up the best men. National greatness requires individual greatness—the outgrowth of just laws, equal privileges, and good government.

The word *prosperity* has within a few years acquired a rather hackneyed use as a political term, signifying that, as a result of legislation or of a certain political policy, the country becomes prosperous. The writer will undertake to show that the present period of business activity and speculation is not true prosperity, but is mostly a speculative boom for which we must suffer in the inevitable reaction; that it is not a result of tariff, nor gold standard, nor other legislation, excepting so far as power is thus given to the speculative classes; that it is, to some extent, the result of temporary natural causes; that a great effort is making to shape and exaggerate conditions of apparent prosperity for political effect, and to keep the show open until after the November elections; that schemers are breeding a panic and business crash, whichever way the elections go, and will afterward say, "We told you so; confidence has been impaired by the agitation." The writer will also try to show the evils of the present "confidence," or credit system, and the remedy.

It is strenuously claimed by interested persons that the people of the United States are now passing through a period of unusual "prosperity." Mr. McKinley said recently, "We have prosperity at home and prestige abroad." Mr. Roosevelt, in

his speech seconding the nomination of Mr. McKinley, spoke of him as "the President under whose administration this country has attained a higher pitch of prosperity and honor abroad than ever before in its history." Mr. Hanna, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, said in a July interview that "the principal issue in this campaign will be prosperity." Partizan orators are vociferously informing the people that they are prospering. Political newspapers teem with claims that the country is experiencing "unprecedented prosperity." It is evident, therefore, that the members of the Republican party agree upon a name for the present conditions; they are committed to the assertion that it is really Prosperity, and that they are the cause of it all.

When political parties expect to get or keep offices by using the argument of "good times," or "hard times," the conditions will always be greatly exaggerated and sometimes falsified. The word "Prosperity" is much used by the non-producing classes, whose wealth is forced from the farmers, laborers, and other useful classes who produce it. Thus when speculators, financiers, and capitalists are growing rich, under favoring legislation, they make a great noise about the prosperity of the country. Feeling their importance, they think they are the country, or all that is worth considering. Even the whole people, like an individual, may have a period of seeming prosperity under conditions that cannot be permanent, and the reaction may cause injury greater than was the supposed benefit.

The intoxicated man feels very prosperous. The prodigal seems to prosper for a time. The farmer may impoverish his land and prosper now at the expense of the future. Western cities get up "booms," and each buyer of lots expects to unload them at a big advance. All know that the prices are fictitious, but each one hopes not to be the last holder when the bubble bursts. They are the same as gamblers—betting on probabilities. Production, trade, and finance are proceeding upon this plan, and the result will be disaster. Nature cannot be cheated. Action and reaction are equal in all things. Lassitude must

follow the use of stimulants. Standard economic writers have shown that there is a periodicity in the succession of good times and hard times, business activity and depression. They follow in cycles, as a result of imperfect monetary systems.

Bankers are lenders. They control legislation. They want gold to be the only real money. Not one thousandth part of the world's trade is or could be done with gold, on account of its scarcity and the tremendous volume of business. That is why they favor gold. Iridium, ten times as scarce, or dear, as gold, would suit them better. Business is done with substitutes for money, principally "debt obligations" or evidences of credit. Bankers lend these, not money, upon interest, and compel the community to make them silent partners and secured creditors in all business and enterprise. Thus, in order that bankers may reap millions in interest, a "credit system" is forced upon the people. This vast volume of credit, like an inverted pyramid, rests upon a small apex of gold, with an "endless chain" attached to it, and liable to be drawn, at any time, from its place by a panic-stricken people, or for exportation, when the whole structure must come down with a crash; for redemption is impossible—though a plausible fiction. The present boom is largely the result of an inflation of bank credits.

It may always be observed that "good times," or times of "unprecedented prosperity," come with an advance of prices—labor, farm products, and land slowly following other things. Wages are the first to drop and the last to rise in these changes. Dear commodities mean cheap money. At such times money seems to be plentiful, though there is no increase in its quantity, and all forms of money—gold, silver, and paper—are lowered in purchasing power by the vast volume of the competing medium of exchange called credit.

Let us study the use and abuse of credit devices, as a currency, in relation to existing conditions in this country. We have evidently copied some of England's aristocratic banking methods.

Mr. Lyman J. Gage, in his annual report as Secretary of the United States Treasury for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1899, arguing that the banks should be given the power of making the currency "elastic" or "flexible," says:

"While stability should be safely guarded, *flexibility*—the power of needful expansion—must also be provided. The exercise of this power, with proper limitations and restrictions, must be intrusted to the bank. There is no other agency that can wisely and efficiently execute it. In fact the banks do exercise that power now in regard to the larger part of that element which, rightly understood, really constitutes the currency.

"It is a popular delusion that the bank deals in money. Money is an incident in its dealings—an important incident, no doubt, but, truly speaking, an incident only. The bank deals in *credits*. For a consideration, varying according to time, place, and circumstance, it gives to the public with whom it deals its own debt obligations in exchange for the debt obligations of its dealers and customers. The obligations of the bank, thus created, are generally evidenced by a credit upon its books to the dealer, who has the right to draw upon it by his checks or drafts as his convenience may be served. The constant interchange of credits between the bank and its dealers, with the enormous volume of checks and drafts passing between buyer and seller, constitutes in the broadest sense the currency of the country. It is these instruments which trade uses in much the larger part of all its operations. Money—real money, gold or silver—plays but a small part in the multitudinous exchanges. The total money of the country—metallic and paper—is less than two thousand millions, while the 'deposits' of the commercial banks, State and national, aggregate more than four thousand millions. Whence comes this excess of two thousand millions on deposit? It represents, as indeed does the whole deposit fund, the unused credits belonging to the bankers' public, temporarily at rest in the bankers' hands. Thus it comes that these checks and drafts (based on bank credits, not money) are rather instruments for the transfer of property and credit than for the realization of money. They, however, perform in our domestic commerce and trade the same functions that the dollar note of the government or the fractional silver coin performs; that is to say, they are the agency by which goods are passed from one to another and by which trade accounts are settled. Thus it would appear that, in the department of our commerce, where checks and drafts and bank credits constitute the real currency, the movement of expansion and contraction is now governed by the mutual action of the banks and the business public."

The borrower really uses his own credit, but, as he cannot draw checks upon himself, he exchanges it for the bankers' credit, or "debt obligation," the bankers thus drawing interest upon what they owe. This, Mr. Gage informs us, "rightly understood, really constitutes the currency."

It is universally conceded that prices will conform to the quantity of the currency. Thus the national bankers claim the right to control the price level by controlling the quantity of the currency. Mr. Gage says, "in fact, the banks do exercise that power." Enhanced prices are persistently called "prosperity." Thus it is proved that the banks can turn on or turn off "prosperity" as an engineer turns the steam on or off to move or stop a steam-engine. And this is the boasted money system of which "every dollar is as good as gold"—when the people do not want the gold, which is impossible of redemption when they do want it; a system by which bankers control all material interests—everything, everybody. Their rule is autocratic, or, as some say, plutocratic. They are closely organized and act in unison when their interests are involved. They can depress prices and invest in commodities and real estate, and then boom prices and unload at a profit of perhaps fifty per cent. They can lend bank credit and demand "real money" in repayment, or lend cheap money and receive back dear money.

Mr. Gage evidently underestimates the present inflation of bank credits, for if all the money in the safes, pockets, and hoards of the people, and all lying idle in public and corporate treasuries, were added to the present "deposits," they together would reach, perhaps, five thousand millions, which then would show over three thousand millions of air, inflated into our "actual currency," which sets the price level. We berate the "trusts" for "watering" their stocks—their own stocks, which are of no necessary loss to the people. But what shall we say of the bank trust, or combine, diluting the purchasing power of the money of the people—gold, silver, greenbacks, bank notes, private notes, bonds, checks, drafts, and even copper cents, by inflating the "currency" with mere wind? They boast that every dollar of it is "as good as gold." That is true; you can

buy with any of these mediums of exchange at the same price as if you paid gold, which only proves that gold has no "fixed value," but that it slides up and down the scale of purchasing power with other forms of "currency." All money, or currency, including gold, is cheapened when commodities advance. The power of the bank combine not only controls the prices of all products but penetrates your safe and your wallet; and your money, gold included, may be worth less to you in the morning than when you safely put it away in the evening.

The recent estimates of the Controller of the Treasury show that the bank deposits this summer approximate $8,000,000,000, or about four times the estimated actual money in existence. For reasons stated above, this indicates an inflation of bank credits of very nearly $7,000,000,000.

Any one who will take the pains to run over the sworn statements of the national banks—their capital, their deposits, loans, and profits—will readily understand why lending *wind,* for interest, hidden under the crafty term of "elasticity" or "needful expansion" of the "real currency" of the country, is a power that bankers insist "must be intrusted to the bank, as no other agency can wisely [?] execute it." They can turn on "prosperity," lend wind, create a boom, and try to ride into continued power on the wave of sham prosperity caused by their inflation of credits. Certainly this boom is based on "confidence"—of the bankers and speculators that their schemes will not be interfered with by the party in power.

Yet Mr. McKinley, in his speech of acceptance, says that "legislation has been enacted whereby, while utilizing all forms of our money, secures one fixed value for every dollar, and that the best known to the civilized world." He, of course, refers to gold as of "fixed value" and as "the best." Should Alaska pour in enough gold to cheapen it below silver, at the usual ratio, as it was fifty years ago by the output of the mines of Australia and California, he would mean silver as "the best," as his kind did then. Gold was even demonetized in some countries of Europe as "dishonest money."

The truth is, nothing in the universe has ever had a "fixed

value." The qualities of things, as weight, color, hardness, ductility, etc., are intrinsic and permanent in things and can be measured by the senses, our hands, and instruments. Value is not a quality of a thing, but is a mental estimate of its usefulness. It is an accident depending upon some person wanting it. Value is never intrinsic, but is always extrinsic; it is a relation between a living being and a thing. A thing may have immense value one day and none the next, or to one person and not to another. Gold is a commodity; we buy it with other commodities. When commodities are dear gold is cheap. If the purchasing power of gold could be "fixed," then likewise could the value of all other commodities be "fixed," and we would need no market reports.

Speculative booms hurt many people both in advancing and receding. The present sham has a crop of failures, as shown in R. G. Dunn's Weekly Review of July 14, 1900, which speaks of "the commercial disasters as yet resulting from an amazing rise of prices in 1899." It is certain that prices will not remain high permanently. The natural decline will cause a wild scramble to unload; and, to realize on "debt obligations," panic and a business wreck will probably result.

This great rise in prices has several causes, and, as this condition is called "Prosperity," it will be in order to analyze them. What caused this "amazing rise of prices"? A leading cause has been named—the inflation of bank credits. The next is the power of trusts, under the Dingley tariff act of 1897, to force prices upward. An exact transcript from our market reports shows that in 1899 there was an average advance of 43 per cent. in the prices of all the leading articles of trade made and controlled by trusts.

The Year Book of the Department of Agriculture for 1899 shows that "Prosperity" is not shared by the farmers; that farm products and farm animals in 1899, although vastly increased in quantity since 1890, had fallen off in value to the extent of $706,967,971. If the leading farm products of 1899 had brought the same prices as did the same products in 1890, they would have brought to the farmers more than they did by

the sum of $2,609,437,584, an amount greater than all the money in the United States to-day. Perhaps the intelligent voting farmer may not appreciate this one-sided "prosperity." He is not in the present boom excepting that he must pay more for what he buys; wages have not increased, while the wage-earner's cost of living has shown an "amazing rise in prices."

Another cause of the boom is the Cuban and Philippine wars. War stimulates production and causes higher prices and speculation. Large numbers of workers being withdrawn for military service, there ensues an active demand for laborers, not only to fill the places made vacant but to produce a vast amount of supplies—clothing, food, munitions, arms, etc.—in addition to the ordinary demand. Merchants and speculators buy with all their cash and all their credit for a rise, and vast sums of money are expended for war purposes—money borrowed from the future.

As to the tariff, it protects only capital. Farm products and labor are sold in competition with all the world. Wages in all countries are regulated by the power of capital and the price of land. Germany has a high protective tariff and low wages. A tariff that excludes imports produces no revenue, but puts an increased amount into the pockets of home capitalists. The tariff laws are intended to force the "pauper labor" of Europe to come here. The system of laws that made paupers of the masses of Europe will make paupers in the United States.

Another cause of the boom is the influx of a tremendously increased production of gold. From 1880 to 1890 the average production annually was $105,589,200. Each year since then has shown an average output of $206,001,063, and in 1899 the yield was $312,307,819. That the purchasing power or value of gold is declining in the world's commerce is proved by the advance of the commodity-index number of the London *Economist* from 1,885 in July, 1897, to 2,240 in April, 1900. Silver is advancing while gold is cheapening.

Still another cause is the free loan or deposit, by the United States Treasury, given to national banks in all the States, of vast sums of money.

Many things contributed to the depression of business during Mr. Cleveland's administration. Natural reaction would make times more prosperous. It is unfair to say *he* caused the depression. At any rate, he was the idol of the Republican party and was repudiated by the Democrats. He was a strong advocate of the single gold standard, and with political friends is supposed to have voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896.

But none of these causes are such that the party in power can fairly claim any credit for them. The recent financial act of Congress has not yet had time to show results. It gives the whole money system over into the hands of private citizens who own banks. They will work in their own interests. They are lenders; the people are borrowers. Their interests, therefore, are opposite.

If this Republic is not to go down, as did the ancient republics, from human greed, we must abolish banks of issue. Issuing money is a function of government, and should not be delegated to citizens. We have no more need of national banks than we have for national farms, stores, or blacksmith shops. We should have United States postal savings banks. We must place corporations under general laws, making them useful to society, their charters conditioned upon obeying provisions regulating stock issues and transfers, official salaries, employees' wages and tenure of employment, dividends, etc.

To be a true Republic, the people should vote periodically upon public questions directly, without the intervention of parties or candidates, the results to be binding instructions upon legislative servants, many of whom now imagine they are rulers. We are ruled by parties, and the parties by a few men. We must vote for things we despise in order to vote for the dominant idea in a platform. In fact, we vote for men, not ideas, and the men do as they please. The sentiment of the people rarely becomes crystallized into law. If they could vote periodically upon public questions, for or against a policy or doctrine directly, the trade of the trickster and political boss would be gone, and we would have justice; for the great common people are honest at heart. Direct legislation alone will

save this Republic. To form a new party to fight a particular evil is to disfranchise ourselves.

The ideal money of science is coined credit, but it should be the credit of the nation itself, limited to an ample *per capita* amount, remaining steady, a full legal tender, not redeemable in any commodity, to be issued for value received in services or supplies given the nation by the individual and receivable by the nation for taxes, postage, land, or any payment due the government. This is better redemption than coin redemption, which is a myth and a fraud, impossible and dangerous. Careful economic writers have proved that the price of gold, if demonetized the world over, would sink to near the price of copper. Its value as money is not a commodity value, but is a fiat (or forced) value because it is made a legal tender. Benjamin Franklin, the great American philosopher, said that a pound of gold is not worth to man as much as a pound of iron. Gold is very limited in quantity. It is a commodity, and cannot fix the prices of other commodities. Fiat is folly as applied to a material thing, but is the only thing that can make real money, which is not material, but a legal power, and may be stamped on anything.

The gold system means a credit, debt, and interest system. With a scientific money, values would be more stable, not placed upon an exportable basis. Money, even gold coin, is not value, but an evidence of credit. We should do business on a cash basis. Banks should be required not to lend their depositors money, and not to inflate values by simply lending credit. We might then have real "confidence"—that booms and depressions could not be forced upon us for speculation.

Our nation has before it a worthy task—to develop our people and our resources—and should disdain to rule unwilling subjects or get gain by conquest. Let the bankers and the politicians remember the fate of the toad in Æsop's fables. The toad was both an inflationist and an expansionist, and in trying to appear as big as the bull he puffed himself up with *air* until he burst.

HIRAM MAINE.

*Indianapolis, Ind.*

## TRANSPORTATION OF THE WORLD'S WHEAT CROP.

THE extensive famine in India, at a time when there is a plenitude of food products in many other parts of the civilized world, emphasizes a feature of the grain problem that is frequently overlooked by statistical writers. Those who predict a scarcity of food in the near future through the exhaustion of available wheat-growing areas lay more emphasis upon the problem of the agriculturists in cultivating their crops on profitable lands than upon the difficulties of the transportation companies who have the work of distributing the grains to the markets of the world. In the whole story of the grain trade of this and other countries the problems of distribution have been far more important and significant than the scientific cultivation of the crops, and the future of the grain trade of the world will be determined largely by the success or failure of the transportation companies.

Scientific agriculture has almost reached the limit of its development, and it will not increase the grain supply of the world to any appreciable extent in North America. Modern methods of planting, cultivating, and harvesting have increased the acreage about fiftyfold in many regions, and decreased the cost of raising a bushel of wheat or corn proportionately. The improvement in seed wheat has proved a mighty factor in the problem, and the application of special fertilizers as the direct result of careful soil analysis has been only a little less important in increasing our annual harvest of grain. Science has gone so far in these directions that the limit of acreage production seems almost to have been reached, and not even the most optimistic expect such a further increase in this direction as to affect very materially the annual harvest.

The increase of the world's supply of grain must, then, come chiefly through the extension of the wheat fields into parts of the world not now cultivated. This involves the more serious

problem of transportation. In a general way it may be said that the wheat problem has always been dependent upon the transportation question. The two have developed simultaneously, and they must continue to do so.

Some interesting figures and facts are furnished by our own grain trade, and that of our great rival in South America, the Argentine Republic. Our great West was known to be an immense wheat and corn producing land long before it assumed any importance in the world as a food factor, and it was developed simply through the solution of the transportation problem. Locked inland by thousands of miles of untraversed land, the golden harvests of the great West might have rotted in the soil for centuries without benefiting the world. Until the products could be distributed to the consumers they were little better than nothing. The key to the situation was the discovery of some adequate transportation system to carry the grain to the seaboard.

Now the whole shifting of our wheat and corn belt has been due to the changes wrought in transportation facilities, and to-day the same struggle for better distribution of the grains of the world is going on. In colonial days the grains were raised chiefly on the seaboard, where they could be easily marketed; but with the opening of the Mississippi River the Western wheat belt received its first attention. The old river boats and barges could carry the cargoes of grain from the farms of the West to New Orleans, and thence they could be shipped by ocean steamer to other ports. This first opening of the grain fields of the West created such a change in the supplies of the East that the first of those many attempts to connect the Great Lakes with the Atlantic seaboard was discussed seriously, and finally ended in the projection and completion of the Erie canal. With the opening of this canal in 1825, the grain fields of the West received a boom that has since made a whole continent rich. The ever-increasing stream of golden grain from the interior has stimulated transportation companies to great efforts, and new routes have opened up other and wider areas of grain land. For half a century now

the grain traffic of the lakes has tried to burst the natural barriers placed between these inland bodies of water and the seaboard, and an all-water route is still the dream of capitalists, grain-growers, and land speculators. With the reduction in the cost of transporting the grain to the seaboard, the price of wheat in Europe could be reduced and the growers would be assured of much better returns for their labor and investments.

The shifting of the grain centers has been caused directly by the opening of new routes for distributing the products of the fields, and one has but to study transportation development in this country to read the story of the wheat and corn fields. With the great bulk of the Western grain traffic moving through the Erie canal to New York, the railroads extended their lines to Chicago and beyond and attempted to open new areas of grain land, and thus gain the trade from the lakes to the seaboard. So successful were the railroads that for a time the eastbound traffic was diverted to a large extent to more southerly points than New York. The struggle between the railroads and the canals to carry the great wheat and corn crops is bound to result in the minimum of cost for handling, and each decade finds the distributing facilities better for the producer and consumer.

The Northwestern wheat fields, with their boundless resources, have added millions of bushels to the world's harvests in the last ten years, and their potential wealth has been made of actual value only through the operation of the transportation companies. There are still immense wheat districts in the Northwest that have not yet been touched by the cultivators, and railroads are now pushing their way steadily toward them. The struggle to open up these new Northwestern fields is a vital one to the commerce of the world. When they can be brought nearer to the Atlantic seaboard by means of the Great Lakes and canals, and a new route shall have been constructed to carry the grain in bulk to Europe without breaking cargo, they will create a new revolution in the food question of the world. That this may be an actual accomplishment within

the next half century few engineers and capitalists question, and the time may be much nearer than we anticipate.

Meanwhile, North American grain farmers must enter seriously into competition with South America. For years the deficiencies of the wheat-eating countries were supplied by North America, and our exports have formed one of the greatest factors in our wealth. No countries in Europe, except Russia and Turkey, produce enough wheat to feed their own population. Russia has been exporting wheat largely, but often at the expense of its own inhabitants. Starvation and famine have stalked through Russia, as they now sweep across suffering India, while in many parts of the empire there was grain in abundance. Indeed, Russia exports wheat every year when thousands of its inhabitants are in actual need of it and on the verge of starvation. This is not due to greed, but simply to the lack of proper transportation and distributing facilities. No country is less closely welded together by railroads and steamship lines than Russia. She is a vast empire whose different parts have no means of knowing what the other sections are doing. She is undeveloped because she has not been properly equipped with transportation lines. Her wheat problems have consequently languished for ages without any chance of solution. When Russia is gridironed with railroads, as is our own country, she will become a more important factor in the food markets of the world than she is to-day. There are possibilities in her wide stretches of untilled wheat lands that need only the golden key of the engineer and railroad constructor to unlock.

The vastness of the Russian Empire, and the difficulties of connecting the inland wheat fields with the seaboards, have hampered the development of her farming, and the commercial world has turned its attention to South America. The little Argentine Republic within a decade becomes a dangerous rival to the United States as a wheat-producing country, simply because she has the natural advantages for easy transportation development. Following her lead, Chili, Brazil, Uruguay, and other South American countries are entering on the same

line of agriculture, and the exportable produce of South America amounts to millions of dollars to-day. The Argentine will probably export 75,000,000 bushels of wheat this year, and new land is coming into cultivation at a rapid rate all along the South American continent.

All the profitable wheat fields in South America are located along the coast, and there is hardly an important agricultural section more than two hundred or three hundred miles inland. The cost of inland transportation would be higher there than in this country, and the farmers could not enter into competition with wheat from the more northern countries. Most of the wheat is easily shipped direct from the cars to the ocean steamships, and thence transported to Europe. This cost of ocean freightage is naturally much higher than from the United States to Europe. There is little traffic from Europe to the Argentine, and the grain steamers have to return empty. If it were otherwise the United States could not hope to compete with the small South American republics.

The cost of raising wheat there is much smaller than in our own country, and the difference in the transportation rates equalizes matters so that the American farmer can make a living. To land a cargo of wheat from Buenos Ayres or Rosario at any European port costs from two to three times the amount paid by the American exporters. Land is cheaper in this great southern wheat district, labor one-half as high as in the United States, and the fertility of the soil so much better that crops can be raised without the application of fertilizers and with very little scientific cultivation. Italian laborers are thronging to the Argentine at the rate of 100,000 to 130,000 a year, and they are content with wages ranging from 50 cents to $1.50 a day. The rich grazing lands along the coast that formerly supported immense herds of cattle are now being planted with wheat and corn. At the present rate of development the South American supply of exportable wheat should nearly double in the next five years, and if crops are not seriously injured by hot winds, frosts, and locusts, the

United States will find a steady and dangerous competitor for the grain trade of Europe.

But here, too, the whole matter rests upon the development of transportation facilities and not upon the agriculturist. It will be a race for improving distributing agencies and not a question of developing the crops through modern scientific methods. The whole matter is taken out of the farmers' hands and placed in the keeping of those who build railroads, steamship lines, grain elevators, and implements for transporting goods. The grain farmer is to-day helpless to improve his condition. He cannot control or influence the prices offered for his goods, and he cannot even predict the future of his industry. The improvement of the wheat grower's lot in this or any other country will be absolutely dependent upon the activity, progressiveness, and success of those interested in developing the transportation possibilities of a country. The problem thus becomes one of engineering science, and it must be worked out along lines of competition that will enlist the best talent of the world.

Russia has already made the initial step in the building of her Trans-Siberian Railroad to improve her chances of opening up new grain fields to the marts of the world. This great railroad will in time become the central line for innumerable feeders that will come in all directions from the Russian grain fields. The farmers, then, with their surplus of grain, can sell to those in need of it in other parts of the country. The exports will increase proportionately, for there is no doubt that Russia could more than double her exports in a good year if she had the transportation facilities to collect the grain. Thoroughly equipped railroads, canals, and steamship lines penetrating wheat-growing districts do something more than merely carry the surplus crop to market. They stimulate the farmers to greater activity and induce them to extend and improve their acreage. Thus the crop multiplies rapidly, and activity takes the place of stagnation.

The South American countries have just awakened to the possibilities of their grain resources, and wealth that can so

readily be converted into cash is sure to attract a population that is none too progressive at the best. But there can be little further improvement in that direction until ocean freights can be brought down to a lower point, where the grain can enter more dangerously into competition with that from the United States. What would the effect be upon our wheat growers if fleets of large grain steamers should be built for the South American trade, capable, by virtue of their size and slow speed, to transport the grain to Europe at a substantial reduction from present cost? Or if perchance the exigencies of trade should make it possible for the grain steamers to return to the wheat fields with paying cargoes of merchandise needed in South America, what changes would this create in the profits of our grain farmers? These questions are serious enough to ask because their solution lies within the realm of possibility. Indeed there are indications that they are already under consideration, and they may be solved within the near future.

There is, of course, the same chance of improvement in transportation agencies in the United States, and no country in the world is more progressive in this respect. If the great Western wheat fields were distributed along our seaboard there would be no possibility of another country ever competing successfully with us in the grain markets of Europe; but with a thousand or two miles of inland transportation to overcome there are heavy freight charges to pay. By the time the wheat reaches the Atlantic coast its cost has been materially added to, and no low ocean charges can entirely overcome this disadvantage.

Europe produces more than one-half the wheat crop of the world, but her population is so dense that she consumes the world's whole surplus, and North and South America are virtually the only countries that have any wheat to export. Between these two great wheat-producing regions and the consumptive markets of Europe the bulk of the intercontinental wheat trade of the world is carried on, and the ocean transportation becomes the most vital in the future history of the wheat

problem. Australia is also entering the markets of Europe as a wheat producing and exporting country, and it may not be many years before that land will be a formidable competitor. Up to 1898 fully 95 per cent. of the wheat crop of the world was produced in the northern hemisphere, but the southern hemisphere looms up so rapidly as a new factor in the problem that past data furnish little for future prophecy.

The world's aggregate production of wheat in 1899 amounted to 2,725,407,000 bushels, and to distribute this immense crop to the consuming public has enlisted the best talent and skill of the age. Yet so insufficient are the transportation and distributing agencies that parts of the world were without adequate food, while other lands had more than an abundance. The problem of the wheat grower is to maintain prices and to raise sufficient crops to realize a good profit on his commodity. He cannot create the markets, nor can he open up new fields of wheat land in distant parts of the country. When the distributing agencies find new markets for his wheat, prices will advance, unless there is a corresponding extension of the wheat fields in new regions. The regulation of prices of wheat thus falls more into the hands of the transportation companies than into those of the producer.

This fact is particularly emphasized to-day in the efforts being made to open a new market for our wheat in the Orient. The wheat fields of the northwestern coast of this country have been developed with less energy and interest than those of the central west, because of the enormous distance from the Atlantic seaboard. The heavy land charges robbed the farmers of nearly all their profits. Northwestern wheat in seasons of good crops could not be sold in New York or Europe at a profit, and during seasons of low prices considerable of the wheat was used as food for animals and farm stock. But if the Oriental countries can be induced to eat more wheat the northwestern farmers will have a new market opened to them that will suddenly enhance the value of their farms. The attempt to introduce and popularize American wheat in the Orient will at least be made, and the transportation facilities for carrying

grain cargoes across the Pacific at the lowest possible cost are now hurrying to completion. This is a forcible illustration of how the distributive forces are the real factors in the wheat and grain problem of the day.

With proper carrying and distributive facilities all over the world, famines such as that in India would become impossible. The granaries of the world are large enough to feed all the population of every country, but their fulness is of little use to a people a thousand miles away from any adequate transportation line. The engineer and railroad and steamship constructor have a duty to fulfil in the near future that will save the lives of millions from starvation. Unless transportation facilities keep pace with the increase of population of any country, famine is sure to come the first season there is a local crop failure. Crops do not fail in all parts of the world at once, and one great section should be united with all others so that it could easily pour its wealth of food into any other region where famine threatened. This necessitates, however, the gridironing of every populous land with railroads and canals, and the intersection of every great ocean and body of water with steamship lines. With the subjection of the half-civilized nations of the world to European or American rule there comes the new responsibility of feeding them. It is another part of the "white man's burden" that the morality and ethics of civilization demand that we shall assume.

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH.

*New York.*

## A CHRISTIAN HANDICAP.

IN five Monday papers, lying before me, representing four cities, are reports of seven sermons, by popular preachers, on Ruth the Moabitess. And the world is fainting, dying, wanting God! Are no women of the *Christian* era to be found, beautiful of character, worthy for example, pure in purpose toward God, steadfast in faithfulness toward men, that the Christian Church must suffer this periodical panegyric over Ruth and Portia? We have endured it now over ten years, at the first intimation of approach of the annual conventions of the various societies of women who have so largely helped to make this world a better place to live in. When shall benediction become more fashionable than cursing? Alas that the "desire to damn" doth still stand a dominating influence in Christian civilization! Can it be that the churches, as well as the people outside, are playing a blind game of "follow the leader"?

Some years ago I stood on the wharf at Point-du-Chene, New Brunswick, waiting for the steamboat to Prince Edward Island, while, before the human freight could be taken aboard, a cargo of sheep was landing. There was a clean and straight path up the wharf to the stock-yards, but the unaccustomed scene and noise had produced a panic among the sheep, which stood, evidently, waiting for their leader to decide upon the move. At last he started, but, instead of taking the straight road, ran from side to side, jumping over planks and barrels in his turnings, until, appalled at a pile of packing-boxes, he stopped and bleated. Every sheep in the flock followed. And there they huddled in terror till driven out by the drover's whip.

Just twelve months passed and I watched an agitated crowd collect at Printing House Square, New York City, in the twinkling of an eye. A gentleman in a white tie and a black coat, as he came out of the Post-office, imagined he saw some-

thing unusual in the sky, and stood for a moment steadfastly looking up into heaven. Immediately traffic was suspended and even street-cars, for the time, stayed, because every man and boy within hailing distance rushed to gaze at the wonderful—whatever it might be. And several policemen were required to disperse the crowd.

Not many weeks afterward, during a strike in the city of London, I suddenly found myself in the midst of a dangerous mob, excited almost to frenzy by the harangue of a street preacher against the capitalist—a mob that would have meant plunder and bloodshed but for the promptitude and courage of Mrs. Ashton Dilke, who, though a social leader and in elegant visiting attire, stood erect in her carriage and, with clear, even tones, clean-cut argument, scathing denunciation, and ingenuity of praise for their manhood, caught the attention and calmed the temper of that surging throng of hungry men.

Within the last few years a panic has stricken society. Another gentleman in a black coat and white tie—a celebrated American divine, who wields also a large influence across the sea, as he stood, himself the prince of lofty idealists, ever looking up into heaven—has seen a mirage. The busy woman of to-day—with her deeper interest in humanity and larger knowledge of its pain and need, with higher purpose for her home, herself, and her world, which her broader education and more practical religious training have brought her—has become reflected in his sky. And, like the mountain to the man on the prairie or the distant port to the voyager across the North Sea, she is reflected upside down. Instantly he sounded the alarm and gathered an excited crowd, from Occident to Orient, to shout itself hoarse over "The New Woman" and demand a reversal of herself—till I can but think of the London riot, the human blockade at Printing House Square, and the sheep at Point-du-Chene.

The other day a well-known journal told of a funny man who inquired of a wit, "Don't you feel tired of the new woman?" To which the reply promptly came, "Not nearly so

tired of her as of the folk who are talking about her." And surely the reading public must have begun to feel just about that way. For this "new woman," as discussed for ten years by both pulpit and press, does not exist.

Is the Church also suffering so severe astigmatism that it cannot discern the very evident fact that the woman who has affected the anathematized mannerisms and mannishness—the arms akimbo, the cigarette, the bloomer, and most enthusiastically the bicycle and golf—is not the woman with outside interests, but is among those who prate most persistently of "woman's sphere;"—a very old woman indeed, with surplus energy, plenty of time on her hands, and little to do? In fact, she is "in society," and is the same woman that used to dote on embroidery and impossible birds and animals executed in crewels. And, fortunately for herself and the world, both to-day and to-morrow, cycling and golf are infinitely more conducive to health than was the embroidery frame.

Has sin ceased in the world, that the pulpit must seek out a *fin-de-siècle* fad from the comic almanac for its anathema? Is the world so happy or the way of life so easy for women to-day that misrepresentation and ridicule, even from men on whom the Church has laid holy hands, are necessary in order to teach us faith in God? So far as some of the Protestant leaders are concerned, in this desperate attempt to beat woman back into "her place"—from which she has never stepped—their sword-thrusts fall harmless because of their incomparable insult to the mothers of men, reflecting, as they of necessity do, foul stain upon the character of that Virgin Mother whose memory for nineteen centuries the world has held dear, while the benediction of her Child has eased its pain. But the persistent—I do not say wilful—misrepresentation, on the part of the clergy, leaders of thought in all the churches, whatever their creed, from the austere Cardinal to the least known preacher of the country circuit, has meant incalculable degradation of womanhood in the minds of men and consequent hurt to the world; for, where the thought toward woman is petty, righteousness and truth are never at a premium.

The pulpit is still a mighty power on the earth; it wields a tremendous influence for the help or hurt of any cause. Let it, therefore, stop for a while in its singing and praying and philosophizing and get down to the lifting or the bearing of humanity's cross. Let the clergy close the book of theological dogma and open their hearts to the present pain of the world and their ears to its ceaseless moan. Let their eyes become wide to see women, as well as men, staggering under burdens too great for them, and doomed, like the Israelite of old, to the telling of the due tales of bricks even without straw. Let them learn the meaning of children—born into this world cursed with evil inheritance, and from birth with evil environment—for whom the world and the Church have thus far provided only a policeman and a prison cell. Let them, under present social and political conditions, live with the multitude and not apart from it; and they will find neither time nor place for the idealizing (to the women of the last decade of the nineteenth century) of Ruth, with her questionable methods of husband-hunting, or of Portia, with her equally questionable method of selection. But there will be, rather, the cordial joining of hands with both men and women who, down among the masses, are valiantly fighting for better social and political conditions for the "submerged" multitudes of America, working against prejudice and laughter, for a higher and happier life right here in this world, believing and teaching that "the kingdom of heaven is within you."

Then and not till then shall the "Church Universal" have the right to sing, with Simeon, her *Nunc Dimittis;* and she will be so busy, while singing it, that her priests, having learned the Fatherhood of God, and that other divine principle, the Brotherhood of Man, shall forget to question what sort of petticoats either the "old" or the "new" woman is wearing. Then shall the Sunday service be so full of God himself that there will be no room, either in soul or sermon, for such discussions.

ELIZABETH STARR-MARTIN.

*London, England.*

# A CONVERSATION

WITH

## ELIZABETH MORRISON BOYNTON HARBERT

ON

## THE GENESIS, AIM, AND SCOPE OF THE WORLD'S UNITY LEAGUE.

By B. O. Flower.

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Q. Mrs. Harbert, will you kindly tell our readers something about the World's Unity League—its genesis, aim, and scope? In the first place, when was it organized, and who were the chief promoters?

A. Reflecting for a moment in order to reply succinctly and accurately to your question, two pictures seem to flash across the mental canvas. These pictures seem to be symbolic of the dual yet universal nature of the methods of procedure adopted by the League, and suggestive of the question, Are there not always two rivulets of thought and action before we obtain a strong current of influence? These are the pictures: The first, framed by the clustering hills of one of the most beautiful regions of the great State of New York, outlines the boyhood home of the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, President of "The World's Congress Auxiliary" of 1893, of which the World's Parliament of Religions was so notable a feature. May I give you, as an outline, Mr. Bonney's own words?—

"During the organization and conduct of the World's Congresses of 1893, I was led to feel that all my life had been a preparation for that work, and that in a thousand ways provision had been made for its extraordinary needs. The beginning of the preparation was in the Sunday-school on Bonney Hill, New York—a hill overlooking the village of Hamilton from the south, the entire landscape being worthy of repro-

duction in story and song. While attending that Sunday-school I became deeply interested in what is now known as the science of comparative religions. One of the newspapers taken by my father published a series of nearly fifty articles under the title, 'Religions of the World.' A few of the subjects will indicate the scope of the treatment: 'The Religion of the Druses,' 'The Religion of the Siamese,' 'The Creeds of the Negroes.' Another series of articles in the same paper that greatly delighted me was entitled, 'The World's Reformers.' This series included essays on Plato, Confucius, Zoroaster, and other great leaders."

As a result of his thoughtful gleaning through these fruitful fields, a rich harvest of facts and suggestions was presented, and enjoyed each succeeding Sabbath at the Sunday-school, where young Charles Bonney met a number of theological students from the adjacent seminary.

The second picture is that of the home of the poet-sisters, Alice and Phœbe Cary, of whom our beloved Whittier thus wrote:

"Alice and Phœbe Cary!
Who from the farm-field singing came
The song whose echo now is fame;
And to the great, false city took
The honest hearts of 'Clovernook';
And made their home beside the sea,
The trysting-place of Liberty."

Of the influences radiating from that home (which for fifteen years was the Truth-seekers' Salon), Rev. Charles Deems gives a delightful summary in a paragraph. May I repeat it to you?—

"Of the spiritual teachers all are welcome at any time, from the Roman Catholic John Jerome Hughes to the eloquent Universalist Chapin and the adjective-yet-to-be-discovered Frothingham. There is Horace Greeley, perhaps especially enjoying the famous Quaker sermon which Oliver Johnson of the 'Independent' is telling; Edwin Whipple, Samuel Bowles of the 'Springfield Republican,' Justin McCarthy of the 'London Morning Star,' Dr. Field of the 'Evangelist,' Mr. Elliott and Mr. Perry of the 'Home Journal,' Whitelaw Reid of the 'Tribune,' and, last but not least, Robert Bonner of the 'Ledger.' And then what women have been in that house! Elizabeth

Cady Stanton, quiet, self-poised, 'lady-like'—for she *is* a lady, and, except Henry Clay of Kentucky and Edward Stanley, the best presiding officer I have ever seen; Mary L. Booth, Mary E. Dodge, Mrs. Croly, Mary Ann Johnson, Julia Dean, Mrs. Bayard Taylor, Elizabeth Stoddard, etc. The house of the Cary sisters is a Pantheon, a polytechnic institute, a room of the committee on reconstruction, a gathering-place for the ecclesiastical and political Happy Family. This is a circle where everybody thinks, but nobody is tabooed for what he thinks."

These, together with other unnumbered rills of brave thinking and true living, converged into that mighty river (or gulf stream) of influence known as The World's Parliament of Religions. Do we not find here additional reasons for believing that both the masculine and feminine methods must be adopted and utilized before we can secure the miracle of unity or the paradise of harmony?

During one of the inspiring days of the great "Parliament," a *vision splendid* of an all-inclusive, free, world-wide Federation for the development and promotion of Love, Wisdom, Beauty, and Joy resulted in a letter that was addressed: "To Truth-seekers, everywhere." This letter was placed in Mr. Bonney's hands, and subsequently the writer was requested by him to assist in a series of conferences whose object should be the discussion and promotion of the suggestions therein contained.

You will understand, Mr. Flower, with your hospitality to all earnest thought and spiritual development, when I say that from the inception of this movement it was evident that the work was to be evolved by the most natural methods, and, like the processes of Nature, its foundations were to be laid without observation, since there was need that its roots should grow downward before its branches could grow upward. The rootlets of Love and Wisdom must ever be vigorous and strong before the divine blossoms and fruitage of Beauty and Joy can unfold. All service was to be voluntary; no membership fees were to be required; while, in order to maintain the spiritual equilibrium so easily disturbed by personal ambition or love of power, the respective secretaries (as soon as they could be

secured, in different countries) were to alternate in presiding at the national and international conferences. No efforts at proselyting were to be made. The aims and objects of the League were to be made known in the hope that all *who were ready* would approve the methods and welcome this new opportunity for service.

Q. In the fewest possible words, Mrs. Harbert, will you give us the scope and objects sought to be furthered by the League?

A. The prime object was to utilize the great, unused force of Friendship; to recognize the familyhood of the Creator and the created; to secure a Bond of Union and means of co-operation between all individuals and associations who desire to promote love, wisdom, beauty, and joy throughout the world. In other words, the object was and is to promote the unification of and thus add strength to all forces that affect the peace, freedom, usefulness, and happiness of humanity—whether these forces be scientific, artistic, industrial, ethical, mental, or spiritual.

You may remember that Mr. Bonney had emphasized in his opening address before the "World's Congress Auxiliary" that "we would unite in international associations the devotees of every branch of learning, the disciples of every virtue, the supporters of every reform—that wherever, in any part of the world, a friend of man follows the path of duty, we would have him feel that he has the sympathy of those who in other lands follow the same pursuit." As an initial step toward co-relating such workers and dreamers and thinkers, the following strong yet elastic bond of union was adopted, and signed by men and women representative of many countries, races, and sects:

*"Recognizing the solidarity and interdependence of humanity, we will welcome light from every source, earnestly desiring to grow in knowledge of Truth and the spirit of Love, and to manifest the same by helpful service."*

Subsequent to the adjournment of the "World's Congress Auxiliary" (which did not adjourn *sine die*, but as a "World-wide Fraternity of Learning and Virtue"), several joint meet-

ings were held by the two committees appointed by Mr. Bonney. The Man's Committee adopted the name of "The World's Religious Parliament Extension," and adopted as their motto, " 'Come, now, and let us reason together,' saith the Lord." Professor Paul Carus, the secretary, in a most interesting report says: "The purpose of the Parliament is presentation, not controversy. Its aim is not to decide what is religious truth, but to make investigation and impartial comparison possible for all who would know the truth. The secret of the success of the Chicago Parliament of Religions was in the strict adherence to the rule that the various delegates should, without any attack upon other religions, state what they regarded as most essential and valuable in their own faith." The friends of the Parliament trust that Truth can take care of itself, and heartily echo Milton's question, "Whoever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" However, I must not wander in this enticing field.

The Women's Committee took the name of "The World's Unity League," and adopted as their rallying cry, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." As the *vision splendid* clearly revealed the interrelation of all interests and of all life, its scope necessarily broadened; hence, to secure "two heads in council" in each department, twelve men and twelve women were appointed as a "Committee of Organization." When similar committees are secured in other countries it is proposed, as already stated, that their respective chairmen shall alternate at the official conferences. Many most interesting conferences have been held; among the most notable were one extending for an entire week at Lake Geneva, Wis., and others at Evanston, Ill. One special meeting was called in conference with Mr. James H. Herne, in the interest of the drama, the main subject of thought being, "How to secure pure, elevating, joy-giving plays to the masses." Two interesting conferences and public meetings were held in the interest of Peace and Arbitration; and a largely attended mass-meeting in the Auditorium, Chicago, afforded additional proof of continued interest in the work.

In response to a question I submitted to Mr. Bonney a few

days ago as to what phases of our many-sided work he considered the most important, he promptly answered:

"Two. First, the constructive nature of its methods—that, whereas in the past much time and strength have been given to the work of emphasizing points of controversy and conflict, our object is to ascertain and make known the grounds of union in the language, literature, domestic life, religion, science, art, and civil institutions of different peoples, confident that the whole world will be astonished and delighted to find how abundant the grounds of such union are and how easily they may be utilized in the cause of peace and progress. Secondly, I would emphasize the helpful response of the press in all sections of our country to the earnest appeal set afloat by your committee of organization in regard to the moral and ethical value of national festivals, together with practical suggestions and a tentative program for a moral, ethical, and humane celebration of our most distinctively national holiday, the Fourth of July."

Just what was this appeal, do you ask? First, clergymen of all sects were requested to preach at least one sermon each year upon the great heroes of Peace—the explorers, scientists, educators, statesmen, and humanitarians. An appeal was made to transform the noise of our patriotic holiday into harmony. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and newspaper articles printed, from one of which I quote, in the hope that you will accord it space in THE ARENA, in view of the great need of altruistic coöperation upon this subject:

*"To All Lovers of Their Country.*

"Our Fathers gave to the world a great ideal when, in the Declaration of Independence, they made immortal the statement that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the divine right of all. The World's Unity League suggests that the time is now at hand for a more inclusive statement, and that the ideal of our day shall be formulated in a *Declaration of Interdependence,* which shall do more for our social and spiritual education than even the former statement has done in the past. With this in view, we invite your attention to the consideration of a 'New Fourth of July.' We plead for a better and holier use of our greatest national holiday, believing that by this means a broader patriotism shall be stimulated. We

believe this great festival, ransomed from noise and confusion and translated into harmony and beauty, may be made a most valuable factor for the building of a better citizenship. Rejoicing in the beneficence of those who labor in every field of endeavor for the uplift of humanity, we recommend a greater recognition of the world's Moral Heroes. As an initial step in such a movement, we offer the following suggestions for a possible

"PROGRAM.

*"June 3.*

"3 P. M.—Meetings in churches, school-houses, court-houses, and other public buildings, for the purpose of selecting committees of arrangements and taking preliminary action.

*"July 4.*

"SUNRISE.—Bands play the national airs, and so far as possible intertwine the flags of all nations at all convenient places.

"10 A. M.—Meetings in churches, school-houses, court-houses, and other public places. Exercises include orations on the meaning of the day or other appropriate themes; emphasizing the blessings of peace, the vital importance of free speech and a free press, the dignity of labor, the joy of service, the value of freedom, and especially the solidarity and interdependence of mankind; also the singing of national songs and appropriate hymns and anthems.

"AFTERNOON.—Social reunions, and games of various kinds.

"8 P. M.—Illuminations strictly in charge of the public authorities, with safeguards against accidents of every kind.

"In order to secure the success of so great a change in our methods of celebration it will require general interest and co-operation. To this end the World's Unity League invites your most earnest effort, by way of suggestion, to promote the cause."

If your attention has not been called to the startling results of our present method of celebrating the Fourth of July, please turn to files of your Boston papers of the fifth of last July for the list of casualties of the preceding day. I think there were sixty persons sent to one hospital. Add to the number of accidents in your well-disciplined city those in every other city, town, and hamlet in the country, and I am sure you will realize

the need of this work. Two years ago a collector of statistics reported to one of our Western journals that on the Fourth of July of that year more persons were wounded, maimed, and killed than upon any one day of our civil war.

"Festivals develop enthusiasm, which is the presence of the divine ardor within the soul." What festivals can we devise in grateful recognition of the inspiring fact that the hitherto apparently divergent or individual notes of science, art, education, industry, and religion are rapidly converging into a universal diapason of joy and inspiration that shall promote the harmony of all peoples? Our committees are endeavoring to emphasize the power and ministry of music and beauty and to teach the sacred use of the most potent agency awaiting the unselfish and the altruistic—the power of imaging, loving, constructive thought. We would unite our efforts to the end that every printed page, whether of chart, school manual, Sabbath-school book, daily journal, or periodical may bear a message of beauty and prove a potent factor in the work of removing fear from the hearts of the children—that they may freely enjoy their rightful inheritance of "the good, the beautiful, and the true." Conscious of the potency of vibrations of faith and love, let us sing with and for the children such glad songs of hope, courage, truth, and love that they may become as joy-bells in the universe.

The children! Mr. Flower, allow me to emphasize one more feature of our work. It is this: to arouse the parenthood of the world and to enlist universal aid in the vitally important work of securing opportunity of development, opportunity of service, and opportunity of happiness for every child of every race. You can readily see that in so universal an organization there must be great liberty of action, as also care taken not to involve individual members in radical measures; hence, I cannot report certain maturing plans for the amelioration of childhood until they have been submitted to a general conference. However, as in our own country all must admit that in a government whose integral units compose the *sovereign people,* whatsoever of health, industry, harmony, beauty, science, knowledge,

wisdom, and love may be developed in the children of to-day will reappear in the vigor, prosperity, peace, art, inventions, literature, laws, and religion of to-morrow; that in the children of this generation inheres the civilization of the next. There is a best method of education, a best method of home-making, a best method of governing, a best method of working, a best method of playing, a best method of worshiping. There is time enough, strength enough, love enough, wisdom enough for this divine work of forging a strong yet elastic bond, which will encircle the world.

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. Flower.

## AN EARNEST WORD TO YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA.

We are standing on the threshold of a new century. In a certain sense we may be said to be at the parting of the ways. The principles of justice, freedom, and fraternity upon which our fathers builded require additional measures for their preservation—measures to meet the changed conditions of the present. A serious duty devolves upon us. The voice of conscience warns us to be true to the highest principles and loyal to the ideal of free government. Happy will it be for future generations if we stand unswervingly for the right and in this crisis exhibit the same spirit of unselfish devotion which made this Republic possible; and before considering the new demands let us glance for a moment at the last century of our nation's history—a century that has proved an inspiration to civilization.

The founders of our government entered upon a bold experiment. With a superb faith in human nature and with a daring that have alarmed the royalty and the aristocracy and have inspired the masses of Europe ever since, they established a State which at that time was the nearest approach to a government of the people, by the people, and for the people that civilization had known. For many years it was the glory of the New World that it was a leader on the highway of progress, not a camp-follower among the nations. The Republic possessed the faith, the confidence, and the determination of youth, and for nearly a century it was the hope of the downtrodden everywhere, the ideal of the truest statesmen the world over.

Our fathers laid the foundations of our government with wisdom. They met the demands of society in their day in a comprehensive and satisfying way. Far more than this they did: in the Declaration of Independence they boldly took issue with the old theories of government and enunciated the funda-

mental and vital truths for which free government must stand, while they sought to bulwark the principles of the Declaration and to preserve against dangers that might come before the Republic became a great and recognized fact the ideals for which the bravest sons of the New World had cheerfully laid down their lives. So long as the nation remained free and independent; so long as it insisted upon doing what was right and upon being faithful to the ideal of the fathers; so long as it dared evince the same faith in the people that Washington and Jefferson had evinced, the Republic moved forward with stately and commanding tread. In Europe the example set by the United States took firm hold on the popular imagination; while in the New World Toussaint L'Ouverture, the greatest of black men, and Simon Bolivar and Sam Martin, the noble Spanish Creole leaders, became the Washingtons respectively of Hayti and of the Spanish-American States, and republic upon republic rose on the ashes of despotic rule.

After our civil war the spirit of timid conventionalism began to manifest itself in the Republic. This spirit was not very marked at first, but year by year statesmen, the press, and to a great degree the nation began to lose something of the old robust independence and fearlessness. As a people we began to lose the faculty of taking the initiative. We began to look backward and over seas. We grew to demand precedents. Whenever, in order to preserve free government of, by, and for the people, any new proposal was made to meet new emergencies and new conditions, instead of demanding whether it were just and right, whether it were in perfect accord with the fundamental demand of equal opportunities for all and special privileges for none, and whether it would conserve the happiness and prosperity of the whole people, statesmen and the press were sure to ask if the proposed measure had ever been tried in the Old World, or where and at what time in the past it had been successfully introduced elsewhere; and if no satisfactory answers to this question were forthcoming, the measure was almost certain to be adjudged dangerous. Thus to-day we are brought face to face with the melancholy spectacle of that Republic which was once the glorious representative of free government, the bold initiator, and the leader of Liberty's hosts, falling behind monarchies and other foreign States in the march of progress. While, for example, Switzerland long since successfully introduced the initiative, the referendum, and the imperative mandate; while England has for

years enjoyed a wise and salutary income-and-inheritance tax; while France, Belgium, Great Britain, and other European countries have carried into wonderfully successful operation the postal savings banks; while governmental ownership of telegraphs and of railways has proved a blessing to many peoples; while municipal ownership of natural monopolies, postal parcel-delivery, and numerous other salutary reforms have been successfully introduced across the Atlantic; and while New Zealand has made great strides toward furthering the happiness and prosperity of every citizen (reforms that include governmental ownership of natural monopolies, compulsory arbitration, and old-age pensions)—the Republic has halted when measures have been demanded that were completely in harmony with the spirit that dominated the nation at its birth.

To-day we are confronting new conditions, which make stern demands upon the statesmanship, upon the wisdom, and upon the conscience of the nation. The century that is closing has witnessed so many and so marvelous changes that it is no exaggeration to say that we are living in what is indeed, in a more modern and additional sense, a new world. Science, discovery, and invention have wrought wonders that even the most daring imagination of a hundred years ago could not have conceived of as possible; and this changed order has affected life in all its ramifications. It becomes necessary, therefore, to meet the new requirements with innovations that shall still keep society true to the spirit of free government; for, though the world of our fathers has passed away, the truths and the principles they enunciated remain—for they are immortal. The demand to-day, as in the beginning of the Republic, is for equal rights and justice for all—for the poorest, for the lowliest, and for the weakest, no less than for the richest, the most cultured, and the strongest—and for conditions that shall favor the growth and development of the highest side of man's nature. I believe that society has reached a stage when, sooner or later, the rights of the people will be successfuly asserted; but I am of the number of those who desire to see the ends of justice attained by peaceful and orderly means. We have slept over-long, and civilization will not hold us guiltless if we fail individually to do everything that lieth in our power to awaken the conscience of the nation and bring back the government to its old moorings, in which the interest of each shall be the concern of all. Perhaps little is to be expected from the majority of those who have passed the

meridian of life. Many of them have grown indifferent; others have lost the faith that is needed to win victories; the materialism of the market has paralyzed the imagination of many who are moving on the downward slope of life. But not so with the splendid youth of America. They represent a conscience force that, when aroused and brought to act in unison, will be invincible; and it is to the young men and women of the Republic that I would appeal. Let us agitate, educate, organize, and move forward, casting aside timidity and insisting that the Republic shall no longer lag behind in the march of progress. Let us be ready promptly to adopt the innovations of other nations which are in accord with the essential requirements of justice, freedom, and fraternity upon which free government rests, and let us also cease to demand precedents. Let us no longer wait for others to try that which changed conditions imperatively demand. It is no time for sleeping. A new century finds the Republic a laggard because class interests and special privileges have taken the place of concern for all, and to a great extent the faith of the nation, so conspicuous in its early days, has waned, while conscience has in a measure become anesthetized through the overmastering influence of commercialism. Upon us devolves a solemn duty —a mighty work. Shall we be worthy of the trust imposed upon us? Are we going to become active factors in furthering the progress of the world and in securing for the future the blessings of free government? This is the supreme question that confronts every young man and woman in America to-day.

* * *

## THREE MEN, AND WHAT THEY REPRESENTED.

### I.

In the recent deaths of Mr. C. P. Huntington, Lord Chief Justice Charles Russell, and Wilhelm Liebknecht, three distinctly and strikingly typical characters, well known throughout Western civilization, have passed from the stage of life. Broadly speaking, they may be said to have represented the spirit of the ruthless past, the more enlightened present, and the aspiration of the nobler future.

Mr. Huntington was a poor boy. He was thrifty, frugal,

and in other ways possessed very many commendable traits. In early manhood he started to the Pacific by way of the Isthmus. Before leaving he supplied himself with a well-filled pack of goods with which he traded and bartered *en route.* When he reached San Francisco he had a handsome little sum of money with which to begin life. Steadily and with one aim in view—a firm determination to acquire wealth—he pursued his way. In the course of time, largely through his personal efforts, the Southern Pacific Railway was builded. He became the controlling spirit of the corporation. His wealth grew with the years until at the time of his death his fortune amounted to between sixty and seventy million dollars.

Men have grown comparatively rich through faithfully attending to a legitimate business, while also being true to the exacting demands of the Golden Rule. These men have placed justice and humane sentiments above the mere acquisition of dollars, and their careers have been marked by a constantly evinced desire to lift their less fortunate brethren. They have instinctively shrunk from everything that would smack of wrong-doing; they have refused to rise over the prostrate form of a weaker brother. There is another and unhappily a very large class of men to-day, who have amassed large fortunes by pursuing a very different course—men who were absorbed in self and so dominated by a passion for gold or power that the finer qualities which exalt and ennoble life have been blunted and deadened. They represent in spirit, though by methods less direct, the ruthless past—the tragic time when the weak fell before the merciless hand of the strong. There are men to-day whose creed may be summed up in the words of *Iago,* "Put money in thy purse." The question as to how that money is to be obtained is a secondary consideration, if indeed it may be said seriously to enter into the calculations of those touched with money-madness. These men have scrupled not in their efforts to secure class laws, legislative privileges, and protection by which they have been enabled to grow fabulously rich and well-nigh all-powerful at the expense of millions of persons less well conditioned. The power of a monopoly or trust, as recently shown in the arbitrary rise in the price of sugar above figures which yielded a magnificent profit and by which the monopoly will be enabled to filch over $50,000,000 additional from the people in a single year, is a striking case in point, illustrating this baleful, essentially brutal and immoral spirit. The strong individual or corpo-

ration not infrequently crushes the weak in a manner so ruthless that its mere narration constitutes a somber tragedy. Such a tragedy, indeed, was enacted some years ago by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, when many industrious and tireless toilers of our Republic were evicted from the beautiful homes they had made in what before their advent was a wilderness. This passage in history, so graphically described by Colonel C. C. Post in his work, "Driven from Sea to Sea," affords another example of the ruthless spirit essentially akin to that which prevailed in the savage past. The famous Colton letters, written by the master spirit in the Southern Pacific Company, form probably the most astounding revelation ever made of how those who give themselves up wholly to the acquiring of gold or power are able to debauch government and the opinion-forming influences to such an extent that these apostles of greed become enormously rich at the expense of justice, humanity, and good morals. The cases we have cited are typical and illustrate the well-known fact that those who yield to this spirit frequently amass vast fortunes. Indeed, a strong and resolute mentality, which surrenders itself to the attainment of a single end and swerves neither to the right nor to the left in the pursuance of its object, seldom fails, though its progress may call to mind the ancient car of Juggernaut. And the going forth of one who has proved so colossal a failure, when judged by the standard of sound morals, is supremely tragic. Mr. Huntington belonged to this class.

## II.

Across the ocean, a short time after the passing of the great railroad magnate, occurred the death of Lord Chief Justice Charles Russell of England. He was typical of a great class. He may be said to have represented the ampler life of the present. This distinguished man, whom Justin McCarthy has recently characterized as "the greatest of English advocates and the greatest judge in the English law courts of our time," was a poor Irish boy. He went to London when a young man to practise law. He had no influential relatives or friends to give him a start or in any way aid him in the great metropolis. To many young men the outlook would have proved gloomy in the extreme. He, however, was not of the irresolute and doubting ones. He set out to win an honorable name. He desired to rise, but not at the expense of honor or at the cost

of the happiness of others. In this we see the wide gulf separating him from those ready to subordinate all else to wealth and power. By unyielding determination, untiring industry, strict integrity, and the force of his mental power, he rose over every obstacle in his pathway, ever holding his honor and what he felt to be the demands of justice and integrity high above the mire. "During his life at the bar," observes Mr. McCarthy, "he was engaged in almost every great cause that came before the courts." At length he entered the House of Commons, where he became one of Mr. Gladstone's most efficient supporters. His political life was characterized by fidelity to the principles he held to be right. Later he was elevated to the position of Lord Chief Justice, a position which he honorably and acceptably filled until his death.*

Lord Russell belonged to that class who prized above riches the approbation of their age and nation. He scorned to do anything he considered dishonorable, dishonest, or unjust. He craved a fame resting on a life of probity and honor; but he was not of the class who permit convictions of human progress and right to take such hold on the conscience as to lead them to break with the existing order. Men of Lord Russell's class, while they shrink from unjust acts and refuse to be gainers in power or wealth at the expense of others or of their good name, also refuse to incur the risk of prison, exile, or even popular ridicule, contempt, and obloquy, by fearlessly championing some great fundamental principle of right that is

*Lord Charles Russell was of an inquiring turn of mind, and though a Roman Catholic was sufficiently interested in palmistry not only to have his hand read, but to give to Cheiro, the famous palmist, the impression of his hand. The circumstances attending this were given to me by Cheiro a few years ago. One day while in London the palmist received a call from a gentleman who was an utter stranger to him and who evidently desired for the time being to veil his identity. "In reading his hand," said Cheiro, "I was impressed by an unusually strong fate line that ploughed through the hand. I received the impression that this man was destined to occupy the highest place, or one of the most exalted positions within the reach of an Englishman, and I said to him, 'I believe that before you die you will be Prime Minister of England or Lord Chief Justice of the realm.' He started and then seemed lost in thought for a few moments, but when he left he expressed his satisfaction at the reading, and added, 'Should the predictions you have made come true, you shall not only have my name, but I shall be willing to give you an impression of my hand.'" Shortly after Charles Russell was created Lord Chief Justice of England, and in the course of a few weeks Cheiro received a letter from him in which the writer referred to his visit and his promise. Cheiro accordingly secured the impression of Lord Russell's hand, which he later used in his widely circulated work on "The Language of the Hand."

unpopular and, if embraced, would bring with it social ostracism or political ruin.

Lord Russell may be said to have represented the spirit of the present day in contradistinction on the one hand to that of the ruthless past and on the other to the selfish spirit of the coming age—the spirit of the prophet nature, which consecrates life and all it holds dear to the service of humanity. When Lord Russell died all England mourned, though the grief was not so poignant in character as that which is felt when a near and dear friend leaves us. The nation felt that it had lost an illustrious son. The world said, "A great and good man has died."

## III.

In the life of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who also has recently passed into the beyond, we have an impressive illustration of the prophet of progress, into the very fabric of whose being the Golden Rule seems to be woven. For the cause of justice for the helpless and for the elevation of all the people such a one falters not in the face of ostracism, the prison cell, or even death. Wilhelm Liebknecht came on the stage of life when the example of our Republic was producing a profound impression on the peoples of Western Europe, and when the democratic ideal had taken firm hold on the imagination of the more daring of the youths of England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. He became a leader in the ill-starred revolution of 1848, and for the part he played was imprisoned. Later, while in exile in London, he chanced to read the social philosophy of Karl Marx. It seemed to him to promise a fundamentally just and thoroughly reasonable plan whereby the answer to the heart cry of the age for freedom, happiness, and normal development could be realized. He became an enthusiastic Socialist, and on returning to Germany in the early sixties he immediately became a leading spirit among the champions of industrial and political democracy.

He was one of the strongest writers on the *North German Gazette* until that paper became the organ of Bismarck. Then he founded a paper for the promulgation of his views, which soon became so aggressive and influential that it was suppressed, and the brave, brilliant, and scholarly editor was again sent to prison. A prison cell, however, does not dampen the ardor of one who has dedicated his life to the cause of justice

and freedom. His unjust imprisonment also greatly increased his strength with the people.

After his liberation he was elected to the Prussian legislature, where he was a constant thorn in the side of those who sought to place despotic power above justice and right. More than once the fearless legislator was marched to prison, but through storm and sunshine he worked tirelessly for the cause he loved. He did more than any other man of our generation, not even excepting Bebel, to further the cause of Socialism in Germany; while probably no man of this country has worked so persistently and effectively to inculcate the idea of universal brotherhood among the workers and break down the partition wall that has separated the industrial millions on account of nationalities.

The conviction that the progress of the race could be best achieved through industrial and political democracy, as embodied in Socialism, became more and more a fixed belief in the mind of Liebknecht. Hence he threw into his work all the power, zeal, and enthusiasm of his being. He feared not death, prison, nor ostracism, and though a university man he was a radical. He believed he was right. He felt he was working for the happiness and growth of the individual and the prosperity and perpetuity of society; and he counted all else as nothing beside the cause he believed to be holy and upon the success of which the happiness of the people depended. When he died tens of thousands of people wept. His funeral was one of the greatest popular demonstrations of recent years. More than 30,000 people marched to the grave, while the streets over which the procession passed were crowded with a vast multitude of sympathizing friends, variously estimated at between 100,000 and 130,000. It seemed as if all the poor of Berlin were out to do honor to the great man who thought more of justice for the lowliest than he cared for his own life.

The following extract published in a recent number of the *Literary Digest*, from the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, indicates something of the work accomplished by this great reformer:

"At the last elections in Germany, the Social Democrats polled more than 2,000,000 votes, more than 27 per cent. of all the votes polled; and they elected 18 per cent. of the members of the Reichstag. They form the strongest political party in Germany. This strength is the result of a generation of striving, and is due largely to the personality of one

man—Wilhelm Liebknecht. When, in 1864, he returned from exile in London to Germany, there were but a few thousands of organized workmen, who partly belonged to the Reform Party and partly owned allegiance to Lassalle. Four years later Liebknecht had won over Bebel and his following of workingmen. In 1864 he called a general conference at Nuremberg, at which 14,000 workingmen were represented, and where a new party—the Social-Democratic—was formed. That party is now recognized as the promulgator of the doctrines of Marx in Germany. A man who has founded a party of such strength, had led it for a generation, dictated its beliefs, prescribed its tactics and aims, has done that which must win the applause of even his bitterest antagonists."

## IV.

Here within a short period three thoroughly typical men passed from the stage of active life. One was thought to have prospered, and he left over $60,000,000 to be divided among four persons. One gained position, fame, and the applause of his nation, and left an honorable name destined to live on the pages of England's history. And one was sent to prison, driven into exile, and made to suffer much, and he was the constant target for ridicule and calumny from shallow conventionalism and alarmed despotism. But he was true to the highest demands of conscience; he placed the happiness of others above all thought of self when the cause of human brotherhood was in the balance; and when he died not only did thousands mourn as though a father or brother had gone from them, but he left behind an army of earnest, thoughtful young men and women who have caught his zeal, enthusiasm, and passion for justice, and who will carry on his work with renewed determination.

One does not have to agree with Liebknecht's social philosophy to entertain a profound admiration for the man who consecrated his life to further the happiness of his race and secure justice for the whole people; nor need one be a Socialist to see in this apostle of human brotherhood the same animating spirit that made luminous the life of Jesus and that has been present as the dominating influence in the lives of all those who through the ages have blazed the pathway for progress and lighted the watch-fires of justice, freedom, and civilization on the mountain slopes that lay before the race.

Our present life is only a moment compared with eternity, and those who believe that the universe is governed by law and that love and justice and freedom are eternal verities must esti-

mate the success or failure of a life in its larger relations, must consider not only its influence during life here, but that which will probably be exerted in the coming years and the standing of the individual in the audience-chamber of Eternal Justice. And with these factors in mind, which life, think you, best succeeded, and which most ignominiously failed? This is the question I would put to the conscience of the young men and women of our Republic, standing on the threshold of life and under the purple flush of the dawning twentieth century. In which of these divisions of humanity do you wish your lot to be cast? In which, think you, will it give you the most satisfaction to be found when the bell rings for your exit and the curtain falls? Will you stand with those who are ruthlessly battling for self under the shadow of the old-time spirit; or do you prefer to stand in the light of the dawning day; or will you league yourself with the morning and battle for progress, let the present results be what they may? Above all, in making your choice remember that to vacillate or to seek to compromise will result in failure all around. You cannot battle on two planes. You cannot serve light and darkness.

The call for lives consecrated to justice, freedom, and brotherhood was never more urgent than to-day. Two giant influences are fighting for supremacy. The materialism of the market and the spirit of progress are in conflict. Much depends on your decision. You, no matter how lowly, will influence other lives, and they in turn will influence many more. Not only is your own future, stretching through eternity, in the balance of your decision, but also the cause of others here and now and of many in the years that are yet to come.

* * *

## OUTLAWS MADE THROUGH CLASS LEGISLATION.

In a recent number of the *Medical Times,* under the title of "Christian Science Outlaws," the editor thus approvingly comments on the recent conviction of two Christian Scientists for attempting to save the lives of some believers in mental therapeutics, contrary to the medical restrictive laws of the State in which they resided:

"Two Christian Scientists have been found guilty of practising medicine in violation of State law in Wisconsin. Judge Allen, in his charge to the jury, quoted the decision of the

United States Supreme Court in the Mormon case, holding that a man's religion must be subordinate to the laws of the land, and that he must obey the laws of his particular State. This seems like sound common sense, and ought to be good law, but it will probably have no effect upon people who accept the dicta promulgated by this senseless sect."

We cannot agree with the *Times* that the decision "seems like sound common sense," or that it "ought to be good law." We believe that these medical restrictive laws, secured by an interested class and never asked for by the people, are unconstitutional as well as a clear infraction upon the rightful freedom of the citizens, in that they are compelling a large minority of as intelligent people as can be found in the State to employ physicians belonging to schools of practise in which they have no faith.

One of the greatest menaces confronting our people lies in the increasing number of special laws which are being constantly secured by interested classes. Through pernicious medical monopoly laws, representatives of one class, school, or theory are protected, and practitioners of other theories or schools who are not a whit less successful, and whose clientele is equally intelligent, are outlawed.

Let us suppose that the Roman Catholics, who greatly preponderate in Louisiana, secured the passage of a statute forbidding all citizens to eat meat on Fridays. Now, the physician who had a patient whose life might, according to the belief of the doctor, depend on his taking meat at short intervals could not prescribe and administer it without becoming a lawbreaker, or, as the *Times* would put it, "an outlaw."

Again, let us consider the question from another viewpoint. The Christian Scientists and those who believe in mental therapeutics are very strong and are rapidly increasing in Massachusetts. A year ago a physician estimated that at least $5,000 a day was being paid out by the people living within a radius of twenty miles of Boston to Christian Scientists and mental healers. Now, let us suppose that in the course of a few years the metaphysicians became sufficiently powerful to secure a class law, and furthermore that they had the disposition to imitate the regular profession in gaining special protection. Let us suppose that the legislature passed a bill that outlawed the regular doctors; and furthermore we will suppose that the outlawed doctors continued to wait upon patients who desired their services, and for the offense were sentenced

to prison because they violated the law of this particular commonwealth. Would the unprotected physicians unite with the *Times* in saying of this ruling that "it seemed like sound common sense and ought to be good law?" A person does not have to be a Christian Scientist to recognize the just right of a free citizen to select whomsoever he desires to minister to his body or soul in the hour of sickness, sorrow, and need.

We regret to see an able journal indulge at this late day in such epithets as "senseless sect." Epithets are the weapons of the weak; moreover, no one acquainted with the Christian Scientists will fail to be impressed with two facts concerning them: They are as a rule persons above rather than below the average intelligence, and they are as a general thing conscientious and high-minded people who are striving to live what they conceive to be the Christ life. Furthermore, they have among them very many men and women of superior mentality. This much should in common fairness be said. I am not a Christian Scientist, but I love to see fair play, and I know whereof I speak. Furthermore, I am unalterably opposed to trusts of all kinds that operate for the benefit of a special class. Monopolies in the control of commercial products and commodities are bad enough, but when the trusts invade the domains of art, education, medicine, or religion they become intolerable, as they fetter progress and take from the individual citizen sacred rights that are among the most cherished heritages of rightful freedom.

* * *

## THE BALLOT A SACRAMENT.

Our fathers appreciated the value of a free ballot. They believed that with it the Republic would move forward, and all the serious problems that arose from time to time under changed conditions would be peaceably settled in conformity with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Later generations failed to see the necessity of impressing on the conscience of every child the solemn duty that devolves upon the voter. Political parties arose, with ideals less lofty than those which governed the founders of the Republic; and the passions, prejudices, and pockets of the voters were appealed to rather than reason and conscience. The ballot came to be regarded as a club, and the

party that could mass the greatest number of clubs was victorious in the battle, while the higher motives which are the mainsprings of enduring progress and the exaltation of man were pushed into the background. Thus as a people, even before we were aware of it, we were drifting from the old moorings; and during recent years the dereliction from the path of duty has become more and more marked. Now, however, there are many signs of a reaction—signs of a moral awakening—which presage better things.

In a letter written in September by Mayor Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo, whose ideals and whose effort to realize them in business and political life have endeared him to millions of Americans, he gave utterance to these words concerning the ballot, which will find a responsive echo in hundreds of thousands of hearts.

"Our quadrennial reunions should be considered as occasions for silently registering the public will; they are, indeed, a time when we take a sort of barometrical reading of the public conscience. I think it is both misleading and mischievous to refer to our elections as 'political battles,' 'great fights,' and warlike terms of that class. . . I regard the ballot as a sacrament rather than as an implement of warfare; and when I enter the booth to administer the sacrament of my ballot I shall use my best endeavor to record my conscience in favor of equality and against war, in favor of love and reason rather than war and revenge."

One of the most important labors that confront those who would further the real interests of society lies in arousing the voter to a sense of his duty in the exercise of his ballot. He must be made to see and feel that it is a sacred thing—something to be used for the cause of justice, progress, and the happiness of all people. When men are once awakened on this point they will become steadfast, each a worker until death at the post of duty; and a little band of such workers will soon arouse moral enthusiasm, hope, and courage among thousands of their fellow-men, who in time will reach hundreds of thousands, and so on until the ballot will again become what our fathers believed it would ever be—the invincible bulwark of liberty, justice, and fraternity.

# BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.*

PROPHETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Carlyle, Ruskin, and Tolstoi. By May Alden Ward. Cloth, 196 pp. Price, 75 cents. Little, Brown & Co., publishers, Boston.

I have seldom read a little work so satisfying in all respects as May Alden Ward's new volume, "Prophets of the Nineteenth Century." It is composed of brief but luminous studies of the life and work of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Tolstoi. In an introductory note the author indicates the intimate connection between Carlyle and Ruskin, and points out the sympathetic relation between the latter and Count Tolstoi. Before Carlyle passed away he declared that Ruskin was the only man in England who was carrying out his ideas; and the great art critic and philosopher, shortly before he died, asserted that Tolstoi was the one man in the world who stood for the movement he had tried to further. Each of these great social reformers and apostles of unselfishness, duty, work, and loyalty to the highest has uttered a gospel from the depths of hearts at once sincere and aflame with the "love of the best." They have given us messages, as our author points out, which have proved "prophetic of the great movement which is now sweeping over the world, proclaiming the coming of sweetness and joy and comfort to human life, through the surrender of luxury, greed, and vulgarity."

Carlyle preached the gospel of work. "If you have anything to do in the world, do it." This was the burden of his message. He was preeminently a utilitarian; but he was far more. He appreciated the seriousness of life. To him duty was august. He had struggled up the mountain; he had conquered, but only after he had laboriously climbed over many of those grave difficulties that beset the path of the conscientious man, and which at times seem almost insurmountable. After his triumph he could not remain silent while thousands on every hand were living the butterfly life, seemingly ignorant of the great and solemn responsibilities, the infinite joy, and the wonderful peace that come to those who realize the value and dignity of life and act up to the highest vision vouchsafed to them. He hated sham and all hollow pretense. "His aim was to call back man to reality." He aroused "a self-seeking generation to a higher idea of life, and left an indelible mark on the thought of the nineteenth century."

He was born in a humble home in the Scotch village of Ecclefechan, on the fourth of December, 1795. "His father was a stone-mason, who with his own hand had builded the home into which Thomas was born."

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Poor as were his parents, they appreciated the importance of education, and gladly made great sacrifices that their boy might receive the instruction that would some day qualify him to become a minister in the Kirk of Scotland—for they were ardent Calvinists. At the age of ten, after learning all the village schoolmaster could impart, the boy entered an academy at Annandale; and thence, at the age of fourteen, he matriculated at the University of Edinburgh. At that time many of the ambitious and poor youths of Scotland earned enough at odd times to pay the rent for their rooms. Their parents sent them oatmeal and potatoes, on which they lived. At intervals their clothes were sent for and carefully mended by the tireless and devoted mother. It was in this manner that Thomas Carlyle went through college.

The relation between the boy and his mother was always very beautiful. When the child she loved so well went to college the mother knew not how to form a letter, but that she might communicate with him this overworked and devoted parent learned to write. We can easily imagine how slow and laborious were her efforts. On one occasion the father wrote the son that his mother had hoped to send him a letter, but, as the messenger was going to return in two days, she would have to wait till the next time. Here is one of the letters of this simple-hearted and loving mother to the son:

"Son Tom—I received your kind and pleasant letter. Nothing is more satisfying to me than to hear of your welfare. Keep up your heart, my brave boy. You ask kindly after my health. I complain as little as possible. When the day is clear it has a great effect upon me. But upon the whole I am as well as I can expect, thank God. I have sent a little butter and a few cakes, with a box to bring home your clothes. Send them all home that I may wash and sort them once more. Oh, man, could I but write! I'll tell ye a' when we meet, but I must in the meantime content myself. Do send me a long letter; it revives me greatly; and tell me honestly if you read your chapter e'en and morn, lad. You mind I hod if not your hand, I hod your foot of it. Tell me if there is anything you want in particular. I must run to pack the box, so I am,

"Your affectionate mother,

"Margaret Carlyle."

At length the hour came when the university schooling was over. The parents expected that the boy would enter the ministry, but the heart of the youth willed otherwise. He was now nineteen years of age, and during his studies his intellectual vision had broadened. Many things which he had unhesitatingly accepted as a child did not commend themselves to his more mature intellect. In a word, he felt he could not conscientiously accept much that a minister of the Kirk of Scotland had to subscribe to. The conflicting desire to please his parents and satisfy the aspirations of his friends, and to be loyal to his own convictions of what was right, led to one of those intense internal conflicts which are liable to come to all sensitive and finely-strung natures. How real and terrible was this conflict we may judge from his own words. "I entered my chamber," he writes, "and closed the door, and around me there came a trooping throng of phantoms dire from the abysmal depth of the

nethermost perdition. Doubt, fear, unbelief, mockery, and scoffing were there; and I wrestled with them in agony of spirit. Thus it was for weeks. Whether I ate I know not, whether I drank I know not, whether I slept I know not. But I know that when I came forth again it was with the direful persuasion that I was the miserable owner of a diabolical arrangement called a stomach." This struggle was one of the most momentous in Carlyle's life. It was by no means simply a decision affecting a profession, but rather a battle between the light and darkness; between whether he should at all times hold resolutely to his convictions of what was right, or at times compromise his ideal with ignoble demands; whether the aim and object of life should be fame, money, place, and power, or fidelity to truth and all that was highest in his nature. Something of his feelings and the struggle he underwent may be gained from these words found in "Sartor Resartus":

"The heart within me, unvisited by any heavenly dewdrop, was smouldering in sulphurous, slow-consuming fire. . . . I lived in a continual, indefinite, pining fear; tremulous, pusillanimous, apprehensive of I knew not what; it seemed as if all things in the heavens above and the earth beneath would hurt me; as if the heavens and the earth were but boundless jaws of a devouring monster, wherein I, palpitating, waited to be devoured. Full of such humour, and perhaps the miserablest man in the whole city or suburbs, was I, one sultry dog-day, toiling the dirty little street, . . . in a close atmosphere, and over pavements hot as Nebuchadnezzar's furnace; . . . when all at once there rose a thought in me, and I asked myself, 'What art thou afraid of? Wherefore like a coward dost thou forever pip and whimper, and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped, what is the sum total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death; and say the pangs of Tophet too, and all that the Devil and man may, will, or can do against thee. Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatsoever it be; and as a child of freedom, though outcast, trample Tophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee? Let it come, then; I will meet it and defy it.' And as I so thought there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul; and I shook base fear away from me forever. I was strong, of unknown strength; a spirit, almost a god. Ever from that time, the temper of my misery was changed; not Fear or whining Sorrow was it, but indignation and grim, fire-eyed Defiance. Thus had the Everlasting No [as he calls the Devil] claimed me. To which my whole ME now made answer: 'I am not thine, but free, and forever hate thee.' It is from this hour that I incline to date my Spiritual New-Birth, or Baphometic Fire-Baptism; perhaps I directly thereupon began to be a man."

And of his victory—of the conclusion that was finally reached, and that governed his life—we catch a luminous glimpse in these striking words:

"We are here to do God's will. The only key to a right life is self-renunciation. The man who lives for self, who works for selfish ends, is a charlatan at bottom, no matter how great his powers. The man who lives for self alone has never caught a vision of the true meaning and order of the universe. Human life is a solemn thing—an arena wherein God's purpose is to be worked out. I must, with open, spiritual vision, behold in this universe, and through it, the Mighty All, its Creator, in His beauty and grandeur, humbling the small Me into nothingness. His purpose, not mine, shall be carried out, for to that end the universe ex-

ists. Life shall be a barren, worthless thing for me unless I seek to fall in with God's plan, and do the work he has sent me here to do. Ah, then, the torturous pangs of disappointed hopes, jealousy, and despair shall be at rest, and I, now in harmony with God, can sing at my work, and amid my toil find blessed rest. For, what though I fail to reach the mark I set before me; what though its immediate results have been small? The very attempt, persevered in, of working out the Divine purpose in my life has made that life a truly noble one. Now, indeed, I am independent of the world's smile or frown, since I am in harmony with God, and have his smile as the light of my life. I have gotten into the blessed region of the 'Everlasting Yea.' And however ill outwardly and apparently, all is going well for me inwardly and ultimately."

He refused to enter the ministry, and for a time he taught. Next he studied law, but in due time renounced it also. At length friends secured him work on the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. About this time a friend introduced him to Mrs. Welsh and her daughter Jenny. Carlyle fell in love with the latter. He was ignorant of the fact that his friend, Irving, who had introduced him to the Welshes, had been the object of Miss Jenny's love; and the two would have been married, as the affection was mutual, but Mr. Irving had previously been engaged to another lady who refused to release him, even after he explained that he no longer loved her. Carlyle finally won Jenny's consent, and the two were married. For some time they almost starved in Edinburgh, for Carlyle was a slow and laborious writer; and finally poverty drove them to a little moorland farm that Jenny had inherited at Craigenputtoch. It was a desolate place, fifteen miles from a village, and the nearest neighbor was more than a mile away. Here Carlyle lived for seven years. He toiled with tireless pen, writing his essays on Burns, Voltaire, and his great work, "Sartor Resartus." At length poverty drove him to the city. His brother had for some years farmed the barren fields, but, to use Mrs. Ward's language, "he became discouraged and gave up the farm. Larry, the horse, to whom they were greatly attached, became discouraged and died. Even the potatoes seemed doubtful. Carlyle himself was discouraged." There seemed nothing left but to journey forth in search of work and also to find, if possible, a publisher for "Sartor Resartus." They went to London. Publisher after publisher declined his book. At last the proprietor of *Fraser's Magazine* accepted it, to be used as a serial; but it proved anything but popular. "Stop that stuff or stop my paper," wrote subscribers. "When," cried one. "is that stupid series of articles by the crazy tailor going to end?" Two voices only were heard in praise of the work—one a priest, the other a liberal; one an Irish Catholic, the other an American philosopher. The latter, Ralph Waldo Emerson, saw in it at once great power and worth; but the outlook for Carlyle seemed very dark. The "Sartor" papers had seemed to cost him what little favor he had previously enjoyed with the magazine-reading public, as now one after another refused his essays. Even "The Diamond Necklace" was returned with thanks.

One day a visitor came to the little home of poverty on the moorland, for the two had returned to the farm. It was Emerson. He found Carlyle in the depths, and said, Faint not; and then he told him how

much he valued "Sartor." For twenty-four hours the stern, rugged Scotchman and the benign and love-dominated transcendentalist were in heart-to-heart communion. At the end of that time they parted, friends for life.

It is interesting to note in passing that, while the public could see nothing in "Sartor" in 1832, precisely fifty years later, in 1882, one firm sold over 70,000 copies of this book.

The failure of "Sartor" and its bad effect on publishers and editors brought Carlyle to starvation's door. He decided to sell what things he possessed and go to London to seek work. It was all there seemed left to do. Arriving at the metropolis, he sought out lodgings. Settling finally at Chelsea, he began to create his great work, "The French Revolution." "It was to him," observes our author, "a great moral event which proved the truth he was trying to teach—that blind selfishness can end only in ruin; that the individual, or the nation, that loves pleasure and not God is sure to be overtaken in time by Divine Justice. So firmly did he believe this, and so earnestly did he strive to impress it as a warning on his own idle and careless generation, that the book was written with his heart's blood."

The first volume, when completed, was loaned to John Stuart Mill for criticism. He in turn loaned it to a woman friend, who, after reading it half the night, fell asleep. In the morning her maid, coming into the room and finding a mass of paper on the table, lighted the fire with it. The positive anguish of the author over this loss beggars description. "The book," he said, in writing to his brother, "has come hot out of my own soul, born in the whirlwind, blackness, and sorrow. . . . It has come as near choking the life out of me as any task I should like to undertake for some years to come." And now it had all gone up in smoke. He had forgotten its contents and was compelled to go laboriously over the field of research before rewriting it; and the inspiration that came to him at first had largely disappeared forever. When the other volumes were completed he ventured the opinion that "not for a hundred years had any book come more direct and flamingly from a man's heart than this." From the day of the publication of "The French Revolution" Carlyle was famous. He was at this time forty-three years old, and it was the first real recognition of his genius accorded him by the world. Thenceforth he knew no more of poverty or obscurity. He was not only in great demand by editors and publishers, but managers of entertainment bureaus paid him liberally for lectures. The tide of material success had turned. No longer did he suffer from "the bewildering terror of coming to actual want of money."

In 1865 what was considered as a signal honor was conferred on him. He was chosen Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, to succeed Mr. Gladstone. Coming as it did from the greatest educational institution of his native land, and his own alma mater, he keenly appreciated the distinction conferred upon him. But the honor carried with it certain obligations, one of which was the delivery of an address at Edinburgh. He felt very timid when he thought of appearing, as he must, before

the faculty of the university and the élite of society. Professor Tyndall accompanied him. The address was a splendid success, and that day was the proudest in his life. Little did he dream, when receiving the congratulations of the most distinguished men of Scotland, that he was standing under the shadow of the greatest affliction that could befall him. Mrs. Carlyle's health had for many years been very precarious. She was unable to accompany her husband, and Tyndall sent her this brief but comprehensive despatch: "A perfect triumph." Ah, what joy those words brought to the anxious wife, who unconsciously was then standing on the brink of the grave! "God bless John Tyndall," she wrote, "in this world and the next!" "She was to dine with Dickens and Wilkie Collins, and she entered the room waving the telegram triumphantly. 'I have not been so fond of everybody since I was a girl,' she wrote to her husband." After finishing her letter to him, she went out as usual for a drive. The coachman marveled that she did not order him to return, and at length, becoming alarmed, he looked into the carriage. She was sitting upright, but was dead.

Carlyle, with his stomach ever keeping him in torture, had been anything but a thoughtful and considerate husband, but he had dearly loved his wife in his rough Scotch fashion, and with her going forth all the joy of his life seemed to depart. For fifteen years he lived in the gloom, mourning for the lost one. His work, after the death of his wife, was comparatively insignificant. He died in February, 1881. Should you ask me for the message of Carlyle, or some passage that should reflect its soul and spirit, I would quote these lines:

"Conviction, were it never so excellent, is worthless till it convert itself into Conduct. Most true is it, as a wise man teaches us, that 'doubt of any sort cannot be removed except by action.' On which ground, too, let him who gropes painfully in darkness or uncertain light, and prays vehemently that the dawn may ripen into day, lay this other precept well to heart, which was to me of invaluable service: 'Do the Duty which liest nearest thee,' which thou knowest to be a Duty! Thy second duty will already have become clearer. May we not say, however, that the hour of Spiritual Enfranchisement is even this: When your Ideal World, wherein the whole man has been dimly struggling and inexpressibly languishing to work, becomes revealed and thrown open; and you discover, with amazement enough, like the Lothario in Wilhelm Meister, that your 'America is here or nowhere'? The Situation that has not its Duty, its Ideal, was never yet occupied by man. Yes, here, in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal: work it out therefrom; and working, believe, live, be free. Fool! the Ideal is thyself; the impediment too is in thyself; thy Condition is but the stuff thou art to shape that same Ideal out of: what matters whether the stuff be of this sort or that, so the form thou give it be heroic, be poetic? O thou that pinest in the imprisonment of the Actual, and criest bitterly to the gods for a kingdom wherein to rule and create, know this of a truth: the thing thou seekest is already with thee, 'here or nowhere,' couldst thou only see."

In this summary of Mrs. Ward's luminous sketch the reader will, I trust, catch enough of the spirit and interest of the work to desire to

peruse the whole. The sketches of Ruskin and Tolstoi are strong and interesting, but space renders it impossible for me to give even a brief summary. It may be enough to say that the whole book will prove interesting and helpful to every serious man or woman who peruses it; and it will prove invaluable to the young. I would that it might be in every home in our land. It would do far more for a brave, high-thinking manhood, such as our civilization most needs, than whole libraries of text-books in dead languages and abstract studies such as occupy so large a place in our school and college curriculum.

QUESTIONS OF CONSCIENCE. A novel. By A. Van Hoesen. Cloth, 499 pp. Price, $1.25. Purdy Publishing Company. Chicago.

This is a remarkably strong novel. The characters are drawn with power, the story well told, and the local color has been admirably reproduced. The moral atmosphere also is fine. Even though at times one may not be ready to go to the lengths of the author in some of the views incidentally advanced, no one can fail to feel the presence of absolute sincerity and of high moral purpose. The author has thought deeply on the great problems of life. She has, we should say, experienced much, and she has been a brave truth-seeker. Hence, this story is calculated to stimulate the mind and quicken the moral energies; yet the writer is too much of an artist to become didactic. The moralizing is purely incidental, and in this respect she is to be congratulated.

The work, however, is far from being flawless from a literary viewpoint. The conversations frequently are unnecessarily long, and are occasionally perilously near being tedious. It has some other defects; but its merits far outrank its shortcomings. Those who seek novels that shall be first of all amusing or entertaining will be disappointed in this book; for, though the romance is interesting and told for the most part in a spirited manner, it is strenuous. It will prove disquieting. It stirs the conscience and compels one to think on the serious side of life. Then, again, the somber shadows predominate, and one cannot fail to question the judgment and wisdom of the author in giving the reader a painfully pathetic picture of an insane woman in a madhouse as the closing paragraph of the volume.

The author undoubtedly believes in reincarnation, and we should judge that she has had some very satisfactory experiences with psychics, or those possessing clairvoyant powers. She is doubtless profoundly interested in the condition of the poor in our great cities, and I should say is familiar with their lives, from excellent glimpses of tenement life in parts of the volume.

At the present time, when there is such a plethora of fiction of a frivolous and frequently unhealthy character, it is refreshing to come across a work that is at once strong and well written, and that also appeals to the higher and better impulses of the reader.

TORA'S HAPPY DAY. By Florence Peltier Perry. 48 pp. Tastefully bound in stiff covers. Price, 50 cents. Alliance Publishing Company, "Life" Bldg., New York.

Nowhere in the whole range of literature have high ethical ideals been so deplorably neglected as in the writings intended for the young. From Mother Goose rhymes and kindred senseless and inane jingles, and the yellow-backed novel, full of feverish and unhealthy excitement and not infrequently otherwise morally pernicious, the gamut of child reading has too frequently been mentally enervating and morally debasing. Even the Sunday-school literature has frequently been untrue to life and therefore harmful, when it was vivid enough to leave any impression on the child mind. And yet at no time in life is it so extremely important that the child have at once wholesome, inspiring, and stimulating reading as from the fifth to the fifteenth year. Some time ago a Roman prelate of Cincinnati, Ohio, said, "Give me the first ten years of a child's life, and you are welcome to him after that." The priest had learned to know how enduring were the lessons and impressions received when the mind was plastic. It is the ideals and impressions that are brought into the child life during the formative period which mold and shape all after years. The low ethical standards that prevail so largely in the business world of to-day are among the sad results of the deplorable neglect of the child while its character is being formed. The young mind should be filled with bright pictures, and each of the pictures should teach a strong moral lesson.

To-day there are many evidences that the more thoughtful of our writers for the young are coming to recognize the great responsibility that is resting upon them; and a large number of the stories for children printed during the last two decades have been true to life and vibrant with mental stimulation and moral inspiration. Parents are frequently very particular that their children should not associate with evil companions, but they should be equally watchful over the literature placed before the child. A simple and well-told story that carries with it a wholesome lesson cannot fail to exert an influence very similar to that which the body derives from a delightful journey into the country when Nature is in her glory.

A story of this character, which I could heartily wish should find its way into thousands of homes where there are children, is entitled "Tora's Happy Day." It is a charming little sketch of child life in far-away Japan. The author is evidently familiar with the life of the Japanese, and much that is interesting and instructive is related in the progress of the tale, which teaches a beautiful lesson of self-sacrifice. There are two Japanese legends related by a native priest, which further add to the interest of the story. "Tora's Happy Day" is illustrated with nine full-page illustrations in colors. The pictures were made by a gifted young Japanese artist. This little work will make a dainty, appropriate, and inexpensive holiday gift for a child—something that will do the receiver good as well as afford entertainment.

## *BOOKS RECEIVED.*

"Reincarnation in the New Testament." By James M. Pryse. Cloth, 92 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: Elliott B. Page & Co.

"Behind the Veil." Cloth, 107 pp. Price, 75 cents. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"God Winning Us." By the Rev. Clarence Lathbury. Cloth, 159 pp. Germantown, Pa.: Swedenborg Publishing Association.

"Stray Thoughts." By M. Josephine Conger. Paper, 51 pp. Linneus, Mo.: Bulletin Printing House.

"Tolstoi: A Man of Peace." By Alice B. Stockham, M.D. "The New Spirit." By H. Havelock Ellis. Illustrated. Cloth, 140 pp. Price, $1. Chicago: Stockham Pub. Co.

"Experimental Chemistry." By Lyman C. Newell, Ph. D. Cloth, 410 pp. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

"Teachers' Supplement to Accompany an Experimental Chemistry." By Lyman C. Newell, Ph. D. Paper, 81 pp. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

"Matthew Doyle." By Will Garland. Cloth, 282 pp. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

"A Primer of Forestry," Part I. By Gifford Pinchot. Cloth, profusely illustrated, 90 pp. Washington: Government Printing Office.

"James Frederick Ferrier." By E. S. Haldane. Cloth, 158 pp. Price, 75 cents. New York: Scribner's Sons.

"Sparks and Flames." By Henry W. Stratton. Cloth, 87 pp. New York: M. F. Mansfield & A. Wessel.

"Letters From New America; or, An Attempt at Practical Socialism." By C. E. Persinger. Cloth, 89 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.

"Woods and Waters." Poems, by Rufus J. Childers. Cloth, 208 pp. Louisville: Charles T. Dearing.

"Jonathan's New Boy." By Pythias Damon. Paper, 98 pp. Price, 25 cents. Chicago: T. S. Denison.

"Mark Hanna's 'Moral Cranks' and Others." By "Mul." Cloth, 316 pp. Price, 50 cents. Brooklyn: George F. Spinney Company.

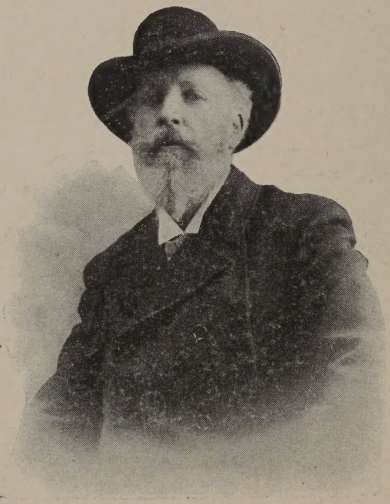
"Imperialism & Liberty." By Morrison L. Swift. Cloth, 491 pp. Price, $1.50. Los Angeles: The Ronbroke Press.

"History of the Prudential Insurance Company of America (Industrial Insurance)." By Frederick L. Hoffman. Cloth, 338 pp. Illustrated. Prudential Press.

"The Emancipation of the Workers." By Raphael Buck. Paper, 237 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co.

"A Short View of Great Questions." By Orlando J. Smith. Cloth, 75 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: The Brandur Company.

"Curious Questions in History, Literature, Art, and Social Life." By Sarah H. Killikelly. 125 illustrations. Cloth, three volumes. Philadelphia: David McKay.



HOLGER DRACHMANN.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.*
*They master us and force us into the arena,*
*Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*
—HEINE.

# THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV. DECEMBER, 1900. No. 6.

## THROUGH THE EYES OF A GREAT DANE.

WE are barbarians! Drachmann, the greatest living Danish poet, a man every bit the equal of Byron in poetic instinct and comparable to Tennyson for splendor and facility of rhythm, was suffered to pay us a visit of more than nine months without our apparently appreciating his presence among us. Had Holger Drachmann belonged to one of the great European peoples we should have known all about him years ago, and if he had been an Englishman his poems might have been cherished by us like those of Burns, perhaps; but Drachmann writes in the rare tongue of *Hamlet,* which, outside Denmark, is only understood by a couple of millions of Norwegians, and so we do not hear much about him.

Björnson, who is certainly the chief among Norse poets, nevertheless rates Drachmann as the greatest living lyric poet, Scandinavian or Danish; but as so many of Björnson's literary triumphs have taken place in the province of lyric poetry, I feel disposed to take his appreciation more as a compliment, sincere though it be, than as a criticism. At any rate, Holger Drachmann's poetry is going to live as long as the Danish tongue survives; and when we consider our latter-day, second-hand acquaintance with inferior persons like Maeterlinck, Hauptmann, and D'Annunzio, to name a few of our importations, we have reason to deplore our ignorance of the masterful work done by Drachmann for more than a generation.

He has written more than twenty volumes of poetry, dramas, novels, and stories of the sea; but what they are, and how they sprouted from the fertile soil of his imagination, I cannot attempt to say here. So I must confine myself to a brief chat about the man himself. It is not of present importance that I should say that since Oehlenschläger, who flourished in the beginning of the last century, Denmark has not produced a genius equal to Drachmann in diversity of brilliancy and flavor—and I say this with a full consciousness of the work done by Heiberg, Hertz, Hostrup, Richardt, etc.—and that he is comparable to Winther for nationality of sentiment and verbiage; for you do not know any of these men, and it is rather awkward to draw upon authors known to English readers for parallels to the highly-diversified Dane.

As a writer of songs, Drachmann has the bard-like simplicity and homely ease of Robert Burns; in his great lyrics, like "Völund," he displays an almost Byronic vigor; and in his dramas he has the humor of a Sheridan matched with an intensity of treatment and breadth of characterization that are typically his own. In the sea story, especially among the Danish fishermen, Drachmann early acquired a field in which none of his countrymen, past or present, ever equal him. In the series beginning with "Paa Sömands Tro og Love," he wrote up the Danish seafaring man, and did for the sailing Danes what Björnson had done before him for Norway's toilers of the land—on a more important scale, perhaps, as Björnson founded a new era in Norwegian literature.*

There is a good deal in Drachmann's personality, and in the spirit of his poetic ideals, that remind one of William Morris, the English bard. Like him, Drachmann is eminently a "sailor poet"; a man of unconventional habits, good cheer, and of a liberal and sociable disposition; a man of the big, soft slouch hat, the loose poncho-like cloak, and the heavy cane, but not

* Those who wish to familiarize themselves with Drachmann's sea-story vein might look up the volumes of *Poet Lore*, of Boston, for which magazine the writer translated some of the poet's short stories from the original Danish.

a dreamer like Tennyson, and not a philosopher like Browning, but roving, stirring, and unstable like Byron; a man with a big heart and a free hand, not backward in "quaffing the wassail-bowl;" a poet playing on golden harp-strings, who writes like a god, and whose handwriting resembles that of a well-trained—bookkeeper.

And this scald of modern Denmark traveled all over these United States of ours, and then went home and wrote down his impressions. He came unheralded, and he left unobserved except by his countrymen here; but his impressions are far better reading, and richer in points of observation, than anything that has been written of late by foreigners on America. I will give a few extracts from his papers. We must, of course, bear in mind that they were written for Danes. Drachmann has, as you will observe, a truly admirable partiality for our ladies. His Byronic heart would not permit him to record observations that are not, at the same time, ingenious flatteries. I will let him speak for himself:

"To speak about the American women in general would confuse you. 'So many women, so many temperaments,' say the Russians. Then, again, the United States are a composite idea, consisting in fact of three separate worlds. In Kentucky it is quite lady-like to ride horseback races, drink whisky, and brandish revolvers. In Texas, where a large percentage of the people are semi-Indians and semi-Mexicans, it is considered unlady-like *not* to ride horseback, to abstain from whisky, and to refrain from shooting your rival—only the ladies there straddle their horses, and like to handle the lariat. Down South we come across that soft-skinned, plump, quite indolent lady, with ancestors stored away in France and Spain, and proud of it. And out on the prairies of the great Northwest the wives of the farmers share in the struggle against summer droughts and the hardships of howling blizzards.

"In the great Eastern and Western cities the *individuality* of man seems to disappear in the all-devouring business bustle. Everybody seems to be busying himself about the same thing and in the same way. To a cursory glance it looks as if some giant manufacturing establishment furnished these people, these lords of creation, with coats and trousers, with political

and religious opinions, with business offices and household furniture, with homes to dwell in and wives to love—all sent by express from the same maker!

"I should not say *wives*. Women are not so easily leveled down to the full significance of this word. The great million-peopled centers are the very spots where we find the most liberally educated, the most highly cultivated American ladies of old English or Scotch descent. Compare them with the ladies of Europe, and you will find in the unsophisticated daughters of Columbia the most harmoniously developed women in the world—only, of course, on the tacit understanding that no sentimentality must be expected from them. If you mingle with these ladies on easy, sociable terms, you will quickly discover that you are carrying a rather stupendous ballast of Old World ideas—so lightly, so sprightly, and so confidently do the daughters of the New World carry themselves before a stranger. We Europeans are, in fact, quite a medieval breed. Somewhere in our organism lodges a bit of ancient, undigested Madonna culture, which makes us shy and diffident in manner, but at the same time rather difficult to please in our ideals. . . Our nurseries are unnecessarily strict in separating the sexes; we learn to muse poetically on the idea of woman, instead of learning to value her as an embodiment of life. . . In America it is the rule to educate girls and boys together; at any rate, they are not artificially separated. They make friendships, they marry, or—they don't marry; and in many cases they manage to preserve a beautiful and inspiring friendly bond to the end of their days.

"There is a freshness of originality and honesty of being about these ladies. They will let you idolize them—with pleasure; but they will not permit you to put them on an impossible pedestal. They know they might slip and fall, and they do not care to take the risk. They know their flatterers from their school days. . . It is easy to get married in America, and it is easy to get divorced. There is a host of excellent mothers and wives, but the most typically beautiful development of free American institutions is the unconventional bonds of friendship that flourish between the sexes. And they charm you—these frank, natural, confident beings known as the daughters of the New World. . . They are not stuffed with French novel ideals, though it is a matter of good form to know the language. They content themselves with the newspapers, which furnish them with matter for discus-

sion in plenty; and, besides, they avail themselves of a magazine and periodical press tremendous in volume, carrying facts to them from everywhere and everybody. They are not merely readers, but doers; and in no other country will you find so many women actively engaged in business, benevolence, charity, etc. . .

"Woman is ever looking for a 'hero.' She has her ideal. In France and Germany this ideal is very much uniformed and heavily decorated. But the young French woman is not at all free, or at least it requires a hard struggle on her part to appear 'free.' And as for the German 'hausfrau,' she is blushingly doing her best to bear her husband as many sons as possible, and her kaiser as many soldiers as the 'vaterland' requires. The American woman also admires the sons of war, and when a victorious admiral enters the city she is everywhere prominent in greeting and honoring him. But there is this difference between her and her European sisters: she goes one step further and demands to be given a place in the ranks! And if they will not let her fight, she goes into the field as nurse, or—reporter. Her ideal is the man with 'backbone,' the hero who fights his way through every-day life, dreading no hardships, never retracing his steps except to make a leap forward to the goal—though it be unattainable!

"The modern American descends from the iron-armed pioneers who, with musket in one hand and the Bible in the other, fought their way among Indians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen for the title to a free and independent country. But this same modern young man goes about with mixed blood in his veins; he is, to a certain degree, the offspring of the host of desperate adventurers and soldiers of fortune whom the Old World has been sending across the water for centuries, and who landed in the New World without the musket, generally without the Bible, and sometimes without a shirt to their back—but never with an empty brain or a weak heart. . .

"A flavor of original purpose hovers over the land, which still 'smells' with freshly-timbered settlers' cabins. A sense of mental clarity abides with these American women of business, who sport the most superb footwear and frequent the bathtub seven times a week.

"A trifle more happiness out of life, my ladies, than in Europe, where we 'despise' money, and throw ourselves on couches, a perfumed handkerchief upon the brow, a Bourget novel in the hand—and a shattered heart!"

The Danish press has been unsparing in its criticism of Drachmann's views pertaining to the American business world, the subject of money especially. They unearthed Henry George, and proved that Drachmann's views were entirely contradictory to his; and so, of course, Drachmann was wrong! This is what he had the fortitude to say in Danish:

"There was a power, a mastery of purpose, a prairie-vast field for ideas and schemes over in that great, strong land, that made it continue to be a 'free' land long after I discovered where the boot hurts.

"Say what you will, it is wholesome to live there, where the spur of enterprise is smuggled into the bedclothes of the cradle. It is instructive to live there, where all children evince a liking for the school, and where the schools teach that we were put into this world to make money. It is not unpleasant to live there, where you may tell the President to his face that he is a scoundrel—provided he is.

"It is really a frightfully ridiculous affectation, which is being inculcated all over Europe, that money should not be the real goal and means of a man's ambitions. Money is life; poverty is death. Money is morals, religion—everything. That is what they are teaching over in that most excellent country, which Columbus had the luck to discover just as old Europe was beginning to rot in the joints.

"Among the internal baggage that we Europeans habitually carry with us wherever we go, there is a nice little series of primers in culture and morals, which we find, after our arrival, might as well have been thrown into the sea—for they are really very much antiquated. In our capacity as Europeans we are very proud of this handsome set of books. No sooner are we ashore in New York than we rub our hands in joyful anticipation of getting a chance to look the Yankees over and tell them what a lot of money-mad, disregardful egotists they are, entirely without feeling, without sentiment, and that fine brand of sentimentality which distinguishes the highly-developed European gentleman.

"We waste at least half a year in being on our guard against a people that receives strangers without suspicion as no other people does, gives them a chance to live and to better themselves, learns of them whatever new or useful things they may know, and finally teaches them how to make money. And a day arrives when you begin to scratch your head in the spot

where common sense is supposed to lodge, and the following day you burn, with a smile, your nice little series of home-made primers!

"Then, and not until then, are you ripe to associate with Americans. You will find them to be a truly hospitable people, solid fellows in friendships and business affairs, and gifted with a capacity to look at things as they are—without nonsense and mannerisms. Wondering, you will discover a people capable of being youthfully enthused and inspired; a people witty and jovial in spite of their haste; an honorable people, incapable of forgiving insults but rather partial to a good joke; an odd people of intermingled temperaments and many queer habits; a people accustomed to ice-water at every meal and a drop of whisky at every corner of the street; a people given to church-going, yet drawing the line for their devotion at a bad sermon; all in all, a people that fights well and drinks well and makes a pile of money! For they are certainly dancing around the golden calf over there, and it is the biggest calf of its kind in the world.

"But you ask me about the social life of the country, its political institutions, its religious ideals, its famous sights and landscapes, and reproach me for apparently overlooking these things. I will tell you one thing. Money is the circle within which everything moves in America—the center around which everything revolves. Your sentimental European heart rebels against this paradox, but remember that in America it represents life itself—the air, and the chance to breathe freely. You must try to understand this, even if you earn ever so few dollars—*yourself*. And when you have learnt the lesson you will begin to appreciate Americans.

"They are in the habit of taking hold of things with a full hand. They don't twaddle. . . Power is looked up to, but power is not exactly the king, the emperor, the chamberlains, the court retinue, and the rest of the 'by-the-grace-of-God' instituted despotism;—in brief, Europe. Americans do not know the meaning of the paltry bows and courtesies, the efficacious little flatteries, and the modest, obliging, almost servile attitude, reminding one of the cooing of doves and the wagging of dog's tails belonging to owners intent on favor—all of which are indispensable requirements of the career-eager young man in Europe. A native American has his object in life, and his means of attaining it are always the same. If you have sufficient 'backbone'; if you are made of the stuff that stands rough

usage without breaking, and if you know how to bear yourself as a gentleman, your place in the best American society is assured. And the best society is not those mongrel parvenus whom you encounter in books of travel and operatic performances.

"Further than to get rich, and to spend your money like a prince, you cannot get as an American. But if you are once rich you feel instinctively that money represents the nobility of America—a nobility that takes your responsibility to task. In Europe the responsibility is not apparent. But in America, in the heights of the enormously rich, a stupendous work is constantly going on, branching out into far-reaching financial undertakings, active participation in everything pertaining to public life and progress, local as well as national, charity as well as education, inspired by an ever-active interest in the advancement of mankind. The sort of luxurious laziness affected by our European aristocracy is comparatively unknown in America. The so-called 'high society' is quite as ludicrous in its caper-cutting for notoriety as are our own aristocrats in priding themselves, not on what they are, but on account of what their forefathers achieved."

Drachmann is the great, present-day Minnesinger of the North, the itinerant bard from whose golden-stringed lyre swells a song ever strong in pathos, pulsating with the ardor of inspiration, fascinatingly brilliant in color, lofty and noble in sentiment. "His inkstand is an ever-flowing Niagara," said Mrs. Södring, the Danish actress. Drachmann never "lays off"; he is always teeming with music—oozing with poesy. No sooner did he catch sight of the city of New York than a poem dropped from his pen, a poem of which I quote the second stanza (translation by John Volk):

"Here rolls eternal thunder day and night.
By full steam busy throngs along are hurled.
Here brains and wills are crossing left and right,
With traits of every nation in the world.
But you have gathered them, you mighty queen,
As in a sanctuary, where they might
Alike for all men's weal as one unite!
Hence at the threshold of your port is seen
The lofty Goddess with her torch in hand,
To flood with Liberty's blest light this land,
Where each has even chance his way to fight—
Where every man is every woman's knight."

*Philadelphia, Pa.* JOHANNES HROLF WISBY.

## REMEDIES FOR TRUST ABUSES.

TRUSTS and combines have more than doubled in the last three years (1897 to 1900). They are working havoc with our business interests: killing the small concerns, building monopolies that enable a few men to control the output and the prices of staple products and necessaries of life, centering the arbitrary sway of national industries in little groups of industrial aristocrats—coal barons, sugar dukes, railroad princes, steel kings, oil emperors, etc.—and levying taxes on us without representation (and for private purposes), by the side of which the taxes of King George were but a zephyr as compared to a cyclone.

It is not needful here to enlarge upon the excessive charges and exorbitant profits that are sucking the wealth of our farms and homes into the coffers of the trusts, compelling the farmers and wage-earners to buy in a monopolized market while selling their products and labor in a competitive market, buying high and selling low, and paying in the difference a vast tribute to monopoly. Neither is it necessary now to dwell upon the lawlessness and corruption of government that characterize the trust régime. Trust abuses are pretty well known. But the vital matter of a remedy is still in the dark; and on this point we wish to present in outline a new plan, which goes to the root of the matter and eliminates the evils of the trust while retaining and intensifying its benefits—after which we will summarize the auxiliary means of control and regulation that may be applied to trusts and combines.

The core of the trust is private profit, and its foundation is railway discrimination or other special privilege. Organization for service is good, but organization for plunder is bad. If private profit can be tied to coöperative and public-spirited organization, and private loss attached to aggressive and unjust organizations, capital will rush into coöperative and public-

spirited forms of union as eagerly as it now rushes into anti-public forms. This change in the basis of profit can be brought about through the power of taxation.

Take the present rate of taxation in ordinary competitive business as the median level. Make the taxes on coöperative industries progressively lower in proportion to the size of the union and the extent to which it opens its doors to the interests of the public and the employees. Put the taxes on aggressive trusts and combines, etc., above the median level in geometric ratio according to the size of the combine and the intensity of its exclusion of the public from all part in fixing prices and wages: low taxes to an organization that would open its books to public inspection, adopt profit-sharing with its employees, keep water out of its stock, and agree to the fixing of prices and wages by a board of arbitrators—one selected by the labor involved in the industry, one by capital, and one by the public; still lower taxes to an organization that would put the coöperative principle into full play, making the public and employees partners in the management and sharing with workers and consumers, in just proportion, the whole profits beyond a reasonable interest on the actual capital and a moderate sinking fund against loss and depreciation. On the other hand, a trust like the Beef Combine, which seeks the ruin of all competitors, should be taxed out of existence. A lawless concern like the Standard Oil, which conspires to blow up rival refineries, pulls up competing lines, conquers the market with railroad rebates, bribes public officers, perjures itself, steals public documents, and mutilates court records—such a concern should be taxed to the whole extent of its income, for it is all the tainted product of fraud and violation of law; and if it still persisted in doing business on the antagonistic plan, endeavoring to conceal its income, etc., its plants and property should be confiscated to public use for defiance of law.

Use the taxing power, repeal the protective tariff on trust goods, abolish railway discrimination, and put the government in the hands of brave and honest men that will enforce the law, and the monopoly evil will vanish, as it did in Queen Eliza-

beth's day before the power of honest courts and a just parliament.

There are many other ways by which the evil power of monopoly may be checked and controlled, though none that go to the root of the matter so thoroughly as the measures already mentioned. We can clip the wings of the trusts by insisting on publicity, requiring fair capitalization and arbitration in the fixing of prices and wages. We can limit the profits a trust may make. The federal power over interstate commerce is sufficient to deny transportation to the goods of unlawful combinations. We can also deny the use of the mails to such combines, as we did to the Louisiana lottery. We can forbid the raising or lowering of prices by a combine in one locality without corresponding change in its rates in other localities. We can take away the franchises and special privileges on which monopoly rests. As William Jennings Bryan well says, we may require every trust or large organization to secure a federal license before it can do business outside the State in which it was organized, and we can provide that the federal authorities shall grant no license except "upon conditions that will in the first place prevent the watering of stock, in the second place prevent monopoly in any branch of business, and, third, provide for publicity as to all of the transactions and business of the corporation (trust or other organization). And then provide that if the law is violated the license can be revoked." Through State legislation we can require a similar license to do business in the State of organization. We can use the strong arm of the Attorney-General's office to crush combinations that aim at control of the market or seek to establish or perpetuate a private monopoly. We can use the whole machinery of the government against the trusts and monopolies.

By means above suggested we can make the disadvantages of organizing capital on the aristocratic, anti-public, ring-for-private-profit plan so emphatic, and the advantages of aggregating capital for coöperative or public-spirited industry so pronounced, that capital will organize along coöperative lines and offer employees and consumers a reasonable share in the

benefits of the combines. A trust is a good thing for those inside of it, but bad for the people on the outside. The union of capital is most excellent if it is for service and not for conquest. But private monopoly is wrong. No man or combine should be allowed to control prices. The market must either be open or controlled in the public interest; where monopoly is necessary it must be owned or controlled by and for the people. The people of this country have it in their own hands to say whether united capital shall be their servant or their master.

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## THE GREATEST BLACK MAN KNOWN TO HISTORY.

WE are all prone to view other lives as more favored than our own, and, though we may not frame our thought in words, how often have we felt that had we enjoyed the opportunities or the environment of certain of our acquaintances we would have accomplished something of moment in the world! And yet the key to victory, to self-mastery, to nobility, and often to great achievement lies at our own door did we but realize the opportunities that the Divinity has given us. The truly great are those who wrest victory from defeat, or who, finding themselves surrounded by difficulties that seem insurmountable, and with influences pressing downward with crushing power, nevertheless rise above the seeming decrees of fate, and by breaking all bonds succeed in mastering first self and next the conditions that environ them. The lives of such men are a perpetual inspiration and a constant reminder of the power given to all who dare be true and faithful to the highest and who never allow courage to flag. In the career of Toussaint L'Ouverture, liberator of Hayti, we see what a slave achieved in the face of the seeming impossible.

The closing years of the last century were notable as breeders of great natures no less than as an epoch of revolutionary change, which in its ultimate influence was a time of progress and of the renewing of national life. The American Revolution was the bugle note that sounded advance for civilization.

The methods of progress are always largely determined by what has gone before. In proportion as injustice, cruelty, despotism, and ignorance have prevailed will there be the fruits of these iniquitous conditions. Humanity does not stop for gradual growth when it comes to a point where it must choose hopeless serfdom and increasing degradation, or handle the evil of existing conditions in a heroic manner.

The accumulated injustice and wrong of the past like chickens come home to roost, and what is more, they come in a most terrible way and with a certainty that should long ere this have taught statesmen that human happiness and national life and growth can only be preserved by a jealous guarding of absolute and impartial justice. Any civilization that persistently refuses to be governed by the light of reason and ignores the Golden Rule will sooner or later pass into eclipse, or escape the fate of all ancient civilizations and reach the light of juster conditions after a baptism of blood and anguish; for if history proves anything it demonstrates the fact that intrenched injustice and enthroned tyranny in the past have rarely yielded to the reasonable demands of simple justice without a savage struggle. And so it was in that baptism of blood which marked the closing decades of the eighteenth century. America established a republic. France overthrew the old order, but, because the wrongs which had long existed had made the poor as full of hate and as greedy for revenge as the court, the aristocracy, and the privileged classes had been cruelly indifferent to their less fortunate brothers, the dregs insisted on sweeping from earth the froth on the surface of society. The splendid leaders of a better day were pushed aside by the savage, irresistible tide of life which for generations had been ground under the heel of heartless oppression; and though, in the ultimate, civilization was to gain much from the revolution, the cost was the terrible fruit of tyranny's sowing, and because this harvest was marked by hate, cruelty, and revenge, it in turn brought its punishment in the years that have since passed.

It is not, however, of the American Revolution with its glorious galaxy of heroes—its Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, who were the blossoms of the sturdy civilization of the New World—nor yet of the French crisis which appalled civilization, shook every throne, swept into its vortex royalty, aristocracy, and the priestly class, and ultimately evolved its Robespierre, Marat, and Danton—that trinity of death, who were to be followed by the colossal intellect of the soulless

Corsican—that I wish at present to speak. I mention these great dramas because each revolution in the thrilling years which marked the closing and the dawning of the most momentous centuries known to civilization is intimately connected with the life and the events with which I am about to deal; and if the shot at Lexington created ripples in the thought world which swept onward with ever-broadening circles until France responded with a social and political revolution, so the latter convulsion touched the spark that led to the most notable struggle ever waged by the black man under the wise and masterly guidance of a negro in whose veins flowed no drop of white blood—the crisis which called forth the commanding genius of Toussaint L'Ouverture and which ultimately led to the establishment of a black republic in the New World.

In noticing the character and life of Toussaint L'Ouverture it is necessary that we first glance at the theater upon which he enacted his noble rôle, and at the conditions that environed him.

The island of Hayti, named by Columbus Hispanola (Little Spain), and by the later settlers called St. Domingo, is one of the most beautiful and fertile of that wonderful group of garden spots known as the Antilles. "In richness and variety of vegetation," says a leading authority, "it is not excelled by any other country in the world. All tropical plants and trees grow in profusion, and almost all vegetables and fruits of temperate climates may be successfully cultivated on its highlands." In Hayti cotton, indigo, Indian corn, rice, cocoa, arrowroot, cassava, coffee, sugar-cane, and sweet potatoes grow luxuriantly. The island is very rich in fruit products, such as bananas, pineapples, oranges, bread-fruit, mangoes, and figs. It is also noted for its rare woods, such as mahogany, rose-wood, yellow acoma, and satin-wood. Hurricanes and earthquakes are common, and the presence of a great number of reptiles, centipedes, scorpions, and tarantulas takes somewhat from the attractiveness of the island for home-seekers.

At the time of Toussaint the eastern part still acknowledged the sovereignty of Spain, but the western part of the island

had become a portion of the possessions of France. Here some thirty thousand Frenchmen were growing fabulously rich on the labor of half a million black slaves, who brought from a soil the fertility of which has never been surpassed such wealth products that St. Domingo was often styled "the richest jewel in the Bourbon crown." Great wealth in the hands of a few breeds luxury, indolence, and sensualism as surely as it presupposes the presence of poverty and slavery among the many. And thus we find the revolting spectacle of between twenty and thirty thousand mulattoes who occupied a most singular position in the social order. They were well cared for, excellently educated, and supplied with rich possessions, but excluded from the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship. Exiled from the society in which the fathers moved, they were not allowed in the churches in which the whites worshiped, nor could they ride on horseback in any of the towns. Many of the youths were sent to France and there highly educated, and many of the girls were placed under the instruction of accomplished French tutors; but these very advantages made the lot of the mulattoes peculiarly hard, not to say tragic. They enjoyed so much in the way of culture, refinement, and wealth that the exclusion from white society and the right of citizenship, and the terrible punishments meted out to any one of their number who committed a crime, naturally led to a profound unrest and deep-seated discontent.

Such was the condition of St. Domingo in 1789, when the thrilling news of the French Revolution reached the Antilles. Three words, which had electrified France—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—fell on the startled ears of the three great divisions of society in western St. Domingo, awakening widely different emotions. With the loyalist white population the news, no less than the disquieting slogan, aroused alarm and indignation. The mulatto population, on the other hand, heard the new message with swelling breasts and palpitating hearts. A great hope arose in the minds of thousands of human beings through whose veins coursed the mingled blood of France and Africa. The mulattoes were not slow to act. They called

a meeting and sent a delegation to France with a gift to the new government of about twelve hundred thousand dollars. They further pledged the French Republic a large sum annually if in return the civil barriers should be annulled. Lafayette was a leading spirit in France when the message came. He enthusiastically approved of granting the petition. The Convention readily agreed to the request, which was in perfect alignment with the stand taken by the new republic.

But the Frenchmen of St. Domingo were not of the same opinion. They tore the Convention's decree into fragments and threw it to the wind. They cruelly put to death the bearer of the message and perpetrated other outrages. This naturally aroused the indignation of the French revolutionists, who reaffirmed their decree with emphasis; but the planters of St. Domingo so terrorized the governor that he promised not to publish it. They had also been making overtures to England's king for assistance. The mulattoes withdrew to the mountains. The Spaniards on the east of the island, hearing of the internal warfare, attacked the French coast cities and captured several. England meanwhile began sending soldiers to aid the French who were in revolt against the French Republic, and who were also fighting the invading Spaniards.

Generals Howe and Maitland landed with several thousand English soldiers to aid the French planters in an effort to secure the island for England. The French governor, Blanchelande by name, was discredited by the planters and distrusted by the mulattoes. He, finding himself deserted by all parties, took refuge in flight while he also began to plot for power, and in his extremity he turned to the black slaves. I know of no instance in history where an island or a State has presented so extraordinary a spectacle. There were the French planters consorting with the hereditary enemy of France, the British, to wrest the island from their native land. There were the Spanish thundering at their gates, while a population of mulattoes almost if not quite as large as that of the French planters were standing aloof—nay, hostile and bitter, yet knowing not what to do. And now the proud governor of the

island consorts with the black slaves, and the first act in one of the bloodiest tragedies known to history is about to open.

Blanchelande was emboldened to take the daring rôle he was about to assume by being heartily seconded by the agents of the Count d'Artois, he who was later Charles X. of France. The count had sent trusted representatives to stir up revolt against the new order in France. These agents united with the deposed governor, who now sent to Toussaint L'Ouverture to secure his coöperation.

Here let us pause a moment while we survey this inspired genius of Ethiopia. Toussaint was almost fifty years of age at this time, having been born in 1743. His father and mother were full-blooded Africans; consequently, no drop of white blood coursed through his veins. He was born a slave, but his masters and other members of the family, in common with many of the French planters on the island, were kind to their slaves, who had more time of their own than American workingmen who labor in our mines and factories. They were encouraged rather than discouraged in learning to read and improve themselves. Toussaint became a favorite with an old negro who knew how to read, and seeing how eager the lad was to improve himself the old slave taught him to read. Later the boy obtained possession of three or four books. One of these works was the "Discourses of Epictetus, the Slave Philosopher"; another was Plutarch's "Lives of Great Men"; and a third was a book dealing with military affairs. Epictetus was chiefly loved by the boy. The great Stoic, like Toussaint, had passed the greater part of his life in slavery, and he had suffered much. The black boy felt he knew the philosopher, though a gulf of more than seventeen centuries lay between them. He imbibed the fine, humane, and pure teachings of the great Stoic as the thirsty plant drinks in the falling rain. The gentle and lofty spirit of the philosopher inspired like sentiments in the black boy. Epictetus was probably the most potent factor in molding the character of Toussaint. He carried the well-worn volume ever with him; but the military memoirs, which constituted one-fourth of his scant library,

also held for him a strange charm. Could it be that glimpses of the future flashed over his mind? We cannot say, but certain it is the slave became in thought and theory a soldier and commander, though he had never seen a real soldier or witnessed any military maneuver. And if daring thoughts of freedom and glory ever entered the active brain or fired the wonderful imagination of this man of genius, none knew it. He strove by his loyal service and in other ways to win the approval of his master, and was advanced to positions of some responsibility. He studied the action of natural herbs and remedies, and was soon famed for his cures among his fellow-slaves. Indeed, he seemed to be a natural physician, and the blacks came to regard him with special love and reverence. He was more than a doctor to them, for he never tired of teaching them high and noble thoughts and useful truths. He strove to strengthen their minds and make them capable of cool, dispassionate reasoning. He endeavored to teach them to be merciful and loving.

It is not strange that the poor children of Africa came to look upon him as a superior being and to call him "father." Such in brief was Toussaint L'Ouverture, philosopher, physician, and slave, at the time when Blanchelande sent to secure the coöperation of himself and his people in the contemplated revolution. The slave, however, distrusted the governor's sincerity. He had proved treacherous to the mulattoes on a previous occasion, and he had ever held the blacks in contempt. He asked, therefore, to see the credentials of those who came for his aid. They had none. He wanted guaranties that would prove that his people were going to be fairly dealt with and not trapped and slaughtered, or simply used as tools, and then abandoned to their fate. This the messengers were not able to give him; therefore, he refused to lead his people in the dark. Other ambitious negroes were found ready to seize the opportunity. Two of these were men of far more than ordinary power and intellectual ability. Hostilities began. Neither side showed much pity. The representative of the French Republic, who had brought the decree that the mulat-

toes should be recognized as citizens, had been broken on the wheel and afterward drawn and quartered by the white French inhabitants. This was a dangerous example to set before ignorant black slaves, many of them but a short time from the jungles of Africa; and the treatment accorded the blacks who fell into the enemies' hands was well calculated to inflame their baser natures. Massacres followed skirmishes and battles, and each week found the contending forces more savage than at any previous time. Toussaint, seeing the impending danger, warned his master and succeeded in getting him and his family on a vessel bound for America, and also in getting the vessel so loaded with sugar and other wealth products as to insure the financial independence of his master's family when they reached our land.

The other negro leaders provided also for the escape of their masters' families before the passions of the infuriated slaves rose beyond control through the cruelties practised upon such of their unfortunate brethren as fell into the enemies' hands. Toussaint attached himself to the new army in the capacity of physician. He soon became the trusted counselor of the leaders of the revolution, both white and black. The English and French on the one hand and the Spanish on the other were defeated in several conflicts.

Then the French, who had sought the aid of the blacks in their extremity, became arrogant and insolent. The slaves were ordered back to servitude. The leading general among the blacks went to a conference of the victorious white generals, and was grossly insulted by a white officer, who cut him over the shoulder with his whip for coming to the council with his uniform on. This was by no means the first insult suffered by the blacks from those to whom they had given victory.

The negro officer returned to his army, and it was twenty-four hours before he told his men of the indignity he had suffered. The black soldiers heard his recital with growing indignation. This insult was a climax to the evil treatment which they had received from those who had induced them to take up arms with fair promises. The war was not yet over,

and the question was whether the slaves had best refuse longer to fight or act independently. Clearly they could not now recede without being slaughtered; nor did they propose longer to bear insults from those they had served. Some one raised the cry, "Death to every white man!"

Once spoken, this grim utterance became the articulated mandate of the vast concourse. Thousands of voices took up the awful sentence so pregnant with doom for multitudes. It instantly became the voice of the convention—the fiat of the black army. There were fifteen hundred white prisoners in the hands of the negroes at that awful moment, and some one shouted, "Let us begin on the prisoners." Men do not parley when thus aroused. A popular suggestion crystallizes into action almost before the mind realizes what is done. It did not take long to range the victims before the blacks, who were drawn in line to strike the first blow in carrying out the awful edict. At this moment a strange and glorious thing happened. A negro whose face was black as night, with a yellow madras handkerchief tied over his kinky hair and wearing plain clothes, rose and almost leaped forward to an eminence. He raised his hand, and there was something regal as well as grotesque about the little old man with his yellow crown resting on his ebony brow, even though his clothes were plain and the yellow turban was of the cheapest stuff. "Brothers," cried the black man in a deep tone, while his eyes flashed with a strange light, "brothers, this blood will not wipe out the insult to our chief! Only the blood of yonder French camp can wipe it out. To shed that is courage; to shed this is cowardice." He spoke as an old-time prophet; no murmur of dissent was heard; the fifteen hundred prisoners were saved. Their savior was Toussaint L'Ouverture.

It was said that he was descended in a direct line from a black king in Africa. His ancestors had been kidnapped, but they handed down the tradition from generation to generation; and perhaps this as well as the imperious manner of the speaker and the great love the people bore him made his words doubly effective.

This act was thoroughly characteristic of the man; he strove to quench the savage spirit of his people and to curb their passions. It was not long after this incident that Toussaint became the recognized chief of the insurrection. All alike recognized his genius and wisdom. He was to the blacks of St. Domingo what Moses was to Israel in the wilderness —their inspired prophet, their God-delegated leader. His word became law, and under his wonderful generalship the Spanish were driven into the cities in the eastern end of the island; and over all towns in St. Domingo where the red and yellow of Spain had waved floated the flag of France. Spain renounced her claim to the island she could not hold in 1795, in the treaty of Basle. The English also received the attention their presence merited. Toussaint with his slaves, transformed into soldiers under the magic of his presence, became irresistible. The British were defeated and fled to their ships, which bore them to Jamaica.

Thus through seven stormy years this black chieftain is seen through the fire, smoke, and carnage of battle, moving with the unerring resolution of a Cromwell against his multitudinous foes and driving before him the proud sons of three of Europe's powerful nations. This spectacle is unique in historical annals. Indeed, the like of this wonderful philosopher and military genius, who was also a slave, cannot be found in the records of civilization.

We now come to the supreme test of true greatness. Men fed by ambition and influenced by lust for power have proved mighty conquerors and great military geniuses; but when the general became the conqueror oftentimes avarice, cruelty, and the passion for self-advancement have eclipsed the noble attributes which stamp true greatness—mercy, generosity, justice, and love. And so also when the soldier becomes the lawmaker: if he has autocratic power placed in his hands he is brought face to face with another crucial test of true greatness. Unless he be a creature of heroic mold he will evince that prejudice, bigotry, and narrowness which have ever dogged and retarded the onward steps of civilization. Now it is in

the double rôle of conqueror and statesman that we next behold Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The sun of the nineteenth century has just appeared above the horizon. The year 1800 has dawned, and we find the little island which the Spaniards named Hispanola and which the French rechristened St. Domingo, but in all future time to be called Hayti, under the absolute control of Toussaint L'Ouverture; and we see the one-time slave dictating a message to the white men who have fled from the island and are scattered over Europe and America, and this is the substance of what he says: "Sons of St. Domingo, come home. We never meant to take your houses or your lands. The negro only asks for that liberty which God gave him. Your homes await you. Your lands are ready; come and cultivate them." Many of the fugitives returned and took possession of their old homes. All who knew Toussaint knew that his word was as good as any other man's bond. He never betrayed any one or broke faith, and no man ever shrank from cruelty or inhumanity more than did this noble son of Africa.

The cruelties that marked the seven years' war, when committed by the blacks in retaliation for the cruelty inflicted upon their race, were ever opposed by Toussaint, and when possible were prohibited or prevented by the great chief. And even when he appeared as a grim avenger on the battle-field he refused to tolerate anything that partook of the character of revenge or torture. In the terrible wars of this period more than three blacks were put to death for every white man who lost his life; and yet after all this experience, which we would naturally suppose would have embittered the chief as well as his people against the whites, we find him sending forth the noble message of love and welcome to the old owners of the plantations and faithfully keeping his pledged word. Here we see a soul rising to colossal stature. Here is real greatness, for in this black philosopher and soldier we have genius married to goodness.

Next we come to notice Toussaint under the second crucial test—the lawmaker clothed with autocratic power. A con-

stitution is being formulated; a republic is to be declared, with Toussaint as president for life tenure. It relates, however, only to local government; the blacks do not propose to cast off allegiance to France, which they regard in a sense as a mother-land. They only demand freedom and local self-government. In dictating this constitution we find the broadest statesmanship wedded to the broadest tolerance. Thus, though Toussaint was a Roman Catholic, he says, "Make the first line of my constitution that I know no religious beliefs." He declared that the ports of St. Domingo were open to the commerce of the world. He may be called almost the first practical free trader of modern times; and these are merely specimens of the spirit and wisdom that characterized his constitution. He also quickly restored peace and order to the distracted land. The blacks looked up to him as a father and an inspired leader. They learned to love, implicitly to trust, and unquestioningly to obey him during these brief but golden days of the new order. It is stated that Frenchmen described the prosperity in 1801 as almost incredible, but stranger than this was the security of life and property.

Such was the condition in St. Domingo or Hayti when the dark-souled Corsican became the ruler of distracted France. Wherever the baleful eye of Napoleon turned, misery, wretchedness, and desolation were sure to follow; and Hayti was no exception. "What shall I do with St. Domingo?" queried the conqueror. Greed and avarice clamored for this land, so potentially rich, but brave Colonel Vincent, who had served under Toussaint, wrote to Napoleon, saying in substance: "Sire, leave it alone. It is the happiest spot in your realm. God raised this man to govern—races melt in his hand. He saved you this island. I know of my own knowledge that the King of England offered him any title and any revenue if he would hold the island under British sovereignty. He refused and saved it for France." Napoleon, failing to be great enough to be just, wise, or good, determined to reduce the blacks to slavery and destroy the wonderful negro who had made so glorious a record, and who placed love of hu-

manity and loyalty to justice and truth above ambition and selfishness.

Having plenty of soldiers, he despatched Leclerc with 30,000 picked men to crush Toussaint and reduce the negroes again to slavery. Toussaint, never distrusting the French government, had disbanded his own army, and now he beheld with amazement, indignation, and a certain hopelessness the approach of sixty ships. He is said to have exclaimed: "All France is come to Hayti. They certainly come to make us slaves, and we are lost." His army had melted into peaceable tillers of the soil, and the time for mustering enough troops to deal a deadly blow on the arrival of the invaders had passed.

It was when the old man beheld this mighty army approach that love was turned to hate. Nothing remained for his race but slavery unless they through their fury even now destroyed their accursed foes. Then it was that Toussaint, who had retired to the mountains, issued his memorable and terrible message, which ran thus:

"My children, France comes to make us slaves. God gave us liberty; France has no right to take it away. Burn the cities, destroy the hamlets, tear up the roads, poison the wells, and show the white man the hell he came to make."

Toussaint was obeyed to the letter. Fire and sword met the French at every turn. More than once they were repulsed with terrible loss. On more than one occasion they were driven to their boats; but the struggle was terrible on both sides. Toussaint no longer possessed his splendid army of other days, and the scenes of blood and carnage sickened his soul. His officers felt that the outcome was dubious; some wavered, and at that moment Leclerc, seeing no hope of success save in base treachery, declared that they came not to enslave the blacks. "Join us and you shall enjoy all the rights you demand." The negroes, or a great number of them, went over to the enemy.

Toussaint was basely betrayed by the French. The great black, of whom a Spanish general wrote, "He was the purest

soul God ever put into a body; he never broke his word," was trapped by perfidy, loaded with chains, taken to France, and thrown into a horrible dungeon, where he languished until death came to his relief. It has been charged that Napoleon became impatient at Toussaint's living as long as he did and had him starved to death. Be that as it may, he caused the death—the frightfully cruel death—of this illustrious black man, whose shoe-latchets the heartless Corsican was unworthy to unloose. Before his death, which occurred in April, 1803, Toussaint penned this note to Napoleon, to which the Emperor paid no heed:

"Sire, I am a French citizen; I never broke a law. By the grace of God I have saved for you the best island of your realm. Sire, of your mercy grant me justice."

Little did Napoleon in his palace dream when he scorned the pathetic appeal of the great black man that events were hurrying him to an exile which also should bound his life. Little did he dream that the measure he was meting out to the noble foe who had been treacherously betrayed was to be meted out to him. And yet I fancy that in after years, as he paced along the rocky shores of St. Helena, listening to the ceaseless monotony of the sea in his living cage, he often called to mind the fate of one who in so many ways resembled him but who in almost all particulars was incomparably nobler than the Corsican.

It was to Toussaint during this imprisonment that Wordsworth dedicated the following sonnet:

"Toussaint, the most unhappy man of men!
Whether the whistling rustic tends his plough
Within thy hearing, or thy head be now
Pillowed in some deep dungeon's earless den:
Oh, miserable chieftain! where and when
Wilt thou find patience? Yet die not. Do thou
Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow.
Though fallen thyself never to rise again,
Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee—air, earth, and skies.
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee. Thou hast great allies.
Thy friends are exultation, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

It may be interesting to call to mind the reaction that set in as soon as the blacks beheld the treachery practised on their leader. Then they fled from the French with vengeance on their lips and death in their hearts. It is true that one negro with five hundred soldiers remained loyal to Leclerc after his treachery, and the French officer rewarded him by spiking his epaulettes to his shoulders, shooting him, and throwing the body into the sea. The five hundred soldiers who also remained faithful to France were duly rewarded by being shot. When the negro chieftain, Dessalinee, beheld this wanton slaughter of his race from his mountain fastness, he promptly replied by hanging five hundred French prisoners in full view of Leclerc and his soldiers. Then the war was on in all its fury. No quarter was shown by either side. Bloodhounds were brought over from Cuba by the French to tear to pieces the negro prisoners for the edification of the soldiers and their wives and daughters; and this was but one of many like horrible atrocities.

But the blacks answered with a terrible vengeance. They were well-nigh irresistible in their attacks. The fever also fought for them. Leclerc's army melted as dew in the morning; the general himself grew sick and died. Napoleon sent thirty thousand more soldiers over to accomplish what the former army had failed to do. (At a later day the fifty thousand picked soldiers who fell in the struggle against the blacks might have changed the future of Napoleon, but when needed they were no longer alive.) Fifty thousand French soldiers perished on Haytian soil. At length the remnant of the invading force fled from the island, and Hayti was forever lost to France.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was an apostle of freedom. He belonged to the emancipators of the ages and his name will ever stand in the galaxy of freedom's chosen ones. He, no less than Washington, Bolivar, San Martin, and Lincoln, was a true son of liberty. All these heroes were brothers in spirit. Of all of them it may be said, as it has been written of other apostles of progress, that "Freedom was the nurse that bent over their

cradle; her ample breasts suckled them; all had her milk in their bodies, her marrow in their bones, her granite in their wills, her rebellion in their reason, her fire in their intelligence."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

# THE PROBLEM OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AT the last session of the National Municipal League, Mr. Samuel B. Cooper, president of the Municipal League of Boston, said: "The old contest for the integrity of the nation is forever settled. The new conflict is for purity in the government of the great cities, the municipal units which so largely control the nation. This is the final work of the century."

In Detroit, Governor Pingree, addressing a convention of mayors, said: "The final glory of this country will be the honest and capable government of her cities. During my public life I have always claimed that the great body of our people are honest and wish to see the right prevail. The enemies of good government are to be found among those who claim to be the aristocracy, but who use money and position to corrupt public servants and control legislative bodies. Their power and influence are so great that leagues must be formed to combat them, and they must be fought to the death. The most vital question is how you can compel those who call themselves our best citizens to take an active part in city affairs in some other capacity than as mere fault-finders."

With these men of larger municipal experience, all careful students are in practical agreement. There is no field where the American people need educating more to-day than in the province of municipal government. It is one of the greatest questions confronting us in modern politics. Indeed, the problem of American politics is the problem of the *city*. Our national administration, great as are the evils in our still unreformed methods of appointment, is wonderfully pure. When compared with the daily defalcations and embezzlements of private life, the honesty with which the intricate network of national finances is administered becomes surprising. With the few exceptions such as Albany, Harrisburg, and Spring-

field, where great railroad corporations exert a strong influence, our State legislatures are in the main honest and capable. But for the last quarter century the despair of democracy has been the government of its large cities. It has not been a question of the party in power. Republican Philadelphia has been as ring-ridden as ever was Lesser New York under Tweed or Greater New York under Croker.

In almost everything that touches municipal administration, we are to-day behind Europe. We have everything to learn and almost nothing to teach. This condition is disgraceful and humiliating. It accuses the American democracy. If these things cannot be reformed; if the cities, which are the great centers of influence, cannot be made the places where public spirit is strongest and best organized, then the American democracy is a failure and must sink. It is simply a choice between honest, stable government and anarchy, which, while growing out of civic dishonesty, is itself essentially dishonest. That man who would best serve his nation to-day must fix his thoughts sharply on his own city or town, as the particular section of the nation with which he has most directly to do.

The best way for the individual citizen to promote municipal reform, and so advance the general progress of pure politics in the nation, is not by essays on municipal reforms, nor by national or State conventions on municipal reform, but by seeing to it, as some writer has well said, "that the city wherein you yourself dwell is made pure and good, and that its laws are made conformable to the laws of the kingdom of God, and that the men who are called to administer its high offices are the men of the highest ideals and the highest wisdom to be found within its borders."

The supreme necessity in purifying our cities is that the citizen shall be an actor, not merely a carping critic. Work is better than criticism. That work has got to be done by actual, hard, stubborn, long-continued service in the field of practical politics itself. You must go out and meet not merely the men who think like you, but the men who think differently from you. You must try to win them to your side by argument; to

try to beat and overthrow them and drive them from the field, if you can't win them by argument. The man who thus goes into practical politics may make some mistakes and will be criticized by those who stay out, but he will have the certain knowledge that in no other way can anything be achieved. The crown will finally be awarded, not to the man who says how poorly others have done the work, but to the man who actually does the work, even though he does it imperfectly and with many shortcomings. It is not the man who sits at home in his parlor—the man who reads his evening paper before the fire and grumbles about our corrupt politicians—who ever works an improvement in municipal conditions. It is the man who goes out to the primaries and the polls, who attends the meetings of his party organization if he is a party man, or who gets up effective independent organizations if he is not a party man; the man who wins in actual hard fighting, and who is not afraid of the dirt and sweat—he is the man upon whom we must ultimately rely for results.

The supreme necessity is that spirit of civic, and no less religious, education that shall teach everywhere—in the home and in the school, and from the pulpit and platform and press—that citizenship in a republic is a sacred trust. With the proper conception of citizenship as a trust, we shall speedily recognize the duties incumbent upon us in fulfilling it. This spirit of sacrifice must lead a man to the caucus. It may be very distasteful to him, but it is almost treason to the State to fail here. The primary, it need hardly be said, is more important than the election; for, if good men are not nominated at the caucus, you will have only a choice of evils to vote for on election day.

The duty of voting is not a privilege to be exercised or not, but a mandatory trust. A proper conception of its sacredness will lead every man straight to the ballot-box. The neglect of this duty by vast numbers of our citizens is fraught with the most serious peril. There would be little danger from the vicious and the ignorant, who are comparatively few, if only those who wish the best things were not so indifferent and

careless. The sacrament of our political liberty is the casting of the ballot. It is a religious as well as a secular duty, and the pulpit that fails to emphasize this truth is lamentably failing in its advocacy of the kingdom of God.

Undoubtedly the ideal solution of the problem of municipal government lies in the active participation of every citizen in public affairs, and the divorcement of city interests from national parties and policies, with their partizan strife. This condition prevails in many well-governed foreign cities, and with the evolution of a spirit of municipal independence will eventually obtain the ascendency in our own country. But we cannot wait for that. Even with the regular party organizations, civic purity would result from the active interest of our best citizenship. It is more truly a question of better men than of better systems. If we cannot have both, let us have better men, and the better system will gradually result.

Carl Schurz, in an address before the Civic Conference, once said that, "even though Gabriel were to devise a system of government, Lucifer, if its operations were intrusted to him, would speedily reduce things to chaos." Of course, the reverse is equally true. Let the Prince of Darkness construct the scheme of government, and it would assuredly require all the genius of a Gabriel to avert universal pandemonium. Good men at the head of good systems is the climax of government, but the supreme necessity now is the placing of the best men, under present conditions, in control of municipal affairs.

The best citizenship of every city should endeavor to place in the mayor's chair a *man*—not a puppet of the politicians nor a creature of the city's criminal elements—and place behind him a board of aldermen who place emphasis upon manhood rather than money. Should they fail, let them immediately begin preparations for the next contest, following the sound advice of Joseph T. Alling, president of the Rochester Good Government Club, based upon the experience of his own city: "The only man the 'machine' fears is the one who will never give up, and who comes up smiling for another fight whether victorious or defeated in the first battle. The men who go into

politics solely for the public good are the men who ought to take up this work; for they cannot be bluffed or frightened or bought off, and the public will believe in the sincerity of their professions and will back them up."

(Rev.) JAMES HOFFMAN BATTEN.

*Macomb, Ill.*

# THE WANTS OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

I WISH to present to the public the demands of a cause that will at once create suspicion among some people in regard to its nature and object unless the reader is forewarned against all misunderstanding. The need is for financial resources to organize and carry on the investigation of certain residual phenomena that have been too much neglected because of their affiliation with spiritualism. I must expect the reader to suppose that this is an innocent appeal for money to waste on frauds and delusions, or to prove a despised theory. Let me dispel this idea at once. I understand its origin, but do not intend to allow it any grace.

It is true that many of the phenomena that must soon invite the most thorough scrutiny are of the type to suggest the continuance of personal consciousness after death, but it is not the spirit of science to ask for the means of proving such a hypothesis. It asks for investigation. Hence, I must not be understood as asking for means to spend in the prejudgment of the case. Nor do I wish to have anything to do with spiritualism as it is popularly conceived. I do not assume that there is anything genuine in it. The true scientific man will not ask that a theory be either proved or disproved, as a condition of investigation, but he will try to ascertain and explain real or alleged facts and will accept any theory that they require. I grant that my study of the phenomena presented in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research has convinced me that the belief in survival after death is a rational one, but I shall not hold it any longer than the facts require; and if any one can produce as vast a system of facts rendering the hypothesis unnecessary I shall be among the first to modify my views. My position is only that of a working hypothesis; hence, it is only in this spirit that I wish to present the needs of a cause that cannot escape the attention of the public after what has already been published regarding it. I do not wince

at the associations of these phenomena, whose pedigree is so suspected from their connection with a name that has so bad a history. These have to be faced. The nature and apparent significance of certain real or alleged facts have been so thoroughly appropriated by those who call themselves spiritualists, and who have accepted as genuine so enormous an amount of fraud and illusion, that we who wish to ascertain and explain both the spurious and genuine must endure all sorts of imputations and discredit while we urge the duty of investigation. I shall not quarrel with this if the criticism be scientific, but I shall at least demand that it *be* scientific.

That the study of the phenomena of spiritualism, whether they be genuine or not, cannot longer be evaded, and that we have the scientific right to ask for endowment of the work, I think can be made very clear from a statement of the present situation on this subject.

Had the subject been left either to the ordinary spiritualist, who knows so well how to kill all interest in his cause, or to the influence of gossip and tradition, the whole matter would have vanished in the limbo of illusion and mythology. There would not be the slightest reason to ask for sympathy or aid in studying such "phenomena." But when a body of severely skeptical men, like Professor Sidgwick of Cambridge University, England, Professor Oliver Lodge of Liverpool, Professor William James of Harvard University, Dr. Richard Hodgson, the secretary of the American Branch and the exposer of Madame Blavatsky and Eusapia Palladino, Mr. Wallace, and scores of others that I cannot mention for want of space—when such a body of men, organized to investigate allegations bearing on spiritistic claims, continue their work for eighteen years and issue fifteen or more volumes of reports and two important volumes of "Phantasms of the Living," the subject cannot escape the consideration of the scientific world, however it may choose to estimate the literature. Such men and material create a public of their own, and this public is not often or always as careful in making up its conclusions as the average scientific devotee. It is not obliged to apply the canons of science as

strictly as the scientist who has to defend his convictions in the presence of other minds, and who must hold to skepticism for other reasons than personal considerations. Consequently, there is bound to be a growing constituency demanding the investigation of such phenomena as long as an organized body of intelligent and scientific men publish to the world such work as is found in the reports of the Society for Psychical Research. The scientific man, then, may as well learn sooner as later that he cannot much longer ridicule this subject for fear of losing his influence as well as his reputation. In fact the impulse to study the case has gone so far and the genuine phenomena evincing supernormal powers of some kind have become so numerous and suggestive of spiritistic doctrines that the scientist must either accept or kill the theory, and he cannot do either of these things intelligently without investigation. We have passed the stage when sneers are respectable. The subject has to be treated seriously on one side or the other and with all the patience and charity that are given to the phenomena of insanity. The problem will also be quite as difficult as this.

But in appealing to the public for an adequate endowment for such work there is one suspicion against which such a request has to contend. It will be interpreted as a demand for means to subsidize mediums. The newspaper notoriety given to myself and the important place which the Piper case has in the whole field of psychical research will suggest that the object is to spend money on a class of people whose reputation for usefulness in a scientific way is not of a sort to command confidence in the man who has anything to do with them. But let me at once dispel this illusion. I shall say frankly that, if we have the means to organize the larger work of psychical research in the right manner, mediums will be able to pay their own way when genuine. Instead of subsidizing them it will be more important to expose the majority of them than to treat their claims seriously. Besides, mediumship is not only a very small part of the real or alleged phenomena that demand attention, but it is in some respects either the less important or less

connected with the immediately practical human object. I do not regard it as necessary to waste any valuable resources on this class of persons generally, as genuine cases can support their own investigation, while we need the means to prosecute inquiries of a far wider scope in the domain of insanity and secondary personality. Moreover, the whole subject of psychical research is so delicate and complex, and its liability to abuse so great, that only the expert psychologist can deal with it safely. Scientists must control its work and protect society from its illusions and dangers.

With this preliminary understanding of the subject, let me state more definitely the wants of the work, and I may then describe the class of phenomena which needs this support for its investigation. The phenomena needing attention are psychopathology (or psychiatry in its psychological aspects), hypnotism, secondary personality (or duplex consciousness), apparitions, telepathy, apparently supernormal acquisition of knowledge, and allied subjects. I shall discuss more fully in a moment each of these classes of phenomena. What I wish to emphasize in regard to them is the imperative need of a large annual fund, which should be secured by an endowment to prosecute the study of certain types of insanity, secondary personality, and the general work of psychical research. At present the scientific and medical worlds do not sufficiently support such investigations as are going on in the New York Pathological Institute and the Society for Psychical Research. By thus classing them together I do not mean to imply that they are doing the same work, for the Pathological Institute is studying certain forms of insanity and the Society for Psychical Research is investigating the alleged claims of spiritualism. But in one respect, perhaps more, the two agencies are closely connected. Their common field is secondary or duplex personality, and the two investigations must sooner or later meet on that common plane. In fact the issue has been so clearly defined by the phenomena of secondary personality on the one hand, and by the results of the Piper case on the other, that the scientific world, either for the proof or the disproof of the claims of spir-

itism, must be seriously in earnest with psycho-pathology. This assertion I hope to make clear before I conclude. At present I wish to emphasize the facts that demand public attention. They are all directly or indirectly connected with the problems of psychical research. I shall discuss, however, the phenomena of psycho-pathology, and state the needs of the work.

There is a great deal of insanity which the old clinical methods are not qualified to understand or to treat. They are the large number of cases known as functional insanity, which are due to psychical disturbances and are amenable apparently to nothing but psychological study and cure. Just what psychological cure is cannot yet be defined accurately, but it is probably comprehended under the idea of suggestion and the regeneration of the normal memory and mental synthesis. Many of the cases of insanity are nothing but amnesia, or defective memory. Even melancholia is often nothing but this amnesia, and curable by suggestion. Possibly all instances of so-called hallucinatory insanity are due in general to the same causes. They are certainly quite often amenable to cure by suggestion, or by methods that I cannot take the trouble to describe here. Secondary personality and its complex phenomena figure in many or all of these cases. Clinical and physiological methods, important as they are, do not suffice to deal with these cases as they require to be treated. Here is an example: A patient was supposed to be suffering with hemiplegia and was kept two years in an asylum, treated with drugs, and not studied as might have been done. An expert psychologist got hold of the case after it had been given up by the authorities and found that the only difficulty was amnesia, and cured it easily by suggestion. Another case representing homicidal and suicidal mania was found to be nothing more than amnesia, and yielded to the same kind of treatment. Pierre Janet obtained a case in which the person was a violent maniac, afflicted with the hallucination that he was possessed with the devil, and, after repeated efforts to hypnotize him, finally managed to secure a suggestion through hearing and cured the case without medicine. Another instance by the same authority is still more

interesting. The patient suffered from hallucinatory insanity and Janet failed to accomplish anything until it occurred to him to try automatic writing. After securing this he obtained through the writing a detailed account from the subject herself —a full history of the hallucinations and their cause, a history that the patient could not recall in any other way. Having learned the cause of them he proceeded to exorcise them by suggestion and succeeded.

Hundreds of instances of this sort could be detailed here, but a few typical ones are sufficient to indicate the importance of the work. To the shame of science and medicine, however, the New York State Commission for Lunacy is doing all it can to prevent this work from being done by the Pathological Institute. The whole subject is in its inception, and much investigation must be done before we can be assured of the best methods for dealing with various cases of insanity. There should be a psychopathic hospital, as in Paris, where all cases of secondary personality and psychopathic difficulties could be collected, studied in their individual peculiarities, and treated accordingly. Such a hospital ought not to be in charge of the State and its poisonous politics. There is no such institution in this country that can devote itself to the proper investigation of these cases. Thousands of insane are inaccessible to the investigation of the psychiatrist, simply because there is no center in which they can be studied. Once collect the various types of hallucinatory insanity and duplex consciousness together, and with the opportunities for studying the individual case psychologically, and the application of suggestion with or without hypnosis, both science and medicine should be advanced.

But the question may be asked, Why do I, a psychical researcher, advocate so strenuously the study of insanity? The simple answer is that I am convinced that the clue to the whole problem of psychical research may be found in these phenomena. Many of the phenomena that are puzzling to the student of normal psychology lie on the borderland of duplex consciousness and can be understood only by the careful study of that phenomenon. This is especially true of mediumistic cases,

whether genuine or spurious, eliminating of course the instances of conscious frauds. In fact the most important phenomena for the psychical researcher to study are the whole field of secondary personality and abnormal psychology. He cannot expect to settle his problems one way or the other without it, and his work is so delicate and complex that only the most expert investigators and the most prolonged inquiries can hope to make any progress. It only leads to madness and folly to leave this subject in the hands of an untrained public. Such cases as Flournoy's recent publication describes are immeasurably important for every aspect of the problem. This somnambulistic representation of spiritistic phenomena and alleged reincarnation, and all by a person who in her normal consciousness is honest and unimpeachable in character, is very suggestive of subconscious deception on a large scale, and therefore makes it all the more imperative that science should discover the secrets of these processes that are either indicating survival after death or playing fiendish tricks of deception upon us. Whether true or false it is equally important to have a thorough scientific verdict upon this great question of Job, "If a man die shall he live again?" We cannot afford to be fooled on either side of the matter, and the work of the Society for Psychical Research has gone so far that no intelligent man can any longer sneer at it without understanding its facts.

The type of phenomena outside of psycho-pathology that requires the most careful attention is found in the following: First come apparitions of the dead and dying. I do not need to give examples, but the English "Census of Hallucinations," published by the Society for Psychical Research, and Flammarion's recent book on "The Unknown," are collections of what I mean. They are a type of phenomena that have very great significance if they can be authenticated and shown to be inexplicable by chance and various influences leading to the supposition of hallucination. But the serious difficulty of these experiences is that they are not amenable to experimental production at pleasure, but occur sporadically and depend for their value upon human testimony. The trouble with this attestation

too often is that the parties having the apparition do not know the conditions affecting the evidential value of their statements, and so do not observe the facts carefully enough, or they do not record them so as to free them from the accusation of illusions of memory. All these suspicions have been overcome in the eighty striking cases of the English "Census" out of the 350 collected. But, nevertheless, the most expert knowledge in psychology is often required to sift these cases and to select those that may have importance. I know personally one instance that appeared at first to be valuable, but on ascertaining the habits of thought of the person who had the apparition the importance of it vanished, and it was one of those cases that would have passed for an inexplicable coincidence but for this discovery. Before adopting any theories, therefore, maintaining the supernormal character of such phenomena, we require to have men qualified with the time and opportunities to investigate these phenomena as they occur and before they become mythology. Men engaged, as I am, in teaching cannot devote their time to the subject. There must be men whose business it is to investigate and know all about such phenomena, and who can have the means to visit personally the persons that have these experiences, instead of relying upon correspondence. I have seen many a story in print that was apparently important, but the moment that I obtained the personal acquaintance of the man or woman narrating it I saw that it would not stand the scrutiny of scientific method, or, if it were probably genuine, that it was defective evidentially owing to the defects of character that affect all evidence or testimony. The enormous interests of belief and life cannot be made to depend upon stories coming from such sources. Hence, we must have the means to sift these phenomena and to bring the genuine cases under the control of the scientific mind, which alone can separate the false from the true and important. It is the scandal of science that this has not been done already.

It is precisely the same with real and alleged mediumistic phenomena. They are worthless until vouched for by scientific methods. They are so delicate also that the whole time of

the properly qualified men can be devoted to their study. They are now so complicated with secondary personality also and abnormal mental conditions that, like all extremely sporadic phenomena, they must be studied with a patient attention that cannot be given them by laymen. Besides, laymen have no qualifications for pronouncing judgment upon them. This is especially true when we recall the fact that the man who is to find the truth in these matters must serve a thorough apprenticeship in the resources of fraud, illusion, hallucination, and secondary personality, all of them exhausting the capacities of psychology and psychiatry for the means of adequately investigating the various phenomena concerned, whether spurious or genuine.

It is the Piper case that has created the situation which demands attention. But the public has probably heard enough of this remarkable case to make it unnecessary to detail its incidents in this paper. I allude to it, however, as emphasizing a large class of phenomena that lie on the borderland of the theories that are at least apparently necessary to account for that case. Even if the Piper phenomena be reduced to less significance than they purport to have, this independent class of facts representing apparitions retain all their suggestiveness and importance, and they may have to be investigated in connection with the various types of alleged mediumship.

Let me illustrate by example one of these borderland phenomena. I refer to the experiences of dying persons. Ordinarily they cannot be treated seriously, but the results of psychical research suggest an importance for them. We sometimes hear a dying person remark that he sees a certain deceased friend or relative. Sometimes the dying person indicates by his expression that he sees or apparently sees something of important interest. Presumptively this is nothing but hallucination, as would be expected in this supreme crisis. But it is not so easy to explain away such instances as this, narrated by Dr. Minot J. Savage: Two little girls, intimate friends, took scarlet fever about the same time. One of them, A, died, but the fact of her death was scrupulously concealed from her friend B,

As the latter was approaching death she remarked that she saw A, and that A was telling her that she, B, was going with her, and then B asked her parents why they did not tell her that her friend A had died. A still more interesting case is narrated by Dr. Richard Hodgson in his report on the Piper case, and it obtains enhanced interest from the fact that it was followed by a "communication" to the same effect through Mrs. Piper. Dr. Hodgson received at a sitting, written in automatic writing, a message from a certain deceased person, saying that she had been present on the "other side" at the death of a certain person whose death Dr. Hodgson had just learned on the way to the sitting in the morning paper. The "communicator" used an unusual form of statement in the message. A friend soon afterward heard from the wife of the dying person of the incidents that took place at the crisis of death, and both names and statements were identical with those given at the sitting, and were wholly unknown to Dr. Hodgson until told him in this way. I could also narrate two cases that occurred in my own family, and one in my own sittings with Mrs. Piper, having some resemblance to that of Dr. Hodgson. But these are sufficient for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of studying these phenomena. They cannot be studied, however, without some means to organize the work and to centralize the collection of the data. If in such phenomena we can obtain a sufficient number to question the application of chance, illusion, and hallucination to them, we may find evidence of a consciousness of dying that is incompatible with the materialistic theory of mind.

But it is the three classes of phenomena represented in apparitions, mediumship, and secondary personality, including certain forms of insanity, that must be considered the most important in such an investigation. I repeat here also that the nature of the phenomena of secondary personality is such that neither party to the controversy regarding supernormal phenomena can escape the duty to come to some scientific conclusion on their relation to the problem. The spiritist must understand them if he is to defend his position, and the anti-spiritist must study them for the purposes of refutation if he expects to

accomplish that end. Flournoy's recent work, alluded to above, represents the kind of investigation that must be faced by the spiritist and extended by the anti-spiritist, if we discover any solution at all of the facts that, superficially at least, satisfy the demands of the hypothesis for a future life.

To accomplish the scientific study of such phenomena, however, there must be a large endowment. I do not say how it should be given; this is not my task at present. But it will require, simply to start the work, the annual income of not less than $1,000,000. It will soon expand until a much larger sum will be necessary. Its organization and prosecution for any length of time cannot be effected with less than $40,000 a year. The maintenance of a psychopathic hospital in its staff and appurtenances, and of a staff for investigating coincidences and apparitions and mediumistic phenomena, will not be easily carried on without adequate resources—if the work is to be scientifically done; and it should not be done at all unless it is done in the most scientific manner. Some idea of the present situation can be seen from the fact that the American Society for Psychical Research, a branch of the English body, is not able to do more than pay its office expenses from the fees of the members, who number only about five hundred. The Piper experiments are carried on wholly by private contributions. The Society has no funds for paying its secretary, and for the lack of means he had to give up his experiments for a whole year. Besides, there is on record about 1,000 coincidental hallucinations which the American Branch cannot investigate as they deserve, simply for the lack of men and money. It is the scandal of the scientific world that a field that promises the best results for humanity, no matter whether spiritism be accepted or refuted, cannot receive due attention, while expeditions to the North Pole, deep-sea dredgings for "missing links," and biological studies about man's origin from protoplasm can receive their millions without any apparent difficulty. The results for the benefit of insanity may be incalculable, if we can discover the means of curing it in cases hitherto inaccessible to medical methods. All of this can be accomplished without directly

meddling with spiritistic questions, though it will be impossible to probe these phenomena thoroughly without throwing light one way or the other on the claims of spiritism—either for confirmation or refutation. On either side of this latter problem the interests of the human race are such that it must, after the challenge which the Piper case presents, find a solution. It cannot afford to neglect spiritism and its argument for a future life, if that doctrine be true, and it cannot afford to be fooled if it be false. Science, morality, religion, and politics are all equally concerned with the outcome, no matter what it may be.

There are three ways in which the endowment of the work can be made: (1) We may endow the American Society. (2) We may endow the work in the trusteeship of some university. (3) We may endow it in connection with the establishment of a psychopathic hospital. The first plan has its difficulties, and mainly the circumstance that private societies have not been accustomed to receive the attention of donors of public institutions, except they be hospitals. It would be hard to make appeals for further aid when wanted. It would, however, assure independence of investigation. The second method has the advantage of representing institutions that can most successfully command respect when funds are wanted for investigation. But we should have to see that the Seybert Commission fiasco could not be repeated. The third method is too new to receive favor. There would be no difficulty in founding a psychopathic hospital, but it is questionable whether any other research work than that of secondary personality could be carried on in that way. On the whole, the second method commends itself to me as the best, provided that ample security be taken for the proper use of the funds. But I shall not decide a matter in which I have less interest than I have in seeing that adequate provision for the work is made. This last consideration is the most important. If an endowment of $1,000,000 can be obtained for the work of a psychopathic hospital and of psychical research in general I should not dispute about the method of endowment. There is no more imperative work in the world,

and none needs so much the attention of this humanity-professing age. The investigation and cure of that most pathetic condition of man, namely, insanity, ought to enlist the interest of every person able to aid experiment in such a work, even if the hope of remedy is not at present so clear as he might desire. I do not say more on the question of deciding the issue of a future life. The stake is worth the trial, to say the least; and if in all the ages sporadic glimpses of its possibility have crept through the veil and sustained the aspirations of the best men, founded religions, purified morality, lightened the darkness of "honest doubt," or offered to science its noblest opportunities, it is certainly worthy of our best efforts to seek beacon-lights on the shores of eternity. It rests entirely with those who have the means of encouraging the investigation to see that it is possible. They have only to remember that in this work sentiment and "hopes" can have no place in the problem of inquiry and explanation. Science must accept whatever verdict its facts enforce, and it may not be less useful to show the limits of human knowledge than it is to foster the belief in a future life. In fact I recognize that it is easy to make the average human being fit only for the madhouse if we encourage him to experiment upon this subject for himself. So much the more is the need for its control by the proper persons, and if the properly endowed and organized work of psychical research can save men from the follies and illusions of traditional spiritualism; if it can discriminate between secondary personality and the supernormal phenomena that at least suggest a future life; if it can in any way sustain or prove the conception of immortality—the work of investigation by the best trained men cannot be sacrificed without impeaching both the intelligence and the morality of the human race.

I shall be glad to correspond personally with all disposed to contribute to such an endowment, if they feel that it is adequately secured against misuse. The Rev. Minot J. Savage and the Rev. R. Heber Newton, both of New York, have consented, and I hope to obtain the consent of the Hon. Lyman J.

Gage, Secretary of the United States Treasury, to serve as trustees of such a fund until they can exact guaranties for its proper use.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

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# APOSTLES OF AUTOLATRY.

Satan counseled with three of his messengers, and he bade them go and whisper to mankind what would soonest bring all men unto him. One said, "I will tell them that there is no hell as a punishment;" and the second, "I will tell them there is no heaven as a reward." But the third said, "I will tell them there is no Love;" and Satan chose the third as his messenger, because men may be great and noble without fear of punishment or hope of reward, but without *love* all virtue and all nobility must inevitably perish.

THE maxims of conduct that prevail among men at any given time will be determined by the ideals that for the moment prevail, and that in turn borrow their colors from existing institutions. The age and country that produced Machiavelli could not have brought forth Grotius, nor would Rochefoucauld or Talleyrand have been possible under a Cromwellian austerity of manners and morals. In a slave-holding community such maxims as relate to human liberty will be curtailed to meet conditions. Where success or social position is to be attained by the exercise of certain qualities, such qualities will be extolled at the expense of more important considerations of conduct. Nor will it weigh greatly if the Church shall preach the higher morality that takes no heed of consequence—society is governed in its relations by only so much religion as it is unsafe to exclude. It will make its own code of morals, and its system of ethics will be a perfectly safe one. When these are formulated in books they will reflect more or less faithfully the prevailing morals of the time. If the writers are congenitally stupid they will do this with amazing candor, and usually without suspecting that what they say is in the nature of a personal confession.

In the foregoing statement there is much that will seem like truism. But it will serve as an introduction to a species of literature that is to-day exercising a most baneful influence upon the minds of the young. Strangely enough, the most

hurtful books are not those excluded from public libraries, nor are they those of lascivious purpose. They are not French novels, nor yet are they the "Henty books," with their glorification of physical prowess and warlike deeds. They are not even "Stalky and Company," bad as that is. They are, curiously, the very books that the proud father commits into the hands of his son, bidding him master the lessons they contain and draw from them inspiration for his mature years. They are the books that the public librarian recommends to the young as embodying unimpeachable maxims of conduct and wealth of illustrative incidents in the lives of the great. The books I refer to are those for which Samuel Smiles's "Character," "Thrift," and "Self-Help," and Dr. O. S. Marden's "Success" and "Architects of Fate" may serve as types. These are not sharply differentiated from countless other books of their kind, but they may be singled out from the rest both on account of their representative character and their phenomenal circulation.

These books reflect the character of the age—its political and social interpretations, its sordid commercial ideals, its lack of high purpose, its absence of love for art and the beautiful. That knowledge is power these authors have heard; that knowledge is *life* they do not comprehend. Hence, to them, culture is accomplishment, not self-growth, and the end of everything is use. They would stare at you if you told them that the things of most value are the things of no use at all, for they are the most impenetrable of Philistines. Listen to these extracts, for example:

"Even the pyramids might well be exchanged for some of the workshops and manufactories that were standing in the days of the Pharaohs."

"What a man does is the real test of what a man is."

Indeed! But it is shallow untruth. "Man," says the wise Goethe, "exists for culture; not for what he can accomplish, but for what can be accomplished in him."

These books are never studies of character—of qualities that are virtues—but only of qualities that win. That it may be well to lose the battle; that one may deliberately choose

defeat as the better part; that perfect quiescence itself may be a virtue—these are things that never occur to such purveyors of false and foolish maxims of conduct. Nor does it ever enter their minds to conceive of knowledge for its own sake—of man dwelling alone with the true and beautiful, esteeming such association as the perfect life, worthy of any sacrifice. Nothing of this kind is to be found in the patch-work volumes of these smug moralists; always it is the apotheosis of achievement—almost always it has for its objective point the mighty dollar.

What is success? Who has succeeded? Arnold von Winkelried, "gathering to his breast the sheaf of spears"? John Brown, giving his life for his black brother? Toussaint L'Ouverture? Florence Nightingale? Wilberforce? Ah, no. They are Rockefeller, Havemeyer, the ex-Senator from Montana, the Senator from Ohio. But there are others who have succeeded. They are Brockway and Jimmy Hope, counterfeiter and safe-cracker. Jeffries and Corbett are successes in their profession—and Talmage in his. To those who worship "success," here are some shining examples; and they might be multiplied *ad infinitum et ad nauseam.*

Now, pick up any of these books of Smiles and his American imitator, and this bewildering

"Moses and Aaron
Paul Jones and old Charon"

kind of combination is kept up to the utter mental and moral bewilderment of the youthful reader. Raleigh is held up as a model character. The wonderful careers of Julius Cæsar and Carter Harrison illuminate the same page. There is everywhere an amazing absence of the discriminating faculty. Statements are made with a perfect disregard of the fact that taken literally they are absurdly false. "A man is never so happy as when he is *totus in se:* as when he suffices to himself," says Marden. Stories are constantly introduced, the particular relevancy of which is open to more or less dubious scrutiny. But these have to be told, because a book of four hundred and seventy pages must be got together, and one is apt to run

short of moral reflections when the attempt is made to give them so large a surface area.

Let me indicate a few of the specific false doctrines. First, the glorification of mere gainful work prefaced by such anecdotes as these:

"The foreman of a bootblack shop on Madison Square, New York, is a continual source of surprise to the customers, but his conduct justifies his employer's confidence. He is the hardest worker among the employees, and frequently takes the brushes from one of his subordinates when there are not enough customers to keep all busy. He never allows a customer to go away unless he is satisfied that his boots have been polished in the best possible manner. He is full of enthusiasm, and works at the end of a busy day with as much energy as at the beginning. His humor never lags and his muscles never tire.

" 'It is a lesson in enthusiasm,' said a spectator; 'he is the only man I ever saw who always seems to love the work.' "

Another of the false doctrines of these books is the exaggerated importance attached to money, fortified by such sentences as these, in which the author fairly sprawls before his god:

"Money is like a spring of water in the mountains. It holds the wealth of the valley in its bosom, if it will only expend itself. When it dashes down the mountains it makes the meadow green and glad with its wealth. Beautiful flowers spring up along its banks and bathe their faces in its sparkling surface."

"Say what men may, money is the appetizing provocation that teases the business nerve of the world. The want of money is strong enough to keep things in their places. It is one of the great principles of *moral* [!] gravitation."

"A poor woman on going to the seashore for the first time, after gazing on the limitless expanse, said she was glad for once in her life to see something there was enough of. But who ever saw the man who had money enough?"

Of course, the author misses the finer point of this story, and sees only its sordid application.

But in spite of the horrid detestation of poverty, in spite of pæans of praise of wealth, there are also to be found in these books many panegyrics of poverty. Dr. Marden calls it "a priceless spur." In fact, poverty is desirable and of perfect excellence—and so also are riches. The paramountcy of either of these dogmas is in accordance with the exigencies of the

"argument"—I mean the subject-matter of the chapter. The recipe, if you desire to try your hand at works of this kind, is as follows: When you are writing on character you are to exalt this quality above everything else, wealth included; if you are writing a chapter on "Success under Difficulties," you must praise poverty as one of the difficulties; but if you are urging your young readers to forge ahead and secure wealth, you are to fill them with a hatred of poverty, the only desirable thing being riches. Of course, this method will not give a harmoniously coördinated, working scheme of life; but that is not what you are after: you are a maker of books, not a thinker.

The falsest of the doctrines of these works is that of "Thrift." Says Smiles:

"It is the savings of the world that have made the civilization of the world."

"Habitual improvidence is the real cause of the social degradation of the poor."

Dr. Marden quotes the story of Guy, the miserly London bookseller. "What is your business?" said Guy to his caller. "To discuss your methods of saving money," said the visitor. "That we can do in the dark," said Guy, blowing out the candle-light, thus furnishing a practical lesson in "thrift." Dr. Marden's comment is that this kind of economy, which verges on the niggardly, is better than the extravagance that laughs at it.

We have much of the sordid commercialism of Franklin's maxims, softened by his calculating philanthropy, which took its justification from the scriptural injunction, "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days." But it never occurs to these authors to suspect that the repression of innocent enjoyment is the cause of half the vice in the world.

Then we have descriptions of persons that have practised thrift. Of Stephen Girard it is said, "His entire wardrobe would have been dear at $5. His lip was covered with snuff." We have a picture of the original Astor caressing his

furs in ecstasy at the thought of the dollars they would bring. A. T. Stewart is held up for our admiration. He acquired great wealth, died, and left it to be squandered by Henry Hilton. Both departed this world without a friend. We know how the first pinched and stinted to obtain his great wealth; and the story of his miserable sacrifice is told that we may profit by the example. Is this indeed the type of the coming man, the fruition of all progress, the culmination of all evolution, the heir of all the ages? Is it the man who denies himself every little pleasure and comfort that the heart craves, who shrivels and decays—morally, spiritually, mentally, physically—that his hoard of golden dollars may grow and grow, and who finally leaves it to one who squanders it to his own ruin, thus involving two victims in the miserable web that one has unworthily spun for his own destruction?

These books are agnostic in tone. They ignore God while courteously mentioning him now and then when he appears to be on the side of some one of their moral preachments. Their conception of life and civilization is ignobly false. They measure the value and quality of life by the amount of material wealth, never by the justice of its division, which they assume as proved. But civilization rests upon the strength and breadth of its sympathy, upon the civility of its civil laws. These writers speak of poverty as something that the individual can avoid. They are ignorant of the fact that poverty is a social institution, which the individual cannot himself create nor escape. For poverty is precisely the thrift and self-denial that they preach. The enforced necessity of practising small economies that they insist upon is the very poverty they picture as so terrible.

Take their favorite doctrine of "thrift," and let us ask ourselves if it is Christian. "Take no heed for the morrow." "Have life, and have it more abundantly." What of the lesson of the sparrows? The skeptic will tell you, of course, that God has done more for the birds than he has for man; that he has provided work and plenty for all the feathered tribe. But this we cannot believe unless we are atheists; the fault

is surely man's, and thrift arises as an apparent necessity out of an unnatural and artificial state. Thrift is therefore not a virtue, but a derivative vice that is made to wear the semblance of a virtue. It is a curious anomaly that the heaven in which most people believe is a *world of play*, but their ideal world here is one of incessant work and self-denial; in short, a world of thrift.

But even under present social conditions the doctrine of thrift is inexpedient. It is bad political economy. Were its practise universal or even general it must lower the standard of living, and by lowering the standard of living must lower wages, and by lowering wages must lower the whole plane of civilization. What we stand more in need of than a gospel of "thrift" is a gospel of extravagance. Thrift, save in small manifestations, is a vice; man is normally a spender, not a saver. The doctrine and its practise are related symptoms of that fierce struggle against want which results from unjust conditions, and of the importance attached to wealth, not as a means of gratifying our wants but as a form of power.

Perhaps these authors are not wholly blind to "things as they are." Smiles says: "The love of gold threatens to drive all before it." And unconsciously it drives this author before it with whips of scorpions. Yet what can equal the arrant stupidity of this?—"Skilled workmen might occupy a social position as high as the classes referred to. What prevents them from rising? Merely that they will not use their leisure to cultivate their minds."

What is meant by "social position"? Is it due to the possession of certain intellectual, moral, or spiritual qualities? De Veers got into good society—look at De Veers!

> "The thing itself is neither rich nor rare;—
> The wonder is how the devil it got there."

De Veers's father died and left him a million, as compensation for the mental and spiritual pauperism with which he was endowed. A profounder extreme of intellectual indigence does not exist. De Veers is an animated vacuum that has

been taught to walk and talk. Yet he has "social position." Why not include De Veers in the next volume on "Success"? Has he not succeeded with infinite self-repression in refraining from doing anything? Does he not deserve credit for the utter absence of an overt act in his entire career? May not a man succeed by negative as well as positive virtues? Is it not estimable never to have killed a man, never to have robbed a poor-box, never to have seduced a serving-maid? Why should not De Veers figure among "Successful Americans"? Every man that has not failed may be said to have succeeded—and De Veers has "social position." What is that success of which these authors write if it be not social position? Is not De Veers there, and right up in front?

Did Smiles really believe that the English workman of whom he was writing could get into "society"? Probably so, for ever curious is the folly of self-delusion. Even Lilian Whiting permits herself to say: "The lingering idea that there is caste in work is an unworthy one; the only caste is in character." On the contrary, so marked is this *caste in work* that it attaches even to the manner in which inanimate things are regarded, as witness the recent action of a millionaire member of the New York Yacht Club, who burned his yacht, which had become unseaworthy, for fear that if sold it would be put to productive uses.

What is caste? That all labor (all labor that is service, not mere gainful work, or work *per se*) is inherently noble is true. But caste is something that society creates; it is an artificial and arbitrary division of class, and has nothing to do with character. By reason of differences in mere material pursuits hosts of men are debarred from entrance into certain classes of society and fixed within a class by themselves, the difficulty if not impossibility of escape from which was pointed out years ago by John Stuart Mill. What folly it is, then, to talk about there being no caste in work! Not a wider gulf separates the Hindu of high birth from the outcast Pariah than yawns between Mrs. Astor and her chambermaid. The owner of the department store may know that his clerk has a soul—indeed,

he contributes to the Church for that soul's salvation—but he would not invite him to his home were he possessed of the intellect of a Da Vinci and the manners of a Chesterfield. The caste *is* in the work, unless some brilliant accident of fortune shall rescue the worker—that difference in work which marks one class as doomed to poverty, with as little possibility of rising out of it as the little mangy cur of the street that yelps at your heels has of becoming one of the canine aristocracy that will appear at next season's "bench show."

Perhaps the danger of these books is not chiefly in their specific injunctions—it is in the implied rather than expressed purpose that the heart of their pernicious influence resides. It is not always nor perhaps usually in what they teach, to which a limited application in truth may not always be disallowed, but in what they fail to inculcate—in the absence of every high and lofty purpose that has given to mankind, for its ultimate salvation, the long line of heroes and martyrs who like perennial watchers on the battlements of the world are the sentinels of a stalwart past and heralds of a mightier future. In that future men will practise "business" as the artist practises drawing and painting—out of love for it. Not in the same way, it is true; but business will be based upon reciprocal service, and this will determine the ideal in which material pursuits will be entered upon—under happier social conditions. But "business" will not have the ugly meaning it has to-day.

It is true that the books we have been considering are not wholly devoid of higher ideals. They do seem to teach occasionally a double standard of morality—a sort of bimetalism of ethics. But the Gresham law seems to work here as in the realm of finance—the cheaper metal drives out the dearer, and it is the baser alone that circulates.

I am inclined to think that the only process analogous to the purveying of these false ideals of success to the young, of which these writers are guilty, is the grand larceny of which Cowper speaks as "the stealing of the unguarded gems of truth from the souls of little children." From these authors, whom I have termed the "apostles of autolatry," or self-wor-

ship, are the teachers of the gospel of selfishness; and so insidiously is the lesson inculcated that it is doubtful if the writers themselves suspect the infamy of their tutelage. For it includes the negation of Sacrifice, the denial of Humanity, the rejection of Love. It is so negative and blank a creed that even the religion of St. Simeon of the Pillar seems preferable by comparison.

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*New York.*

## THE DANGER TENDENCY IN BRAIN STUDY.

SAYS Dr. Andrew Wilson, in a magazine article: "There is probably no more fascinating topic in the wide range with which the biologist deals than the brain and its workings." And, it seems to me, he might have added, not within the range of *all* scientific investigation; for, as the scalpel lays bare this curious nucleated and striated mass, one is face to face with the riddle that makes and baffles all thought. The brain student, like no other student, has to deal with the marvelous apparition of consciousness and the ultimate problems of life and death.

In every physiology book, the principal territory of the brain is plainly outlined and illustrated by diagrams and colored maps, so that even school-children nowadays know of the hemispheres and their convolutions, the longitudinal fissure, the corpus callosum, the cerebellum, the pons, the medulla oblongata, the gray matter and the white matter of the brain. But besides these are strange ways and by-ways, mysterious openings, and unaccountable walls and floors hidden beneath the hemispheres—a veritable labyrinth in which physiologists and psychologists love to revel, their companions being principally theories; for the facts so eagerly sought are very elusive. Certain facts, however, have been discovered about brain functions, to which physiology hopefully points as possible data for a large accumulation. For instance, much that is curious and interesting has been learned about the way in which sensory and motor messages are sent to and from the brain; but what a sensory or a motor message really *is*, and how the one is changed into thought, sensation, or emotion, and the other into muscular action—or whether, as the monists claim, there is no change at all, but *one* event, which manifests itself differently to our consciousness—are problems that neither the doctors nor the psychologists can solve. Indeed,

for every fact learned about the brain there are a thousand questions and conflicting theories.

While the functions of other organs of the body are comparatively well known, the brain, as the working organ of mind, remains practically a mystery—subtle, inscrutable, and most tantalizing to the investigator. Theorists have proclaimed with a flourish that the central ganglions hide the secret of the soul—that the corpus striatum and the optic thalamus may be the basis of mind. One would have us believe that the optic thalamus is, to use a commercial term, a receiving house for the vibrations passing along an afferent nerve, and that it has the power of "etherealizing" these vibrations into thoughts, sensations, or emotions; while the corpus striatum is, to continue the commercial metaphor, a sort of clearing house in which these same "etherealized" nerve vibrations are again "materialized" into those peculiar efferent vibrations that result in muscular action. Other theorists maintain that wherever is found the peculiar gray color-matter of the brain there is a brain center, and that every sensation is recorded simultaneously on every one of these brain centers. Laboratory experiments, however, do not yet verify these and many other equally interesting and ingenious theories. The mystery of the relation of brain to the various modes of thought and feeling remains; and as the scientific investigator approaches too closely and scrutinizes too intently this subjective rainbow, which has stretched from the horizon of Plato and Aristotle to that of modern times, it subtly eludes every inroad of his intelligence and is absorbed into the surrounding mystery of the universe.

Besides the fascination of the subject itself, there is the newness of the field as regards scientific data, which is equally alluring to the business practitioner, the philanthropist, and the psychologist. The young doctor can reap a rich harvest as a brain and nerve specialist, if, in commercial terms and with commercial signification, "he comes to understand his business." The philanthropic doctor, whose professional status and income are assured and who can afford henceforth

to devote himself quite unselfishly to bettering the condition of his fellows, may find undreamed-of ways of alleviating brain disease, as insanity and those unrecognized forms of insanity—sin and crime. He that studies the brain for scientific discovery may yet, possibly, be rewarded by a little light on old problems that the subtlest speculative philosophy has never been able to solve. Brain science may indeed be called the new science of the new century, and a genuine psychological science is the most eagerly anticipated of its possibilities. Says Professor James, of Harvard: "As yet it is no science, but the matter of a science is with us. Something definite happens when to a certain brain state a certain 'sciousness' corresponds. A genuine glimpse into what it is would be *the* scientific achievement before which all past achievements would pale. . . . The Galileo and the Lavoisier of psychology will be famous men indeed when they come—as come they some day surely will, or past successes are no index to the future." Certain it is that brain specialists are constantly increasing in number, and, as Professor James hopefully predicts, out of this accumulation of patient experiment and profound research, great possibilities, even in face of the tremendous difficulties, may be realized.

But together with the attractions of the subject goes a certain danger, which it is well for the constantly increasing number, who are fortunate or possibly unfortunate enough to enter this field of investigation, to consider. To many the danger in brain study, and perhaps in all biological study, would seem to be its materialistic and therefore unreligious tendencies. The close relation between brain action and thought, and indeed between brain action and consciousness itself, is not a subject that the superficial churchman loves to discuss. But the deepest religious thinkers see no cause for alarm. The tendency of the age, even in biological study, is no longer toward *open* materialism. The Church will have little difficulty in adjusting its creeds to the prevailing scientific ones, as such an adjustment becomes necessary. As regards the individual, his religion is so entirely a part and parcel, so to

speak, of the man himself that while environment, and especially the peculiarly molding environment, of professional life may greatly modify it can rarely radically change this thoroughly temperamental and personal attribute. So that whenever open materialism *does* appear in an essentially religious temperament it is usually a mere passing feeling, rather than any deep-seated conviction. In case of the scientific investigator, it may crop out as a sort of professional despair, which he naturally feels, at times, as he tries to discover through the maze of theory, experiment, and conflicting systems one positive, scientific fact. The danger tendency, then, in brain study lies outside the realm of religion and within the actual details of the study itself. The real danger to the enthusiastic student, who has determined to devote his life and best energies to this line of investigation, is a constantly increasing and absorbing *inner life* in distinction from the practical *outer life.*

The antithesis of the practical and the inner life has become a sort of accepted commonplace of the pulpit. Professor Moulton, in his introduction to "Macbeth," gives it a broader and more accurate interpretation when he says: "The exact distinction is between the outer world—the world of practical action, the sphere of making and doing, in which we mingle with our fellow-men, join in their enterprises, influence them to our ideas, and seek to build up a fabric of power—and, on the other hand, the inner intellectual life, in which our powers, as by a mirror, are turned inward upon ourselves, exploring the depths of our consciousness and our mysterious relations with the unseen." "This antithesis," he hastens to add, "is not between the intellectual and the commonplace. Great intellectual powers find employment in practical life. Knowledge of affairs, with its rapid and instinctive grasp, is often possessed in the highest degree by the man who is least of all versed in that outer knowledge that could explain and analyze the processes by which it operates." In the normal man the two lives are so happily blended that neither obtrudes; but this nice balance is very easily displaced. The man of affairs becomes absorbed in his outer world—the self-anatomist

in his inner world. The man of affairs has rarely time or inclination to study himself. The self-anatomist, on the contrary, develops a certain indifference to the busy world; he comes to regard his fellows as subjects for introspective study, and he is apt to lose that human interest which grows out of the genial, social instinct. The man of affairs exalts and sets a commercial value on ratiocination. The self-anatomist grows to distrust that human reason which, in dealing with the peculiar problems of the psychologist, seems at times hopelessly inadequate. The two lives, when carried to extremes in different persons, are quite understood by each other. The business man is apt to regard the thinker as an idle, useless dreamer, while the thinker cordially returns this bit of flattery by mentally "placing" the business man as a hustling Philistine.

Uniting these extremes in a happy synthesis, comes the normal brain doctor; and just in proportion to this nice adjustment of these two lives in himself is he useful as a practitioner. Let commercial rewards lure too ardently and he loses the idealism that Science demands of her followers. Let him grow too absorbed in the mystery of the brain and its action and he loses proportionately "that adjustment of acts to ends" which characterizes the practical man. In the study of the symptoms and the causes of brain disease—of the fascinating phases of insanity—he peers with professional eyes into the workings of the organ. A clot of blood may be forming here; there the skull may press too heavily upon the cerebrum; an abscess on the brain may be developing, or there may be morbid change in the brain structure itself. Thus the province of the brain doctor is the *abnormal processes* of brain action and those strange phases of inner life which accompany them, so that he also, in analyzing his "cases," grows quite naturally into the inner life, and quite possibly, through the constant study of others' pathological conditions, into a pathological inner life. This very subject is a matter of interesting discussion in a recent article entitled "Insanity is Contagious." After reviewing the physiological and pathological aspects of the subject and citing many instances, the author declares that a person thrown

constantly into the society of insane persons is likely, in the course of time, to become insane himself. But the root of the matter lies in that inner life which the brain doctor is compelled most frequently to live. The constant study of brain processes, natural or pathological, whether those of his fellows or his own, is apt to give his mind that peculiar professional bias which unconsciously shapes his thoughts and actions.

If this danger threatens the practitioner, it threatens even more seriously the psychologist, who from instinct, choice, and habit tends always to the world of introspection and analysis in distinction from the world of action. Nowadays, in every well-equipped psychological laboratory, the experimenter has many curious instruments at his disposal. With these, he can measure the rapidity of thought, the intensity of emotion, or a nerve vibration, as a sensory image is being flashed upon the cerebrum. Or his experiments may lead him into the subtler mental phenomena of telepathy, hypnotism, and clairvoyance, which are recognized by leading scientists as genuine, though yet unsatisfactorily explained facts. While the charm of the study, like the effect of a stimulating but insidious drug whose reaction is apt to be depressing, grows constantly by these experiments, it tends to draw the student more and more away from a healthy, practical *outer* life into an intense *inner* life. As he tries to analyze, day by day, "the stream of consciousness," the peculiar sequence of thoughts called reasoning, the psychology of the smile or the tear, and these analyses yield no positive results, he learns to discredit himself as a thinker, and unconsciously, from very habit, to measure and label himself as an emotional being.

To the psychologist, reasoning resolves itself into two phases —a problem to be solved, while at the same time it is the only instrument that can even try to solve it. It is defined by Professor James as "the substitution of parts and their implications or consequences for wholes." So that when the psychologist tries to find out what a reasoning process is he must separate this mental phenomenon into its parts; in other

words, he must resolve the whole process into its separate thoughts, whose peculiar sequences make up the process. But he finds himself no nearer the solution of the original problem; instead, he is faced by others that seem equally unsolvable. The absorbing questions remain always unanswered—what each part of a reasoning process (*thought itself*) really *is,* and its relation to the chemical processes going on in the brain. So that reasoning as the ultimate *x* of the problem seems to fall quite naturally into Herbert Spencer's "Unknowable," while as a working instrument that tries to discover itself it has proved in his own experiments quite ineffective. He comes to feel with Emerson "that there is throughout Nature something mocking, something that leads us on and on, but arrives nowhere, keeps no faith with us;" and he is half inclined, at times, to exclaim with the materialists that a logical argument is of no more *absolute* value than an illogical one—that each probably equals the agitation of a different series of brain cells, or different rates of agitation of the same series. Thus the psychologist, in following his intuitions and training, is inclined to stray beyond the limits of the relative. All mental achievement becomes repetition; as Haeckel expresses it—"the repetition of brain conditions." Art, literature, professional success, and national development receive new interpretation, and society itself becomes an eject of the *inner life.*

As we turn to the study of the emotions and sensations, there is the same inner life with its accompanying isolation and consequent morbid possibilities. When a student becomes accustomed to analyze his feelings, to weigh this one against that one, to try to discover how they come and how they go, to measure their intensity and duration, and to set down the results in figures in a note-book—all of which are the constant and legitimate business of the professional psychologist—he himself has started a habit that, if abnormally developed, may result in a certain process of dehumanization. He may come in time to lose the power of quick, strong emotion. Feeling in general, except perhaps the purely professional one or that of

extreme pain, may come dangerously to be regarded as so much stimulus for experiment.

A sneering retort, which would make a normal person thoroughly angry, may be exactly the experience that the absorbed psychologist is seeking. If there is a momentary feeling of anger, so much the better. He will question how the auditory nerves have received the stimulus; where, when, and how it has been changed (granting that there is such a change) into its corresponding emotion; on what part or parts of the cerebrum it was recorded; whether there are certain portions of the brain devoted to the record of so-called pleasant stimuli and certain other portions to the record of so-called unpleasant stimuli; why certain words uttered by the vocal cords and various combinations of muscles produced a momentary unpleasant emotion rather than a pleasant one; and what indeed is the radical difference between a pleasant and an unpleasant emotion.

In his associations, too, with his fellows, this introspective bent of the psychologist, unless held in abeyance, tends in time to overbalance the natural instinct. Every professional man grows naturally, in a certain way, to regard his fellows and their doings from the point of view of his profession. Thus an actor, watching a play, feels only incidentally the joys or sorrows of the lovers, their happy union or possible death, the romance of the melodrama, or the grimness of the tragedy. What he sees, or rather professionally feels, is the crude or clever mechanism, so to speak, of the acting—the artistic or realistic climax of the play. The novel writer, like the novel reader, may beguile a summer's afternoon with the latest bit of realism or romanticism; but his professionally developed critical habit rarely permits him to forget, in the clever rhetoric of the story, that after all it *is* clever rhetoric, and what appeals to him is the synthesis of the novel—the plot, the incidents, the characters as they evolved themselves in the writer's mind. "The lawyer," says Professor William H. Hudson in a recent magazine article, "carries his legal, the theologian his theological, the scientist his scientific bent of mind into every in-

quiry; with what grotesque results is only too frequently apparent. Wholly absorbed in the contemplation of certain isolated classes of phenomena, they unconsciously allow their particular interests to dominate their thoughts and impose disastrous restrictions upon their view of whatever lies outside their own chosen field."

And so the psychologist comes to regard *his* fellows, quite naturally, as subjects for introspective study and dissection. Where the casual observer notes the spirituality, intelligence, or grossness of the expression, the psychologist resolves this general expression into its physical elements and tries to trace, as far as possible, these physical elements to their metaphysical sources. The lines of the face, the pose of the head, the turn of the neck, the steady or shifting gaze, the lift or droop of the eyelid, the peculiar gesture, the slow or ready play of facial muscles—seeming trifles in themselves—are all, to the supercritical psychologist, outward and rarely mistaken symbols of habitual mental, emotional, and sensational processes. Thus he uses the outer, visible man as a sort of index to discover the inner, invisible man—the real man himself.

But these peculiar processes of scientific investigation are, to a great extent, processes of separation from his fellow-beings, who are thus studied, analyzed, criticized, approved, or found wanting as if the subject of such analysis were a totally different species of being. And so human nature, in retaliation as it were for this practical desertion of his kind, loves to take revenge upon the *man*—to make of him a morbid *Hamlet* or a sad *Amiel;* while, like the mythical Kronus, who devoured his own offspring, he is compelled, by unrelenting habit, to analyze his very morbidness and sadness.

This may illustrate in the psychological line what the writer just quoted calls "the professional bias." "Few specialists," continues he, "can escape the insulation consequent upon living too constantly in a confined area of problems and ideas. Exclusive devotion to separate lines of activity, study, or thought inevitably gives the mind a particular set or twist." As the brain specialist, then, feels himself crystallizing into this "par-

ticular set or twist," he should temporarily lay aside his special studies, and get out of the absorbing *inner* life into the active *outer* one. Most brain specialists understand this, and hasten to counteract unhealthy influences by happy family or social relations, by the manifold uses of charity, by travel, by a vigorous course in athletics, by an active part in business, perhaps by the study of law—which exalts the *commercial* value of reasoning—or by any study or profession that is, so far as possible, removed from the danger of their specialty.

Thus it is, perhaps, that Dr. Weir Mitchell has become well known in literature; that Dr. Hammond plied the literary pen; that Dr. Royce, of Harvard, has written novels; that President Schurman of Cornell has temporarily laid aside his metaphysical studies for an active public life; that Dr. Virchow turns from cellular pathology to those ultra-liberal speeches which keep Germany rampant; that Professor Lombroso has varied his study of criminals and the dissection of criminals' brains by his experiences as an army surgeon. Those who hold prominent chairs in psychology, as Professors Cattell, Titchener, Ladd, and James, have the objective interests of the teacher and the pleasant social life and the healthful atmosphere of a large university.

And we shall find that all great thinkers who have devoted themselves to the metaphysical side of brain study, and have maintained normal conditions, have done so by *compelling* a healthy action and reaction between the inner and the outer way of living. "The sage of Königsberg whose passion was metaphysics" did not despise the pleasant details of social life, but found in his one o'clock dinner, not only the fuel whose burning, the materialists would say (if one dare apply a materialistic aphorism to Kant), produced the steady, white light of his philosophy, but also gave him in his contact with the outside world the absolutely necessary reaction and relaxation. "This meal," says his biographer, "was the great event of the day. He ate it leisurely, and always in the society of very many genial friends." Herbert Spencer has built up a system of philosophy, but at intervals, throughout his long life, he has

been actively engaged in other things. The interests of the inventor, the physicist, and the editor have in turn claimed his attention. Even Schopenhauer, with his deep introspection and derisive contempt for the whole human race, came at last, in his old age, into a certain touch with humanity through that very flattering admiration which probably no one has ever sincerely despised. That the praise of "the vulgar natures," as he was wont to call people in general, made him happier and did him good, even to the discredit of the very spirit of his philosophy, is attested by his own words: "My old age is brighter now than most men's youth, for time has brought its roses at last."

If, then, the brain specialist feels himself in danger of being mastered by those abnormal conditions which his peculiar investigations threaten, let him, I repeat, get out of the *inner* and into a stirring *outer* life. Let him keep warm the fires of sympathy and love, which too constant absorption in the depths of physical or metaphysical brain study tends to cool and possibly to extinguish.

A. C. Bowen.

*Batavia, N. Y.*

# THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN EQUALITY.

AS one studies the various political and economic systems that idealists of all centuries have produced in the endeavor to alleviate human suffering, one is astonished to find that the fundamental idea of each and all of these is that of coöperation, as against the existing order of competition. Some of the schemes are but suggestions, or mere outlines, while others are elaborated even to the smallest details; but all of them, whether advocating the establishment of a republic or of a socialistic government, have met with the most violent opposition from members of all classes and all creeds. The belief that "whatever is is right" has proved to be the most stubborn argument against all reform: it takes a vast amount of reasoning and argument to convince a person that the laws he has obeyed from his earliest childhood are as a whole wrong. But in spite of all opposition coöperation has gone on contesting the ground step by step with its predecessor, competition, and still the struggle continues.

The history of this development covers a broad field, but is easily divided into a discussion of two movements, one political and the other economic, which at first progressed independently of each other, but which lately are being combined in the programs of various radical parties. The progress of the first movement has been more rapid than that of the second; indeed, the one had become almost an assured fact before the other began to find many followers. Nevertheless, the economic movement has often made great advances without recognition by the people at large; and, strange to say, it frequently shows the most progress in those countries whose political advancement has not reached the highest development.

There is no necessity for tracing the growth of political coöperation, of political equality. History shows how in the first free competition the strongest came into power, and how

through centuries of struggle and suffering the common people have gradually assumed more and more power collectively, until now, in countries where progress has been greatest, every man, theoretically at least, has an equal voice in the government of society. We all know how bitterly each advance was opposed, and what sufferings its supporters underwent, before people as a whole ceased to believe in "the divine right of kings." Each advance, however, when once achieved was prevented from going backward again by the very conservatism that at first had threatened its defeat: it was only necessary that it should exist long enough for the people to become accustomed to it, when it in turn became the natural order of things. So we have progressed from the absolute despotism to the constitutional monarchy, and from the monarchy to the republic. When our Constitution was framed, many were the predictions of dismal failure, but to-day the average American looks upon the Republic as the natural and best form of government, and watches the slow but inevitable steps with which nations not already under such government are moving toward that goal.

However, even in America it would seem that the end has not been reached—the highest development of democratic government not yet been attained. We again find new measures advocated by large numbers of citizens. Some would have us adopt new methods of electing our Representatives—as proportional representation—and wish the voters to have more control over legislation—the initiative and referendum, as in vogue in South Dakota; in fact they would have us adopt the latest developments in popular government as found in Switzerland, where progress in political and economic equality seems to have been greater in many ways than with us. Again, others are advocating woman suffrage, and claiming that the evolution of political equality will not have been completed until *all* individuals, regardless of sex, shall have an equal voice in the government, the same as exists to-day in New Zealand and in a more or less developed condition in some of our Western States.

Nations have been drawn more closely together through their increased commercial relations, and this must ever continue as our commerce increases. An international law is slowly being formulated; a strong nation can no longer threaten its weaker neighbor with impunity. In the United Kingdom one hears the preliminary discussions that will eventually lead to the formation of an imperial federation. And again we find it often predicted that the day will come in which all branches of the Anglo-Saxon race will establish international relations for the benefit of mankind.

It is only when we come to consider the second part of this struggle for equality, the growth of economic coöperation, that we fully recognize the slowness of evolution and appreciate the force of conservatism. The principle of private property has been "that primary and fundamental institution on which, unless in some exceptional and very limited cases, the economic arrangements of society have always existed;" and any scheme calling for the elimination of competition and of private property has thus appeared to be advocating not alone the elimination of the only natural but also of the only possible system of production and of advancement. But even here progress, although slow at first and often retarded by prohibitory laws, has finally assumed definite shape and vast proportions. The movement has taken such a variety of forms that one is liable to become confused and fail to see that there is any one principle common to them all. This was more especially the case in the earlier stages of the movement, when the development was due entirely to economic forces, than in more recent times, when there has been a tendency to help such economic combinations through legal action.

As a result of the continual endeavor of mankind to better its condition, States have occasionally assumed rudimentary forms of communistic government—and failed, because their plans were so poorly formulated as to be weaker and more disastrous in effect than those previously existing; communities have started on socialistic or coöperative bases, and then after

a longer or shorter struggle gone back again to the old methods; coöperative societies have been formed only to disappear again, due to dishonest management, disagreement among the members, and various other causes. In contrast with these failures are the wonderful successes that have crowned the efforts of many of those who, entering into competition with their fellow-men, have by means of their skill and shrewdness created enterprises whose magnificence and magnitude were previously unimagined. In the face of so many coöperative failures, is it any wonder that competition and private property, supported as they seem to be by the authority of ages, should have become in the eyes of the people the only natural order of society?

But among all these failures are nevertheless to be found many successes, which, although perhaps not great in themselves, are still potentially great because of the insight they give us into the nature of the laws at work. Certain things, which from their very nature influenced the fortunes of everybody, came in time to be looked upon as public enterprises. It became a recognized principle that it were better that some of these so-called natural monopolies should be owned by the government—that is, by the people themselves—when political development has reached the stage of political equality. Many of these functions, such as streets, bridges, sewerage and waste systems, are so intimately connected with the general welfare and health of society that they are now looked upon by many people as being semi-political rather than purely economic in their nature. Upon the introduction of the postal system it was soon found to be for the interest of everybody that letters and other mail matter should be exchanged as quickly and as cheaply as possible, and that the State, requiring no profit, could attend to this business more efficiently than private individuals. The idea that society should nationalize natural monopolies has spread with varying degrees of rapidity among the nations. Strangely enough, the United States, which has done so much for political equality, lags behind many of the other countries in this race for economic equality.

While we are just beginning to discuss whether or not it would be advisable to adopt the telegraph, the telephone, and the parcel post as an extension of our present postal system, various European nations have already not only proved the practicability of the measure but also shown the great benefits accruing to all business interests from the cheapened rates thus produced. Most of these countries have also adopted a postal savings bank system. And there is also a movement aiming toward the government ownership of railroads, Germany already owning hers.

Leaving the general government and considering the municipalities, we again note the same movement. Some cities have not only municipal water and sewerage systems, but also municipal lighting, parks, railroads, and docks. The development is naturally not as yet complete, but almost every municipality at present exercises one or more of these several functions, and the present tendency points to a rapid extension of the movement. Thus everything leads to the conclusion that in the near future we may expect to see all natural monopolies under public management.

However, as above stated, these functions are more public than private in their nature, and would thus perhaps by many people be classed more in the political than in the economic movement; hence it might be claimed that they give no evidence of the growth of economic equality. Be that as it may, all of these measures have nevertheless encountered the opposition of conservatism. But they are gradually winning their way into public acceptance; more and more people are beginning to look upon the public ownership of natural monopolies as consistent with custom, and hence right. Arrived at this point, public conservatism again stands fast and says: "Political equality is the natural law, and must eventually be successful in every country. It is possible that the State may eventually own all natural monopolies, and conduct them for the benefit of every one. But beyond this the principle of equality cannot be carried. The whole progress of the world has been achieved through competition and private property;

in fact, 'competition is the life of trade,' and without it all ambition, and hence all progress, would cease."

What can one say in the face of such conviction? If we mention the successful coöperative stores of England, the successful poor man's banking system of Germany, or the successful producing societies of France, we are told that these are simply improvements in the methods of competition, by means of which each particular body of workingmen is better able to compete with other workingmen or with capital itself. And then our attention is again called to the numerous small societies that have attempted to lead a separate existence under various forms of coöperative or communistic government, and we are told that nearly all have made dismal failures—that the few that do survive succeed simply through religious fanaticism or because of strict supervision that tends to destroy all individuality of thought and of action. Thus conservatism accumulates its evidence in order to prove that competition is the natural law, and that any attempt to replace it by coöperation would be unnatural. While we might claim that these various movements are the vanguards of a new system that will inevitably force its way into power, still that statement, unsupported by any other evidence, would be unsatisfactory and might possibly be wrong. Hence for the moment we will leave this part of the subject and investigate the laws and results of competition itself.

Let us assume, then, for the present that free competition is the natural means of progress. What is its fundamental law, and what conclusions may we deduce from this law? It is axiomatic in political economy that "the average man tries to obtain the greatest possible results with the least possible expenditure of energy." This law finds expression in every undertaking of the economic world. And since one individual alone cannot fix the selling price of his commodity, that depending upon the demands of the rest of society, he must, in order to fulfil this law, seek to reduce the amount of time and labor required in its production, so that the difference between the cost of production and the selling price

may be as great as possible. As a result of such endeavors machine labor is replacing hand labor, and organized labor is replacing individual labor.

The introduction of labor-saving machinery gave rise to a new tendency in production, or rather led to a more rapid development of a movement that had always existed—the differentiation of labor. This last force, which as we see originates in the very development of competition itself, nevertheless contains the germ of coöperation. Up to the great inventions of machinery this development was naturally slow, but since then the progress of combination has been marked. The small artisan who took pride in his finished handiwork began to disappear and was replaced by the machine laborer, who makes only some small part of the finished product. This meant that in place of the independent individual workers several persons must now work together: the factory system had begun. What took place in manufacturing was paralleled in business, only there the reduction of labor was due not so much to the introduction of new machinery as to the systematization of methods and the combination of several small stores to form one large store—with a consequent reduction in the number of clerks, the amount of rent and interest, etc. This meant that thenceforth everything was to be carried on upon a larger scale than before, and that more and more capital would be required in order to start successfully in business because of the greater first cost and increased running expenses of each factory or store.

After this movement had existed for some time and the general industries were becoming fairly well systematized, a larger, higher development began. The struggle of individual with individual, or of individual labor with individual capital, began to die out, and the struggle of company with company, of organized labor with organized capital, began. This was a most desirable advance in all ways, because the use of machinery and systematic work had increased the productivity of man's labor many times. But even this greatly increased productive power did not solve the social problem; want and suf-

fering continued. Still the idealist advanced new coöperative schemes.

Another movement is now growing out of this latter form of competition, and, although it too was started without a thought of coöperation, still we see that the germ is already growing. For the same reasons that individuals united to form companies, companies are now uniting to form trusts, or monopolies. It represents simply the result of sound business principles. The desire is ever to decrease the cost of production. In the trust this result is obtained by the further discharge of superfluous officials and workingmen, by reduction in the amount of room required, and hence a decreased expenditure in interest and taxes and by purchase of the latest and best machinery, which is made possible by the increased capital.

There can be but one result of this last movement. *With the formation of the trust free competition ceases.* It is true that theoretically competition is still possible, but eventually it is crushed by the very principle that created the trust. It is cheaper to produce on a larger than on a smaller scale; hence, in order to be a successful competitor one must start with as well developed a plant and system as that employed by the trust. This at once restricts the competition to a limited number of capitalists. Suppose that such a competition has been found. It is only a question of time until the rivals have so systematized their industries that no further reduction in cost is possible, and any further competition means decrease of price and hence of profit to the parties concerned. As the facts show, the result is always the same: either a new combination or a tacit agreement to let prices stand. *In either case the competition ceases.*

Keeping this in mind, let us return to our "natural monopolies." We now see that they are simply those particular industries which, because of their own nature and the conditions of society, have allowed this process of combination to proceed with greater rapidity than is possible among general industries. We now realize why C. P. Huntington advocated the

unification of all the railroads in the United States. We now see that various foreign countries have shown themselves good business managers when they combined the telegraph, telephone, parcels post, postal savings bank, and the ordinary postal service into one systematic whole, thus decreasing the number of buildings and clerks that would otherwise be required. In fact, we now see wherein society gains when it nationalizes any natural monopoly. In the course of its development the monopoly has, by the use of the best methods and machinery, reduced production to a minimum expenditure of energy, and society, conducting the industry upon the same business principles, is thus enabled to furnish the product to every one simply at cost. It is this same principle that has caused the coöperative societies of England, France, and Germany to be so successful.

Glancing once more over the entire industrial field, what do we find to be the real condition of affairs? The process of combination is everywhere active, although in greatly varying stages of development. In many industries that because of their character have to be scattered over the entire land, such as newspapers and butcher shops, the concentration is very slow indeed; but among the larger industries, such as manufacturing, the movement becomes startlingly noticeable.

When we remember the many failures that occurred during the recent "hard times," and note the large number of trusts that have recently been formed, we may confidently expect the new census to record a greatly increased growth in this direction.

The trust, like all previous combinations, has in its turn called forth the opposition of conservatism. This has shown itself in a great amount of anti-monopoly legislation, and the popular feeling has even been so intense as to find expression in the platform of one of our national parties, where the idea was expressed that trusts are pernicious because they act as a restriction on trade. But all such opposition has been in vain because it has attempted to oppose an economic force in itself irresistible. To attempt the total destruction of

trusts is not only illogical but also detrimental to the best interests of society; if successful, it would mean that production must henceforth be carried on upon a lower scale than at present. If society finds a monopoly burdensome it should control, not destroy, it by law, and in return for the security granted it should exact that society should have its share of the benefits coming from the reduced cost of production. There is at present a tendency among States and municipalities to increase the limitations under which a public monopoly is granted to a private corporation in order that thereby the public interests may be protected.

What would be the effect upon society if this process of concentration were allowed to go on unguided by human intelligence until all industries became monopolized and competition of any kind no longer existed? Our capitalists will have solved the problem of how to produce at the minimum cost, and undoubtedly they will also obey the second part of the fundamental law of economics and get all they can for their product. Under free competition that would work all right, and labor and capital would each receive its proper relative returns, for the workingman, if dissatisfied with the returns received for his labor, would seek a new employer. But then this adjusting element of free competition will no longer exist; there will be no competing employer for the workingman to turn to.

Again, machinery, if used for the benefit of society, would mean that each man's *labor* should be decreased, but as used for the benefit of the capitalist it would mean that the *cost* of his product should be made a minimum. Hence he would not hire many men on short hours, but as few men as possible on as long hours as possible. That means that all the labor of some men, and not some of the labor of all men, would be displaced; and these displaced men must swell the ranks of the unemployed, who would ever prevent those employed from bettering their condition, for if the latter should seek to increase their wages by striking their places would at once be filled from those seeking work. It would mean an aristocracy of

wealth. As for the chance of individual progress under such a system, where is the reward that is to fire one's personal ambition—that reward which the individualist cherishes so dearly? But no one who believes in the upward evolution of the human race can believe that this will ever come to pass—that the wonderful economic movements of the present century, which should redound to the advantage of society, will in reality become its curse. The wisdom and forethought of mankind must eventually prove themselves competent to master this problem as they have those of the past.

Once again we note a new movement on foot. Nationalism has taken hold of public attention and is offering a solution of this question. All industries are to be owned and managed by the government; that is, by society. A preposterous idea, no doubt, and one at which Dame Conservatism again holds up her hands in horror. But just look at the facts. Why is the Standard Oil Trust, which now has practically only one competitor in the world—Russia—any less a "natural monopoly" than gas or electric lighting? To be sure, it sells kerosene instead of either gas or electricity, but its product affects directly the interests of everybody just as much as either of the other two. In fact, the Standard Oil Trust, like the telephone monopoly, has outgrown the ranks of general industries and entered those of natural monopolies.

Here, then, seems to be the desired solution. Each industry when so systematized, simplified, and concentrated that it has come under the control of one management, against which there can be no free competition, is to be considered a natural monopoly and as such is to be nationalized by the people and thus be made to benefit all equally in place of a few greatly. Thus the growth of economic equality is not only made evolutionary and possible, but is shown to be inevitable. For the formation of trusts will presumably continue, and it is thus simply a question as to whether the trusts shall own the people or the people shall own the trusts. To this question there is but one reasonable answer. What all the details will be under such a form of society no man can to-day predict with surety,

any more than people centuries ago could have foretold all the details under a republican form of government. Indeed, as we know, even at present many of the details are far from being finally settled. We must leave to the future its own problems; ours to-day is so to adjust economic conditions that the marvelous improvements in the industrial system may prove of benefit to all mankind. If the preceding analysis is correct, this means that we are to strive after economic equality—the establishment of a nationalist government.

The chief objection which conservatism advances is that all ambition will be crushed and that all individuality will cease. This argument, with all of its applications, falls to the ground because the mistake has been made of comparing a state of ideal free competition with that of coöperation. Free competition no longer exists for the ordinary individual not backed up by capital, and under a trust government competition of every kind must cease. Will our conservative friends tell us wherein the postal clerk working under civil-service rules is less ambitious than the iron-worker at Homestead; why a city engineer is less ambitious than the captain of one of the Standard Oil Trust's lake steamers; or why the Postmaster-General of the United States is less ambitious to serve his fellow-men than the manager of a trust is to serve his capitalistic employers? Then, after explaining these satisfactorily, will they please show us the fallacy of the following: To-day the laborer realizes that he receives as wages only a part of what his labor produces; then he will know that in helping all he has helped himself. But why waste time upon an academic question? Economic equality, whatever its effect upon personal ambition may prove to be, is growing upon us, and the question is simply how we can best guide the movement during the transition stages so as to obtain the greatest advantages for society during that period.

We now see that these two movements, the growth of political equality and the growth of economic coöperation, although at first sight seemingly independent are really only different parts of one still grander movement—the evolution of human

equality. And further, we see that in the last analysis neither can exist without the other. From the nature of things the second could not exist without the first. And if the first does exist for a time without the second, still the day must come when the mass of the people will be dependent upon the few for their daily bread, and when to speak of a free and equal ballot would be farcical.

Society is fundamentally socialistic. The members of each family aid one another. How happens it, then, that as soon as several families dwell in the same neighborhood they immediately reverse this principle and commence to compete with one another? The cause is evidently due to the ease with which the earth supports a sparse population when each individual has access to the land itself. Then, even though labor were wasted and Nature's bounties husbanded most improvidently, people would not suffer. This principle of each man for himself, when once established, would still remain in vogue after the population increased, and those prospering under it would claim it to be the natural method, saying: "We have worked our way upward from poverty to prosperity, and others could do the same if they only would. The men who fail do so simply through laziness or inability." It is, however, only when the struggle for existence becomes fiercer, the population more and more dense, and industry so differentiated that a large proportion of the people can no longer till the soil, that the follies and injustices of the competitive system become startlingly evident; and by this time society has learned to look upon poverty as the natural condition of a large part of mankind.

Thus people go on struggling against one another, wasting labor from lack of systematization in doing useful work, in doing "cheap" work, and in doing absolutely useless and often harmful work; and many go to the wall who if all labor were profitably expended would enjoy an abundance. When human suffering becomes so great that it is too shameful to pass over unheeded, society tries to remedy it by enacting various factory and poor laws. At first the attempt is made to destroy social

evils as if they were obnoxious plants. We lop off those branches bearing the most revolting fruits; but in vain: more branches with new fruit grow apace, and the whole plant increases continually. It is only after repeated failures that society gradually concludes that more heroic methods are necessary, and begins to wonder if the entire plant may not be destroyed and another healthier one grown in its place. Viewed from the general standpoint, the heterogeneous mass of political, communistic, and socialistic writings, experiments, and enactments assumes order, and we see in them simply the first attempts of a people, oppressed by existing conditions but without knowing exactly in what manner, trying to introduce a new social system. These attempts were necessarily crude, as in most cases definite knowledge of the evils to be eradicated was lacking; and even when present it was not accompanied by the experience necessary to make the proposed reform a complete success.

For centuries the idealists stood practically alone, and their theories were treated by the self-styled practical men as pleasing but impracticable and impossible dreams. Gradually reforms crept in, the aggressions of capital began to be legally restricted, various functions were municipalized and some nationalized; so that at the present day the idealist no longer stands so entirely alone, for society has evolved in his direction. Many of the practical men are interested. Novels, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets—all of these have something to say concerning socialism; all support one or more of its principles: some perhaps only woman suffrage or the governmental ownership of natural monopolies, others the entire collective ownership of all means of production and distribution. The success of such books as George's "Progress and Poverty," Marx's "Capital," Blatchford's "Merrie England," and Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and of pamphlets such as those issued by the London Fabian Society, shows that great numbers of people of all classes and all nationalities are becoming interested and are endeavoring to solve the social problem. In all countries a new tendency is at work, old party lines are

losing their former significance, new principles are coming to the front, and there is a gradual realignment of forces in the battle between progress and conservatism—between the new and the old. Socialistic parties, under the slogan, "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none," are asking for a new interpretation of the relation that should exist between society and the individual.

In imperial Germany the Social Democracy, with its 2,000,000 voters, forms the largest political party. An agitation in favor of greater legal rights for women and also for the higher co-education is engrossing much of the public attention. In Great Britain the women already have entrance to several colleges, and they "now exercise the municipal suffrage, the school board suffrage, the board of guardians' suffrage, and the county council suffrage. Besides this, they are eligible as school boards and boards of guardians, though not as town or county councils."

What are we doing in the United States? Is our country to lose its proud position as leader in the struggle for freedom? Our land is large and fertile, and abounds in rich mineral deposits; so that under competition, and criminally wasteful competition at that, the condition of the American laborer has always been better than that of his European brother. But now that our population is increasing, and now that competition has become so keen, we are finding that in some unexpected manner our industrial machinery is getting out of gear; we have strikes and "hard times," poverty-stricken people and "overproduction," millionaires and tramps. We are beginning to find ourselves faced by the same municipal problems with which Europe has long been wrestling—many of which the English municipalities are already solving along socialistic lines. We have monopolies, and we have slums. In truth, we are just awakening to the fact that such unequal division of wealth must have a pernicious effect upon our political equality—there are people to-day advocating a property qualification for suffrage.

The appreciation of such facts as these is causing the vari-

ous labor unions to take a more active part in politics, has led to the formation of a socialist labor party in our Eastern cities, and was also the reason that so many nationalist clubs sprang into existence upon the appearance of "Looking Backward," which afforded a long-sought-for remedy. These various bodies serve a most useful purpose as centers of socialistic activity, and are fast placing their ideals before the public; but none of them seem likely to acquire in the near future any great prominence in national politics. Happily, however, that is not necessary, because the People's Party is rapidly assuming an assured position in the South and West as one of the great national political organizations; and here, hampered by very little extraneous matter, we find a clear enunciation of an evolutionary socialistic program. The voters are for the present simply asked to decide upon the question of government ownership of natural monopolies, of woman suffrage, of the initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation; that is, upon questions nearly all of which have already been answered in the affirmative by one or more foreign countries. These measures will inevitably be adopted in this country, and it is simply a question as to whether we wish to share in the benefits that will surely follow their enactment, or whether we are satisfied to leave them for a future generation to enjoy, while we continue our present struggles under ever-increasing odds and with ever-diminishing possibilities of success.

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## THE LAND QUESTION AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

By Bolton Hall.

Q. Mr. Hall, as one who has made a study of the single tax, do you believe that it would prove an efficient remedy for reducing uninvited poverty to a minimum?

A. Henry George says that, by taking the rental value of land for the public, "the great cause of the present unequal distribution of wealth would be destroyed, and that one-sided competition would cease which now deprives men who possess nothing but power to labor of the benefits of advancing civilization, and forces wages to a minimum, no matter what the increase of wealth. Labor [each man for himself, or oftener in combinations], free to the natural elements of production, would no longer be incapable of employing itself, and competition, acting as fully and freely between employers as between employed, would carry wages up to what is truly their natural rate—the full value of the produce of labor—and keep them there."

Q. What do you think of the influence that it would have ethically on society?

A. Ethical progress must be the progress of the race. The progress of the race needs opportunity for development, and the first requirement for this is the use of the resources of Nature. Denial of this use perverts our whole social system, and all share in the perversion, which makes fellowship impossible: since we are all either receivers of rent of land—that is, thieves—or payers of rent of land—that is, abettors of thieves. Equal use of the land would enable us to live for one another instead of *on* one another.

Q. What do you think in regard to the contention that the taxation of land values only would favor the accumulation of wealth on the part of those who hold bonded securities and prove oppressive to the land holders or owners?

A. We think that justice would "favor the accumulation of one's own wealth," if any one cared to accumulate what he could get at will. "'Bondholders,' however," says Louis F. Post, "are, in the main, themselves the landowners; for a bond is usually the first title to some interest in land, such as a railroad franchise. It could not, therefore, both favor and oppress them. Further, it could not be oppressive to landowners—that is, to owners of a special privilege—to charge them the value of what they get, even though it would prevent their accumulation of other people's wealth."

Q. Why do you believe it is a fundamental remedy?

A. As is said in "Things as They Are": "The reform, then, of our present land 'system' is not the end of reforms nor the sum of reforms. It is, as its great teacher has said, the gateway of reform. More than that, it is the one reform without which all others will be self-destructive, because they tend to increase either population or production, and thereby to increase rent, and so to foster every form of monopoly."

Q. Many farmers oppose the single tax, as they think it would be oppressive to them. In other words, they hold that their land would be more heavily taxed than all these taxes put together amount to at present, while the holder of bank stock and other securities would be practically exempt from taxation. Do you think their position is well taken?

A. When it is remembered that some land in cities is worth twelve millions of dollars an acre; that a small building lot in the business center of even a small village is worth more than a whole field of the best farming land in the neighborhood; that a few acres of coal or iron is worth more than great groups of farms; that the right of way of a railroad company through a thickly-settled district or between important points is worth more than its rolling stock; that the value of workingmen's cottages in the suburbs is trifling in comparison with the value

of city residence sites—the absurdity, if not the dishonesty, of the plea that the single tax would discriminate against farmers and small home owners and in favor of the rich is evident. The bad faith of this plea is emphasized when we consider that under existing systems of taxation the farmer and the poor home owner are compelled to pay in taxes on improvements, food, clothing, and other objects of consumption much more than the full annual value of their bare land.

Q. Do you hold with Mr. George that the government should own and operate natural monopolies, or those great monopolies which are operated for the benefit of all the public, as the railways, telegraphs, etc.?

A. No; I hold that, as the single-tax platform says, "it is a fundamental truth that all men are equally entitled to the use of the earth." As the streets and railroad beds are earth, all are equally entitled to use them. They are highways, and should be treated as such. Mr. George did not carry all his principles as far as we may carry them. I do not see why any liberties should be restricted, nor why the "governors," who are only a part of the people, should have any exclusive privilege of owning and operating either wires, legs, bicycles, cabs, railroad engines or any other form of locomotion.

Q. What are your views in regard to trusts?

A. There are trusts open to competition and trusts protected from competition. The one kind is a natural and healthy growth, the other an artificial and injurious one. The type of the trust open to competition is the department store; the type of the shielded trust is the coal combine. The reduction in employment of labor in the open trust is due only to greater economy in working; the reduction of the employment of labor in the protected trust is due to restriction of product.

The monopoly feature of trusts always depends upon some restrictive or prohibitive laws—mainly tariff, patent, currency, and land laws. Some of the trusts shelter themselves by combination with that form of land monopoly that lies in a railroad "right of way." The money combination has the ten per cent. State bank tax, the privilege to the national banks of issue of

currency, and the free coinage of gold. The cure for this, as for all other injurious trusts, is not to make more laws but to sweep away the favoring laws on which the evils depend.

The trusts are gaining in strength and in organization, and will oppose a more effective resistance to any absorption by the public than private businesses could do. They must be attacked, by degrees, through the taxing power. We must repeal law after law from which their strength is derived, so as to secure equal freedom to all to engage in those businesses which are not in their nature monopolies. As to those which in their nature depend upon monopoly, we must take under public control that part of them which is necessarily a monopoly. That is, we must destroy patent and money monopolies, make all highways public roads, and open the land to those who will use it—by taxing it so as to make it unprofitable to hold any of it out of use.

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. Flower.

## THE PASSING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS.

The crushing of the South African republics by the might of superior power will go down into history as one of the great political tragedies of the nineteenth century. At the commencement there were doubtless faults on both sides. The rugged Dutch, true to their nature, were brusque and stubborn. They might have yielded somewhat more than they were willing to grant, though from the first their statesmen were convinced that the aim and purpose of Great Britain were conquest. Hence it was not to be expected that these simple and sincere people, unschooled in the arts of diplomacy, should manifest the same patience and forbearance that would have characterized them had they felt confidence in England's sincerity. And we must also remember that these stalwart sons of freedom had journeyed many thousands of miles from their homes, and, leaving the comforts and joys of civilization forever behind them, had on the wild and sterile plains of South Africa founded a government of their own, and one that was loved and cherished as much as patriot ever loved his fatherland. The land was theirs, and they felt in regard to the coming of the outlanders, or foreigners, much as our Republic feels in regard to the Chinese. With us they held that the government's first duty was to consider the interests of its own people and the protection of the nation against anything that might become a menace to its very existence. In the outlanders they beheld a danger which, after the Johannesburg raid and the evident interest of certain English statesmen in its success, became very portentous. No longer did the little republic doubt that the avaricious eyes of English capitalists were riveted on the immensely rich gold mines of the Transvaal. And I think that few, if any, fair-minded persons conversant with the facts involved would hold that England would have

pressed her contention to the extent she did had the South African republics been strong and powerful nations, such as Germany or France, for example.

The action of England is to be specially regretted inasmuch as on so many occasions during the last hundred and fifty years the Anglo-Saxon people have stood for freedom and the rights of the weaker. To England more than to any other nation belongs the glory of having virtually abolished the African slave trade on the high seas; it was England that stemmed the tide of imperial advance and irresponsible militarism under Napoleon; and it has been in England that we have seen, during the last seventy-five years, a steady advance toward freer conditions and the recognition and extension of human rights among her own people. In perhaps a greater degree than in any other nation save Switzerland has there been a substantial advance of the democratic spirit and principle in home government in England and her colonies during the last fifty years.

When Poland fell the conscience of the world was outraged, but in that case the spectacle was less surprising, inasmuch as it was a manifestation of the might of brute force on the part of an autocratic power, which had always refused to recognize the rights of the weak and which had been regarded as an arbitrary despotism. From England, however, we had a right to expect better things; and it seems to me that, clothe the matter as we may in whatsoever flowers of rhetoric one can employ, the brutal fact must remain that this was an unnecessary war of aggression, incited primarily by greed and waged because the aggressor believed she could easily overwhelm and crush her victims. Hence, the moral crime of Great Britain in the closing years of the century is unspeakably sad.

I know the pleas advanced by the apologists for England. We are told, with some show of reason, that the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were not republics. This fact, however, is wide of the fundamental issue involved and is essentially an attempt to beg the question; but in passing let it be observed that the plea is one that might be made against almost every republican government on earth. The Latin republics, for example, measured by the standard of our own democracy, might be weighed and found wanting; while the United States, judged by the government of Switzerland, might rightly be adjudged as falling far below the true repub-

lican ideal. But, returning to the South African republics, it is enough to say that theirs were governments that met the wishes, desires, and demands of the majority of their citizens. Theirs were the governments best beloved of those who builded the Dutch States in the wilderness of South Africa. They filled the measure of the citizens' desire, and sufficiently commanded their love to make the people, almost to a man, ready to die in their defense. But we are told that the Boers were a simple and non-progressive folk, and that England will give them the blessings of progress, of a higher civilization, and that under the Union Jack the lands will know a degree of prosperity never before experienced. Here again it will be noticed that excuses are advanced to take the place of the fundamental questions of right and wrong involved. The excuse is the same that, with certain variations, has been advanced by arbitrary power to uphold various forms of tyranny, oppression, and wrong throughout all historic ages. It is the voice of might and expediency, which ignores that of justice and freedom. Never can civilization hope to move with uninterrupted tread along the highway of enduring progress until man is willing to accord to his fellow-man the same rights he demands for himself. It will be readily admitted that Japan would have no right to dictate to England as to how she should govern her people, even though the Japanese might think they could incomparably improve on England's social and political affairs; and to the unprejudiced mind it must, I think, be equally clear that England had no right to crush and take from the little South African republics their government, and compel these unwilling nations to become crown colonies.

In all discussions of this character it is vitally necessary that Americans at least insist that no excuses that from time immemorial have bulwarked tyranny, oppression, and despotism, and no cries born of expediency, be allowed to take the place of the fundamental demands of right, justice, and freedom involved, or lead us to forget to place ourselves in the position of the weak powers in the struggle. The Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence point the way to the heights serene where dwell justice and happiness, and where all that is finest in the soul of man may grow and unfold into divine loveliness.

Furthermore, aside from the ethics of the case, I believe that in the long run it will be shown that the statesmanship of

Great Britain that involved England in this unholy war was pitifully short-sighted. For many years before the breaking out of the war the Boers and the English in South Africa had been intermarrying. The welding of the different peoples was forming a great commonwealth of sturdy lovers of freedom, with common hopes, aspirations, and ideals. In the course of a few generations it is probable that South Africa would have been as truly English as was Manhattan at the time of our Revolution. The English spirit, the English ideal, and a great love for the old nation that was exhibiting so liberal a spirit toward her colonies as has for the most part characterized the government of England since the War of the Revolution, would have given Great Britain greater advantages through the love and good will of the people than she can ever expect from a crushed nation whose heart is filled with hate, bitterness, and an intense desire for revenge. It will take many generations to obliterate the hatred created by the past year of bloody strife. Fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers, who a little over a year ago were in the full flush of health and in the pride of life, are to-day under the sod, for no crime other than that of fighting for the fatherland which they and their ancestors had builded in the wilderness. And the resentment that springs from such wrongs as these dies not in a day or a generation.

From my point of view a great moral wrong has been committed, which sooner or later will bring home to England a terrible reckoning; and what is true of England is, even in a greater measure, true of the United States in her attempt to crush a people who for generations have manfully striven for the freedom we have ever held to be the inherent right of all peoples, because of the higher ethical position taken by the Republic. But of this I shall have more to say at another time.

The destruction wrought by the savagery of barbaric races is deplorable, but not surprising. The wrongs committed by despotisms that assume to be Christian justly call for condemnation. But what shall we say of the nations that aspire to lead civilization, and whose boast is that they are the special representatives of justice, freedom, and progress, when in the closing hours of our century each falls back into the night of injustice and oppression and is recreant to all that is most glorious and inspiring in its history for the last hundred years?

## CRIME AND THE TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS.

Crime is essentially a moral disease, frequently to a great extent inherited as truly as is consumption, cancer, or leprosy. In other cases it is the result of moral miasma, which enfolds the child mind during its formative period and which blunts the conscience and poisons the imagination as surely as does the contagion of the plague infect the physical body; while in some other instances it is chiefly due to the lack of proper early training, owing to our defective system of education, which feeds the mind and starves the soul. We have yet to learn that intellectual education will not in itself prove a barrier to sin, misery, immorality, and crime. Caius Cæsar was an eloquent orator; the tyrant Claudius was a keen critic and possessed much literary ability; Nero was well educated. Greece and Rome were renowned for their intellectual brilliancy at the very time when, reeking with immorality, brutality, and crime, they passed into eclipse.

History teaches no more solemn lesson than that crime will increase, society will degenerate, and civilization decay unless the moral energies, in a measure at least, keep pace with the intellectual advancement. Until we are wise enough to develop the ethical side of child life our criminal population will flourish, and society will move forward as one who strives to ascend a mountain with a corpse chained to his body. Nor does our duty cease with stimulating the conscience and teaching the youth the beauty of goodness and those grave obligations which devolve on each enlightened member of society. We must address ourselves to the criminal, and here prove the power of religion in the heart of the people by exemplifying the Golden Rule.

Among barbarous peoples a desire for revenge appears to be a prime motive in the punishment of criminals. As man rises in the ethical scale, the main object becomes (1) the protection of society and (2) the redemption of the criminal; and this double purpose should be the only element present in a society that claims to follow the teachings of the great Galilean. Yet as a matter of fact how seldom is the thought of the redemption of the criminal conspicuously manifested in our penal institutions! It is true that we seek the protection of society in a measure by the incarceration of the criminal for a longer or shorter term; but during this period what is being done to make him a useful member of society when he is free? How

frequently the prisoner goes forth more hardened and more dangerous than when first apprehended!

To me it is evident that one of the most important problems that challenge the attention of thoughtful people and that merit systematic educational agitation is the enlightened treatment of our criminals. I believe that a broad, just, and humanitarian penal system would not only greatly diminish crime, but would have a most salutary effect upon society as a whole. In the first place, criminals should be graded. Those who have sinned lightly or who are serving a first term should not associate with those more hardened. In the next place, we should see to it that prisoners are not allowed to be idle. We have only to glance over the appalling statistics that reveal the great number of cases of insanity that follow enforced idleness on the part of criminals to realize how great a crime society commits when she deprives her unfortunate ones of healthful and beneficial labor. Idleness disintegrates the moral fiber of man's being and is one of the most fruitful causes of vice. Nor should we heed those whose moral sensibilities are such that they would have prisoners engage in treadmill or non-productive labor, which has no element of the moral uplift in it. On the other hand, we should aim first to rouse, stimulate, and develop all the moral energies of the criminal, and at the same time broaden his intellectual outlook and in a healthful manner awaken his imagination. For this purpose a portion of each day should be given to educational pursuits that would appeal to the interest and imagination, while in a real but not an offensive way awakening the moral sensibilities. Next, a portion of each day should be given to industrial training. Each prisoner should be allowed to select some trade or art, and then should be given such instruction that before leaving the prison walls he should be made a complete master of his chosen vocation. In the third place, a portion of each day should be given to productive labor, one-half the value of which should accrue to the State to reimburse in a measure its expense. The other half should be set aside for the worker against the time when he should be liberated. To me it seems clearly right and reasonable that the strong arm of the thousands and tens of thousands incarcerated in our penal institutions should be employed at least a part of the time in the service of the State, or to reduce the cost of the department of justice. And to give a portion of the wealth thus created to the convict when he leaves prison would also be an act of

wisdom as well as justice, as it would infuse good feeling into his heart and give him a measure of hope each day while he toiled; and when he left the prison, by having a little competence and some useful trade or vocation to which to devote himself, he would be well equipped to start in the forward path, and there would be comparatively little danger of his again being a burden to the State. Whereas, if kept in idleness or compelled to drudge in unproductive toil, he leaves prison, nine cases out of ten, more brutalized than when he entered, embittered in heart, hopeless, penniless, and with every avenue to honest labor practically closed against him. And this is why our penal system is in so large a measure a failure—why to be a convict once so frequently means to be a convict for the rest of the natural life.

Believing as I do in the solidarity of the race, and that an injury wrought to any member of society by the State injures all members, I feel that this is a question that should be of solemn and serious concern to every thoughtful citizen. And certainly wisdom and considerations of economy, no less than justice and the solemn obligations imposed by religion, favor the substitution of some such treatment as here outlined for that which prevails at the present time, and which indicates an indifference on the part of society to its less fortunate members totally at variance with the teachings of the great Nazarene as epitomized in the Sermon on the Mount no less than in his life and labors.

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## THE GOLDEN RULE AND THE LIFE OF TO-DAY.

A few years ago the late John J. Ingalls characterized as "an iridescent dream" the idea of incorporating the Golden Rule into modern political life. In his utterance he voiced the sentiment of a large class of citizens in present-day commercial circles who have come under the fatally materialistic pessimism and low ethical ideals of the modern business world.

It cannot be denied that during the last forty years short-sighted self-interest and expediency have frequently anesthetized the conscience of a large proportion of those engaged in commercial life. A deadly lethargy seems to pervade present-day society in all its ramifications. And yet hopeful and encouraging signs are not wanting that indicate that all that is

needed at present is united action along clearly defined and definite lines for the awakening of the dormant conscience throughout Church and State.

If the imperious demand of duty can be brought home to the conscience of the individual in such a way as to arouse the moral nature and compel each to put himself in the place of the other when any question of right and wrong arises in public or private life, we will soon have the watch-fires of progress lighted from one end of the nation to the other; and a wave of moral enthusiasm, deep, broad, and reason-governed, will bear civilization to a higher vantage ground than it has reached in all the ages that have passed.

Society is ripe for a moral reformation—an awakening greater that that which the Roman Empire felt during the first three centuries of the Christian Era. The heart-hunger of our age is very pronounced. On every hand there is a reaching out for something better, a yearning for a satisfaction not found in the fashionable church or in conventional society. But an age like the present carries with it grave duties and responsibilities, which devolve upon all who see, feel, and realize the needs of the age and the possibilities that open before an enlightened humanity. What, perhaps, is more demanded than anything else is a united effort to secure a systematic educational agitation, so directed as to awaken the moral side of life and make the Golden Rule a living, moving influence in the life of the individual.

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## THE INHERITANCE TAX IN ENGLAND.

In many ways the governments of Europe have distanced our Republic in the march of social, economic, and political progress during the last century. The governmental and municipal postal savings banks, governmental ownership and operation of the telegraph, postal parcel-delivery, direct legislation, old-age pensions, municipal ownership and operation of natural monopolies, the income tax, and the inheritance tax are among the wise changes that have been successfully introduced in one or more European countries to meet changed conditions and the increasing demands of the complex social organism.

In the question of the income tax and the inheritance tax

England is far ahead of America. The inheritance tax alone is the source of an enormous revenue to the State, which very materially lessens the burdens of those who can least afford to meet the heavy demands of government. From the returns of the estate duties for 1899 and 1900, issued in London in the latter part of September, we find that nearly $70,000,000 were added to the exchequer from the death duties alone. The amount bequeathed by 65,341 persons exceeded $1,460,000,000, or half the national debt of England. The duties paid by twelve millionaires amounted to $10,000,000.

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## A COLLEGE WHERE THE NEW SOCIAL IDEALS SHALL BE TAUGHT.

An editorial in a recent issue of the Boston *Daily Globe* calls attention to a plan under advisement for the establishment of a college where the new social ideals shall be welcomed. "Among the leaders of the new movement," says the *Globe,* "are Mayor Samuel M. Jones, of Toledo; N. O. Nelson, the St. Louis manufacturer; Mrs. E. D. Rand, who endowed the chair formerly filled by Prof. Herron in Iowa College; A. M. Todd, of Michigan; Edward Carpenter, the English author; Prof. Edward A. Bemis, formerly of Chicago University; and Prof. Will, of Kansas." The *Globe,* in cordially favoring the proposed college, says: "The thought of to-day must change like all things else, and nothing in education is likely to remain permanent. Variety is the spice of education. The old gray colleges must expect healthy competition. They will profit by it."

Great interest will be felt by the more thoughtful of our people in this proposed twentieth-century institution of learning, where the newer social, economic, and political ideals that are antagonistic to the modern capitalistic feudalism may be discussed, without the professors who are supposed to be in sympathy with municipal ownership and industrial democracy being summarily dismissed.

In recent years many of our educational institutions have received munificent endowments from men whose enormous wealth has been largely derived through the benefits of special privileges and class laws that have enabled them to enjoy the fruits of monopoly. The sequels following at the heels of these

gifts have in some instances been of the most alarming character. Men of eminent ability in these institutions of learning, who have spoken their convictions on social and economic subjects and in so doing have had occasion to favor public ownership or control of natural monopolies, have been promptly dismissed; while in other instances ripe scholars, who were dominated by that spirit of justice and the conscience force that made the life and teachings of Jesus so vital, have been driven from colleges where the governing boards were seeking endowments or the patronage of the beneficiaries of class privileges.

The warfare of the representatives of private monopoly has been carried on so vigorously during the last decade that it has served to awaken thousands of the more thoughtful of our people to the fact that freedom in education, where freedom is most essential to the furtherance of free government as well as to the happiness and prosperity of all the people, is in imminent peril. Hence this movement, which contemplates the establishment of a great college in which the newer social, political and economic ideals may be freely expounded, is imperatively demanded.

Some of the men foremost in this movement are ripe scholars; others are men of means; all are persons dominated by conscience—apostles of justice, freedom, and that higher morality which demands for others that which one asks for himself. They are patriots in the highest sense of the word, ready to make great sacrifices for truth and progress. They are men of faith, who see in the triumphs of the past the prophecy of a brighter and happier age than this old world has ever known; and they are men whose loyalty to conviction has already been tested in the fiery furnace. Such scholars as Prof. Thomas E. Will, A.M., late president of the Kansas Agricultural College—a Harvard man whose broad culture is only surpassed by his remarkable executive ability—Professors George D. Herron, Frank Parsons, J. R. Commons, and E. A. Bemis are representatives in a group of thinkers who have been tried and have proved superior to the seductive temptations of gold or fame.

We believe that there are tens of thousands of young men and women in the Republic to-day who would eagerly embrace an opportunity to obtain a liberal education in a college where, in addition to the curriculum found in other representative educational institutions, there should be present that moral enthusiasm and conscience force which have ever proved the most

potent factors in elevating the race and calling out all that is finest and best in human nature. There never was a time when there was greater need of stimulating the ethical side of life than to-day, and there never was a time when civilization reached out more hungrily for the deeper, truer, and higher things of life than the present. A great, free, liberal college, dominated by altruistic and spiritual impulses, would speedily become a rallying-point for the children of progress. The twentieth century is big with promise and possibilities, and it is an inspiring sign of the times that the moral or ethical impulses of the people are everywhere crystallizing. We believe that a great ethical advance is about to be made all along the line.

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## PRACTICAL WORK IN THE SLUMS.

The city of Buffalo will be a center of interest to hundreds of thousands of people next year, owing to the Pan-American Exposition, which already promises to be one of the most notable great exhibits the New World has beheld. Students of social problems will also find in that city something to interest them in the method being employed to relieve the wretchedness of the very poor and abate the evil of the slums. Buffalo is, I believe, the first city in which those interested in relieving uninvited poverty and bettering the conditions of society's exiles have united in an intelligent plan for carrying forward their work in a systematic and effective manner.

It was about five years ago that a proposition was advanced by some practical and progressive workers that the charitable organizations and the churches of Buffalo should unite in a plan through which the best results could be accomplished without any overlapping of work, as had been the case in former years. The proposal met with some opposition at first, but finally seventy-six churches, representing twelve denominations and including the Hebrews, Lutherans, and Catholics, accepted eighty-four out of one hundred and fifty districts and became responsible for the moral welfare of the inhabitants and the relief of need and distress within the precincts assigned to them. All cases of want brought to the attention of the charitable organizations, when investigated, are turned over to the church that has pledged itself to care for the district in which the needy ones live; and as a result it is stated that the

necessities of the unfortunate ones are met in a prompt, loving, and helpful manner.

But this is not all. The churches are displaying much commendable zeal in the labor of bettering the moral and physical conditions of the slum dwellers. Social settlement work, in a somewhat modified form, is being carried on in an extensive manner. The two principal social settlements are under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church; but other denominations have established centers, in some of which residents are placed to oversee the work, and they are assisted by volunteers who live in other parts of the city. In other cases there are centers where all the class, club, and general work of a social settlement is carried on by those who live at a distance. The Unitarians, in addition to various practical measures for relieving and benefiting the unfortunate ones, maintain a large workroom, where all persons in their district temporarily out of employment can obtain work.

Of course, all these measures are palliative in character. The fundamental demands of justice and brotherhood will, I believe, banish the slums from our cities when we are great and wise enough to recognize the fundamental truth that humanity is one and that the interest of one is the concern of all. But during the waiting time it is the duty of society to stretch forth its arm to the needy to relieve their sufferings, to help the unfortunate, and to do all that lies in the power of man morally to elevate those whose ethical surroundings have pressed them downward. It is a great work to lift even one life from the terrible prison-house of sin and immorality that environs tens of thousands of our very poor in the great cities; for the children of civilization's social cellar are soon to become a blessing or a curse to the State. To save them is to conserve the best ends of civilization, to aid in the preservation of free government, and to do the duty that lieth at our door. For this reason the systematic and practical methods employed by the churches and charitable organizations of Buffalo deserve the attention of earnest men and women in all other great cities.

# BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.*

A SHORT HISTORY OF MONKS AND MONASTERIES. By Alfred Wesley Wishart, sometime Fellow in Church History in the University of Chicago. Illustrated with four photogravures. 8vo.; hand-sewed; laid antique pure cotton-fiber paper, broad margins, deckle edges, gilt top. Fully indexed. 454 pp. Price, $3.50 net. Published by Albert Brandt, Trenton, N. J.

I.

History makes stern demands on her interpreters. Properly to meet her requirements an author must possess in an eminent degree a combination of qualities rarely found in a single individual. The faithful historian must have time and possess patience, that he may leisurely and exhaustively examine all available data and consider the conditions and temper of the age of which he writes. He must also possess a judicial mind, which will enable him to discriminate and justly weigh the pros and cons relating to the subjects presented and the happenings about which he writes. More than this, he must not only be able to weigh the evidence presented but he must possess the rare ability to rise above all passion and prejudice, else his work, instead of being crystalline as truth, will be stained and clouded with the bias of his personal opinions. And, finally, he must be able to invest his subject with a charm of style that shall make it engaging to the general reader. Many of our great historians have possessed in a marked degree all the qualifications save the power to be judicial or to rise above strong prejudices. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this character is found in James Antony Froude. His works are characterized by great brilliancy, and few men have equaled him in marshaling data in a fascinating and comprehensive manner. But the reader soon becomes painfully conscious of the presence of strong prejudice coloring the author's work, and thenceforth its value as history becomes impaired. It is weak where, next to authentic data, it is most important that it should be strong. Many historians have succeeded reasonably well in all particulars until they came to the presentation of their subject, and here they have failed. Pedantic dulness makes a perusal of their works tedious labor instead of genuine pleasure.

* Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

I think it is not too much to say that Dr. Wishart has succeeded in a marked degree in meeting the requirements I have mentioned as demanded of the successful historian in his valuable work on "Monks and Monasteries." It is a work of real worth and must have required a vast amount of time, patience, and exhaustive research to sweep the centuries with a keen intellectual vision and gather together the salient facts relating to religious orders that have exerted a far-reaching influence on our civilization for almost two thousand years. A complete grasp of his subject is evinced throughout the work, and the facts at his command are handled with a fairness and impartiality that are beyond praise. The earnest desire to be at all times just and to present nothing but the truth is a distinguishing characteristic of the work. Dr. Wishart has been able in an eminent degree to put himself in the place of those about whom he writes; and thus, though he at no time glosses over the dark stains that so often disfigure the story with which he deals, yet so completely has he risen above prejudice that the work might have come from the pen of a fearless and able Roman Churchman before the rise of Protestantism. We say before the rise of Protestantism because its advent has naturally served to make Catholic writers more reticent in dealing with the darker sides of the history connected with their faith. To these most essential requirements of the historian Dr. Wishart has brought the charm of a simple and direct style, the effectiveness of which is at times heightened by the presence of exquisite and vivid bits of description. Here, for example, is the opening paragraph in the story of the hermits of Egypt:

"Egypt was the mother of Christian monasticism, as she has been of many other wonders. Vast solitudes; lonely mountains, honey-combed with dens and caves; arid valleys and barren hills; dreary deserts that glistened under the blinding glare of the sun that poured its heat upon them steadily all the year; strange, grotesque rocks and peaks that assumed all sorts of fantastic shapes to the overwrought fancy; in many places no water, no verdure, and scarcely a thing in motion; the crocodile and the bird lazily seeking their necessary food and moving only as compelled; unbounded expanse in the wide star-lit heavens; unbroken quiet on the lonely mountains—a fit home for the hermit, a paradise to the lover of solitude and peace."

## II.

In the opening chapter the author points out the fact that the monk is by no means peculiar to Christianity. "Every great religion in ancient and modern times has expressed itself in some form of monastic life." "In the sacred writings of the venerable Hindus, portions of which have been dated back as far as 2400 B.C., there are numerous legends about holy monks and many ascetic rules." "The Hindu ascetic, or naked philosopher, as the Greeks called him, exhausted his imagination in devising schemes of self-torture." "Centuries before the Christian Era there existed both phases of Christian monasticism, the hermit and the crowded convent." "When Father Bury, a Portuguese missionary, first saw the Chinese bonzes, tonsured and using their rosaries, he cried out,

'There is not a single article of dress, or a sacerdotal function, or a single ceremony of the Roman Church, which the Devil has not imitated in this country!'" Dr. Wishart further points out the fact that many Grecian philosophers taught ascetic principles, notably Pythagoras, who in the year 580 B.C. established a brotherhood that strongly suggests monasticism. Among the Jews the Essenes, "a sect bound by strict vows," resembled in many striking particulars some orders of Christian monks; while "the teachings of Plato, no doubt, had a powerful monastic influence, under certain social conditions, upon later thinkers and upon those who yearned for victory over the flesh. Plato strongly insisted on an ideal life in which higher pleasures are preferred to lower. Earthly thoughts and ambitions are to yield before a holy communion with the Divine."

After the Christian religion was established, and worldliness began to creep into the young Church on the one hand and persecution began to harass the believers on the other, many disciples fled from the cities and populous centers and came to the fastnesses of the mountains and desert regions. The story of the early anchorites of Egypt and Assyria and the record of the founding and growth of the early Christian monasteries, as vividly sketched by our author, afford one of the most weird and intensely interesting passages in history. But, though possessed of much of that strange fascination which one feels in reading the uncanny prose stories of Edgar Allan Poe, its interest is less than that of the story of the rise of monasticism in Rome. It was in the year 340 that Athanasius, fleeing from the persecutions of the Arians, entered Rome. He was accompanied by two hermits of the desert of Egypt. They were unkempt, filthy, rude, and almost savage in appearance, and the story of their voluntary and self-inflicted tortures and fastings at first excited scorn, derision, and contempt in the Eternal City; nor can we wonder at the aversion felt by the Romans for these men when we call to mind the fact that the greatest number of baths permitted by the ascetic brotherhood was four a year, and at the time of the advent of Athanasius and his friends one of the chief delights of the Roman populace was found in the luxurious public and private baths.

It was not long, however, before the despised monks began to attract the serious attention of many of the more thoughtful and conscientious in Christian Rome. We say *Christian* Rome because nominally Christianity had triumphed, albeit at a terrible cost; for the Church had compromised with the world, and in many ways the Roman service suggested the pagan rites, forms, and ceremonials that had preceded it. But sadder far than this lapse was the vanishing from the Church of the lofty ideals of life, the living faith, the stern morality and loving interest for the poor, wretched, and suffering ones that marked the early days of Christianity. Rome was practically the same as the Rome of the Cæsars, and in these strange men of the desert the better element soon found that which the denizens of the Eternal City most needed—that which was worth far more than wealth, refinement, and intellectual culture. In these recluses were seen a living faith, absolute sincerity,

and a resolute desire to conquer the flesh; while Roman society represented the antipodes of all these things, being characterized by artificiality, insincerity, soul-paralyzing skepticism, and the worship of the body, which frequently degenerated into gross sensualism. Hence, after the first feeling of repulsion and abhorrence, a change took place. The hermits began to have willing hearers, and scores of the high-born sons and daughters of Rome sought refuge in a life other than that in which they lived. They too went to extremes, and as a rule became far more intent on saving their own souls than on saving others. Among the first of the young men of culture to come under the gospel of asceticism as preached by the Egyptian hermits in the Imperial City was Jerome, who eagerly accepted the stern demands made upon him. He was a youth of brilliant intellect, who had early come from his home, in what is now Austria-Hungary, to Rome for education; and here, while acquiring the intellectual culture of the time, he came under the baleful immorality that flourished on every side. His life for a time was given over to excesses, but now he turned to the desert and lived the life of a recluse. Something of the frightfully erroneous conceptions of Christian duty entertained by these anchorites may be gleaned from the following:

"When parents objected to his monastic views, Jerome quoted the saying of Jesus respecting the renunciation of father and mother, and then said: 'Though thy mother with flowing hair and rent garments should show thee the breasts which have nourished thee; though thy father should lie upon the threshold; yet depart thou, treading over thy father, and fly with dry eyes to the standard of the cross. The love of God and the fear of hell easily rend the bonds of the household asunder. The Holy Scripture indeed enjoins obedience, but he who loves them more than Christ loses his soul.'

"Jerome vividly portrays his own spiritual conflicts. The deserts were crowded with saintly soldiers battling against similar temptations, the nature of which is suggested by the following excerpt from Jerome's writings. 'How often,' he says, 'when I was living in the desert, in the vast solitude which gives to hermits a savage dwelling-place, parched by a burning sun, how often did I fancy myself among the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone because I was filled with bitterness. Sackcloth disfigured my unshapely limbs and my skin from long neglect had become black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if drowsiness chanced to overcome my struggles against it, my bare bones, which hardly held together, clashed against the ground. Now, although in my fear of hell I had consigned myself to this prison where I had no companions but scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself amid bevies of girls. Helpless, I cast myself at the feet of Jesus. I watered them with my tears, and I subdued my rebellious body with weeks of abstinence. I remember how I often cried aloud all night till the break of day. I used to dread my cell as if it knew my thoughts, and, stern and angry with myself, I used to make my way alone into the desert. Wherever I saw hollow valleys, craggy mountains, steep cliffs, there I made my oratory—there the house of correction for my unhappy flesh. There, also, when I had shed copious tears and had strained my eyes to heaven, I sometimes felt myself among angelic hosts and sang for joy and gladness.'

"No doubt these men were warring against Nature. Their yielding to the temptation to obtain spiritual dominance by self-flagellation and fasting may be criticized in the light of modern Christianity. 'Fanati-

cism defies Nature,' says F. W. Robertson; 'Christianity refines and respects it. Christianity does not denaturalize, but only sanctifies and refines according to the laws of Nature. Christianity does not destroy our natural instincts, but gives them a higher and nobler direction.'"

Many *women* of high social standing and of great wealth also sought refuge in the monastic life. Some of them, however, refused to live for themselves. On this point Dr. Wishart observes:

"The fine quality of mercy that distinguishes woman's character deserves recognition. Even though she retired to a convent, she could not become so forgetful of her fellow-creatures as her male companions. From the very beginning we observe that she was more unselfish in her asceticism than they. It is true the monk forsook all, and to that extent was self-sacrificing; but in his desire for his own salvation he was prone to neglect every one else. The monk's ministrations were too often confined to those who came to him, but the nun went forth to heal the diseased and to bind up the broken-hearted. As soon as she embraced the monastic life we read of hospitals. The desire for salvation drove man into the desert; a Christ-like mercy and divine sympathy kept his sister by the couch of pain."

In the following lines we catch a glimpse of one of these noble-souled women who refused to live for self alone:

"Another interesting character of that period was Marcella, a beautiful woman of illustrious lineage, a descendant of consuls and prefects. After a married life of seven years her husband died. She determined not to embark on the matrimonial seas a second time, but to devote herself to works of charity. . . . Marcella lavished her wealth upon the poor. Jerome praises her philanthropic labors thus: 'Our widow's clothing was meant to keep out the cold and not to show her figure. She stored her money in the stomachs of the poor rather than to keep it at her own disposal.' Seldom seen upon the streets, she remained at home, surrounded by virgins and widows, obedient and loving to her mother. Among the high-born women it was regarded as degrading to assume the costume of the nun, but she bore the scorn of her social equals with humility and grace."

Space forbids our following our author through the luminous chapters in which he tells the story of the different phases of monastic life and the illustrious leaders of the different orders. The pictures of the Benedictines and the Jesuits are drawn with the impartiality of the true historian, and in them the lights and shadows are clearly indicated; but perhaps no section of the volume is more interesting and helpful than the closing chapters, which deal with the Causes and Ideals of Monasticism and the Effect of Monasticism. Here the historian becomes a philosopher, and from the story that has been so graphically given he draws conclusions evincing the same breadth of spirit, impartiality, and fairness which characterize the preceding chapters. I regard the volume as one of the most important historical contributions to our literature that have appeared from the pen of an American author during our generation.

III.

Before closing this notice I desire to say a word about the book as a model of honest and artistic workmanship. John Ruskin used to de-

plore the multiplication of books, and especially the way in which most of them were turned out—with cheap material entering into their manufacture, shoddy workmanship, and poor type. He used to insist that people should own few books, but that they should be great works and should be honestly made—that the paper should be good, that the print should be fair and inviting, and that the book itself should be an art work, while being thoroughly serviceable. Mr. Albert Brandt has evidently the Ruskin ideal in mind. His books, measured by Ruskin's rule, are not excelled, if indeed they are equaled, by any publishing house in the New World. It is a pleasure to own one of the Brandt books, and I predict a great future for his house, as there is a large and constantly increasing constituency of readers who are searching for honestly made books—books in which the artistic excellence is only surpassed by their serviceableness; and in these two respects the books made by Albert Brandt have no superior.

THE PEOPLE'S MARX. A popular epitome of Karl Marx's "Capital." By Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert R. La Monte. Cloth, 290 pp. International Library Publishing Company, New York.

This work merits wide reading, for here we have the most successful of all attempts to bring the social theories of the great German thinker, Karl Marx, within the intelligent grasp of the general reader, whose time for serious reading is so limited as to render it impossible for him to master the deep and exhaustive philosophic work of one of the most profound thinkers of our age.

Karl Marx was born in 1818. He was one of the latest born of the children of the revolutionary generation that extended from 1790 to 1820—a period that bred giants and innovators in every department of thought. He was educated at Jena, Bonn, and Berlin, and belonged to the coterie of fine scholars who ranged themselves on the side of democracy during the portentous but ill-starred revolutions of 1848. Like Richard Wagner, he had to fly from his fatherland. France, supposed to be the most friendly land in Europe to democratic citizens, refused to allow him to tarry within her borders. Hence he repaired to London, and here, with the splendid opportunities afforded by the British Museum and other libraries, he was enabled to prepare his monumental work on "Capital," which rightfully ranks among the greatest economic contributions to literature. Marx was one of those profound thinkers and tireless workers who write for thinkers and patient investigators rather than for the multitude. To him, men of strong intellectual grasp, who were not only open to reason but by nature were sympathetic to his general views, have come, as philosophers during the last 2,500 years have gone to Plato; nor have they gone away unsatisfied. We are only beginning faintly to realize the influence that Marx is even thus early wielding upon civilization. Something of this may be

gleaned by glancing at the life-work of the late Wilhelm Liebknecht in Germany.

Liebknecht, it will be remembered, was a fellow-exile with Marx in London. It was while there that he came so completely under the influence of the father of German Socialism that on his return to his fatherland he joined heart and soul with the insignificant little band who had already seized upon Marx's theories with avidity; and into this little group he infused his own intellectual enthusiasm, becoming to a great degree the head and front of Socialism in Germany, since which time the Socialist strength has grown so rapidly that in the empire of the Kaiser alone there are to-day more than two million Socialists among the electorate.

Only patient plodders and scholars with tastes for economic studies, however, are able to master Marx's "Capital," and many attempts have been made to furnish the people with a luminous epitome of his great work. But all such attempts are necessarily exceedingly difficult, owing to the fact that Marx marshals a vast array of facts from which he draws his conclusions, and upon which deductions he builds his theories. To give a digest of the work that shall be at once brief and yet present a résumé of the theories without adding the foundation facts is necessarily difficult. Up to the present time no one has so satisfactorily accomplished this work as Gabriel Deville, in the volume before us. His "People's Marx" was published in France in 1883, and has now been excellently translated into English by Robert R. La Monte. The volume is not intended to be a substitute for Marx's "Capital," but rather an exposition that shall make clear the theories of the great German to all readers and will stimulate the more thoughtful to further investigation. We heartily recommend this work to the general reader interested in social science, and who would obtain a satisfactory conception of the theories held by the school of German Socialists.

EVERY LIVING CREATURE; Or, Heart Training Through the Animal World. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Leatherette, 40 pp. Price, 35 cents. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., publishers, New York.

There is no more hopeful or inspiring sign of our times than the presence of a number of high, fine thinkers and sincere workers who are consecrating their lives to the service of all that is best—men and women who are at once intellectually able and deeply humane, whose sympathies go out to all sentient life, and who are rationally striving to call out the finest elements in the men and women of our too self-absorbed age. Among the young men of this class perhaps no one stands higher than Mr. Ralph Waldo Trine, the well-known author of "What All the World's a-Seeking," "In Tune with the Infinite," "The Greatest Thing Ever Known," and other works. Mr. Trine's life is perhaps quite as much of an inspiration to those who know him as are his books; and this is saying much.

It was only a few weeks ago that I chanced to meet a lady in rather humble circumstances. She has known many reverses in life, and I think probably in her childhood had scant opportunities for enjoying the educational advantages that are so easily attainable to-day. She seemed to me quite prosaic, and indeed one of the last persons who I should have imagined would have been interested in writings such as those of Mr. Trine. But in the course of a conversation this lady said to me: "I must tell you of a wonderful book I have been reading. It has done me more good than has the writing of any man I have ever read before." And then she told me how she had been treated unjustly, and how an opportunity came through which she could obtain revenge on the wrong-doer. Her first impulse was to gain satisfaction through retaliation, but all of a sudden a passage from this book flashed through her mind. She went over to the table, took it up, read the passage again, and all desire to retaliate left her. "And," she continued, "night and morning, as well as during the day, when I am weary or troubled I go to this little book and I am always helped. You must get it, for I know you will enjoy it."

"What is its title?" I asked.

"It is called 'In Tune with the Infinite,'" she replied, going to the table and bringing me the book.

Who can measure the good that is wrought by books that so lift souls and ennoble the common life? I have before me a most helpful little volume by Mr. Trine, entitled "Every Living Creature." It is a manly and well-considered plea for humane treatment of dumb animals. The author brings to his discussion a clear vision, a keen intellectual discernment, and a warm heart. No one can peruse the booklet without being made the better for it, or without having many new trains of thought started in his mind. Here is the opening paragraph. It illustrates the spirit of the work as well as the style of the author:

"It is said that in Japan if one picks up a stone to throw at a dog, the dog will not run, as you will find he will in most every case here in America, because *there* the dog has never had a stone thrown at him, and consequently he does not know what it means. This spirit of gentleness, kindliness, and care for the animal world is a characteristic of the Japanese people. It in turn manifests itself in all of their relations with their fellow-men; and one of the results is that the amount of crime committed there each year in proportion to its population is but a very small fraction of that committed in the United States."

I heartily wish every teacher in the land would read this little volume to his pupils during the ensuing year. It would prove a civilizer in the highest sense of the term.

A CHILD OF LIGHT: Heredity and Prenatal Culture. By Newton N. Riddell. Cloth, 352 pp. Price, $2. Child of Light Publishing Company, Chicago.

One of the new questions that have arisen to commanding importance during the last generation relates to the right of every child to be well

born. In plant life and among the lower animals man has long appreciated the importance of having the right conditions prevail for the most perfect results; but when we came to the crown and flower of creation this question, of the very first importance, was ignored when its discussion was not tabooed. Fortunately for the race, during the last two decades a change has been rapidly taking place among leading thinkers, and in recent years several valuable works have appeared dealing with heredity, prenatal and postnatal influences, and kindred themes.

By far the most important of these works, intended for general perusal, has just appeared from the pen of the well-known student and popular lecturer, Newton N. Riddell. It is a large and well printed volume of over 350 pages. The author has for many years given profound study to the subjects he discusses. All the great authorities of Europe and America dealing with heredity, prenatal and postnatal influences, the new psychology, the subtle influences due to psychic impressions, and all kindred subjects have been carefully consulted. He is thus admirably equipped for the important work of presenting in a popular and yet intelligent and authoritative manner truths of the greatest importance to the oncoming generations. We need not agree with all of his conclusions to appreciate the value of the work as a whole, which indeed it would be difficult to overestimate.

The volume is divided into three parts, the first dealing chiefly with Brain Building and Soul Growth, the Reproduction of Life, the Factors of Heredity, Parental Adaptation, Psychology, and Sex Potency. The second part, which discusses Prenatal Influences, contains eight suggestive chapters, and is followed by part three, dealing with the Abnormal Man, in which Heredity, Insanity, and Imbecility, Homicide and Suicide, Heredity and Commercialism, Heredity and Intemperance, and Heredity and the Double Standard are comprehensively discussed.

It is probable that many of our readers will dissent from some of the author's views; yet all will, I think, be impressed with the high moral purpose that has actuated him, no less than his ability to give a broad, masterly, and authoritative discussion of the problems involved. Hence, it is a work that should be in the hands of every parent in America.

KRISHNA AND KRISHNAISM; Or, The Life, Character, and Teachings of Sree Krishna. By Bulloram Mullick, B.A. Paper. Price, 2s. 6d. Nokur Chunder Dutt, 6 Chore Bagan Lane, publisher, Calcutta, India.

This work is by a native Indian, who occupies the position of judge in Calcutta. It contains a brief outline of the life of Krishna as set forth in the great poems and sacred works of India. The author introduces much that is explanatory in the course of his narration. In referring to this work the *Indian Mirror,* of Calcutta, says: "Those who have no patience to go through the ponderous volumes of *Mahabharata* will do

well to peruse this book, which is written in a fascinating style, and may be recommended to grown-up students in our colleges and schools. There is a charm in the production and we congratulate our learned author on his success in producing an entertaining and instructive book with careful citation of authorities both European and Indian; and it is not too much praise that he could find time, after the labors of the day, as a judicial officer, to get up such an admirable work, which should give him a corner in the student's library."

THE SPIRIT OF SWEET-WATER. By Hamlin Garland. Cloth, 100 pp. Illustrated. Price, 50 cents. Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

In "The Spirit of Sweet-Water," Mr. Garland has given one of the most delightful stories of love that have appeared in recent years. It is a very simple tale of a Western miner and a consumptive girl. It shows the power of love and thought in calling out the dormant energies of life, bringing health and happiness where disease and hopelessness had dwelt, and on the other hand lifting the hero to moral heights he had not before dreamed of attaining. I have seldom read anything that in the form of a little story better reveals the potential influence of love. As a tale, it is an exquisitely sweet creation, revealing finer touches in some directions than Mr. Garland has shown in his more powerful works, while impressing the greatest lessons of life—the power of love and thought so to stimulate life at its fountain-head that they bring health, happiness, and goodness as the sun of spring calls forth the leaves, flowers, and fruits from plant, shrub, and tree.

## *BOOKS RECEIVED.*

"An American Commoner; or, The Life and Times of Richard Parks Bland," with an Introduction by William Jennings Bryan and Personal Reminiscences by Mrs. Richard Parks Bland. Edited by William Vincent Byars. Cloth, illustrated, 404 pp. Price, $3.50. Columbia, Mo.: E. W. Stephens.

"Leaves of Grass," with Autobiography. By Walt Whitman. Cloth, 496 pp. Price, $1.25. Philadelphia: David McKay.

"The Future of the American Negro." By Booker T. Washington. Cloth, 244 pp. Price, $1.50. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

"Representative Democracy." By John R. Commons. Paper, 100 pp. Price, 25 cents. New York: Bureau of Economic Research.

"Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman." By Elizabeth Porter Gould. Cloth, 89 pp. Price, $1. Philadelphia: David McKay.

"Methods in the Art of Taxidermy." By Oliver Davie. Cloth, 359 pp. 90 full-page illustrations. Price, $2.50. Philadelphia: David McKay.

## NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE ARENA, with this issue, completes its Twenty-fourth Volume. The recent introduction of several new departments and expansion of our work and policy, resultant from our absorption of *The Coming Age,* have proved very popular, as attested by a gratifying increase in circulation and commendatory notices of the press. The November number was heartily welcomed, by both old and new friends of THE ARENA, as a splendid epitome of modern thought on a variety of vital topics; yet the current issue manifests a degree of improvement that will be repeatedly presented during the succeeding months.

An important series of papers, by different authors, on matters pertaining to the development of Psychical Research in America begins this month with a contribution from James H. Hyslop, professor of logic and ethics in Columbia University. The next article, to appear in January, will be entitled "The Spiritual in Literature," from the pen of Sara A. Underwood, whose psychic experiences as an automatic writer are famous the world over.

Students of modern literature and its makers and tendencies will be deeply interested in Joseph Dana Miller's reflections upon the degeneracy of self-worship and Mr. Wisby's graphic sketch of the Shakespeare of Denmark. The former article is especially timely, in view of the prevalent disposition unduly to exalt the ego and frequently to exploit its perverted aspects. The half-tone portrait accompanying the latter, as frontispiece to this issue, is unique and worthy of preservation.

To alternate with our Department of "Conversations," we introduce this month a talk with Mr. Bolton Hall, "On the Stoa of the Twentieth Century," the topic being the far-reaching advantages that would accrue from the adoption of the single tax—a principle that is rapidly making its way to acceptance among thoughtful minds. The "Conversation" to

appear in January will present the views of the well-known actor, Joseph Haworth, on great actors of the classic drama, which will include many personal reminiscences.

The leading feature of our next issue will be a symposium—the most important that has yet appeared—on the subject of "Christian Science." Among the debaters will be Judge Ewing, of the Chicago bar, the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D. D., and Mr. Charles Brodie Patterson. The same interesting topic will be discussed later in these pages by E. A. Jenks, A.M., from the standpoint of a liberal Congregationalist, and by Dr. J. W. Winkley from the Unitarian point of view. Whatever truth may underlie the teachings of this growing cult is sure to be brought out in this dispassionate but candid presentation of its doctrines and the criticism they invite from the logical reasoner.

Students of heredity and the influence of environment will be glad to learn that a series of eight articles by Frances A. Kellor, of the University of Chicago, on "The Criminal Negro," will begin in our January number. These papers are to embody an original biological, sociological, and psychological investigation of criminality among the negroes in eight Southern States and thirty-five institutions. The objects are: (1) To secure data upon the problem of the effects of hereditary and environmental conditions in causing crime; (2) to institute accurate comparisons between negroes and whites, and between normal individuals and criminals; (3) to apply to the problem of criminality the latest sociological methods and psychological apparatus; and (4) to make a comprehensive study of the subject that shall omit no important factors. A fine portrait of this able writer will accompany her first paper next month.

Among the distinguished contributors to forthcoming issues of THE ARENA, not already announced elsewhere, are Governor C. S. Thomas, of Colorado; the Hon. Frank Doster, Chief Justice of the Kansas Supreme Court, and Prof. Thomas E. Will, A.M.

J. E. M.

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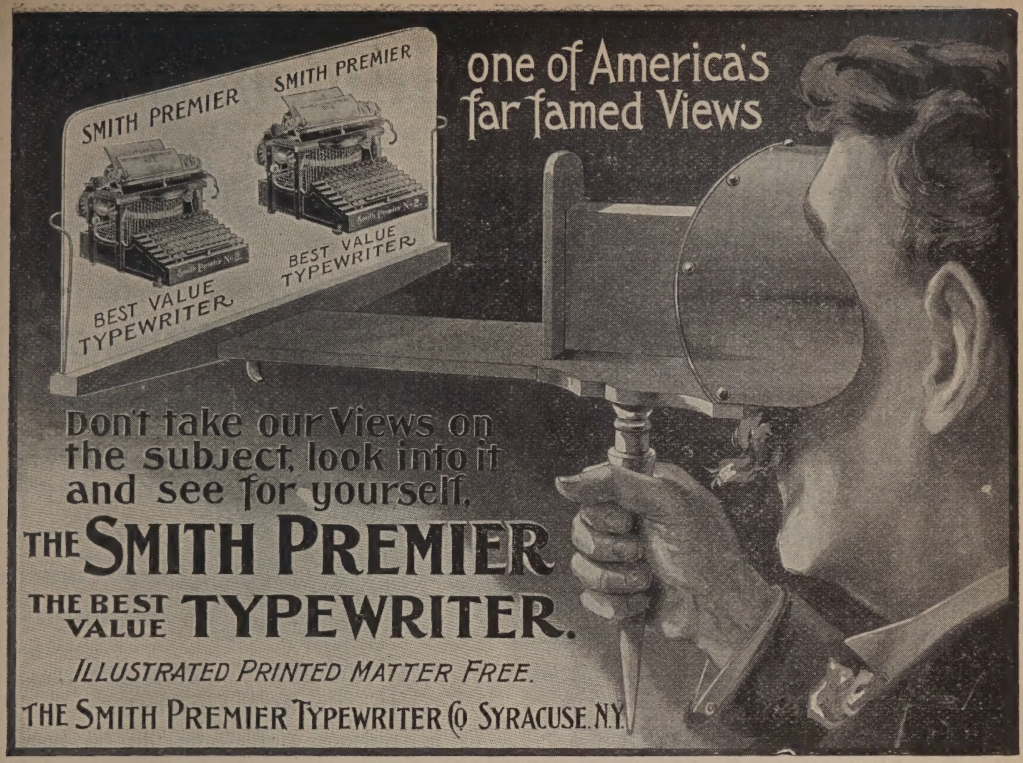
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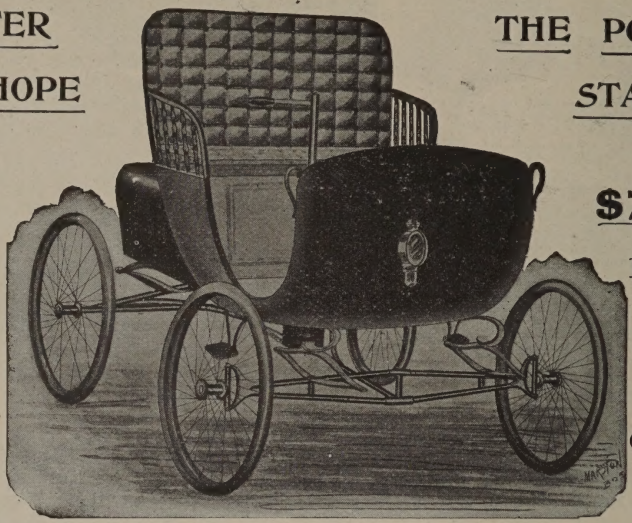

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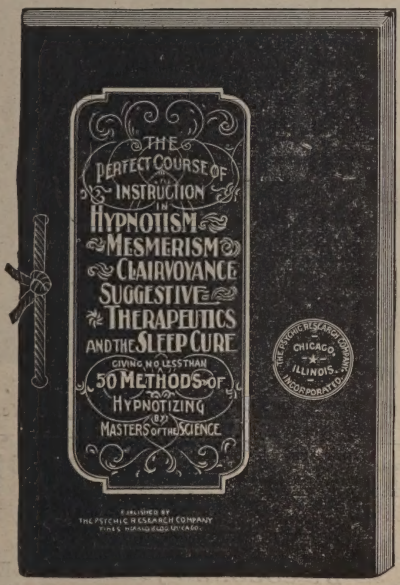


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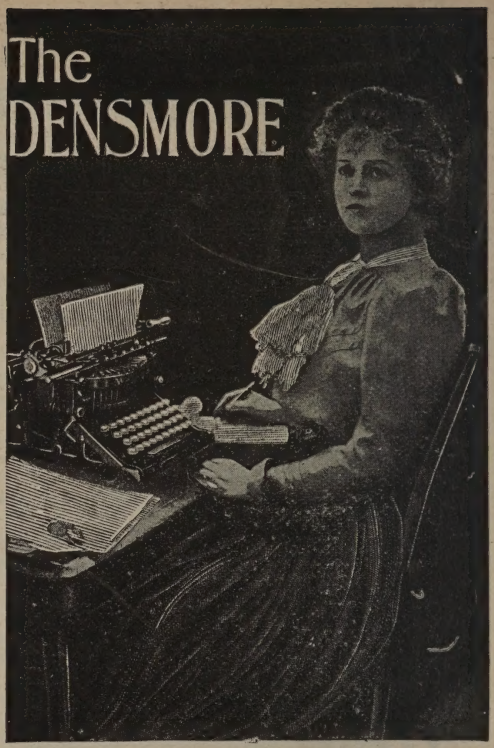


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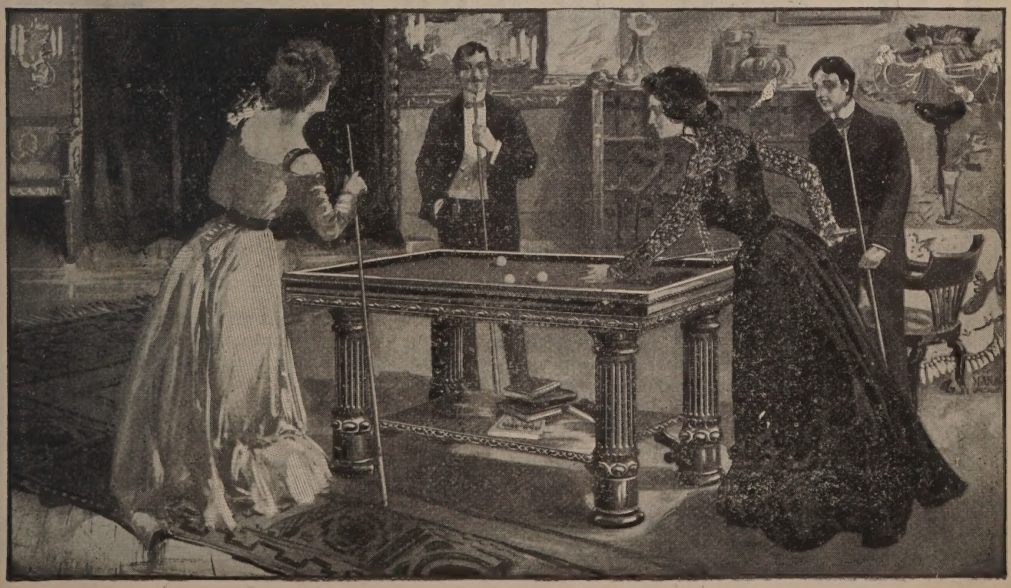

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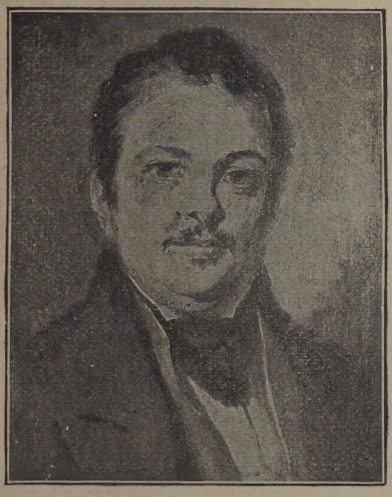

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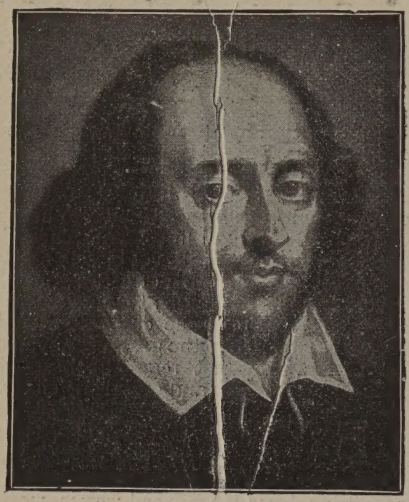

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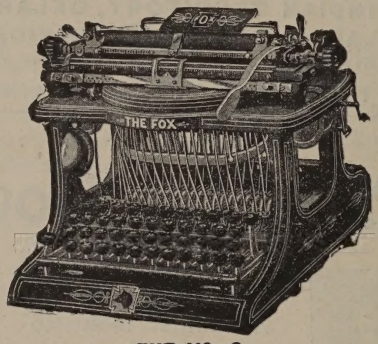


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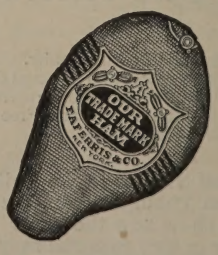


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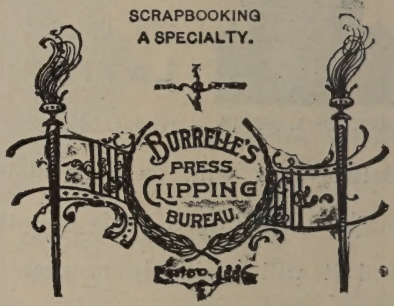


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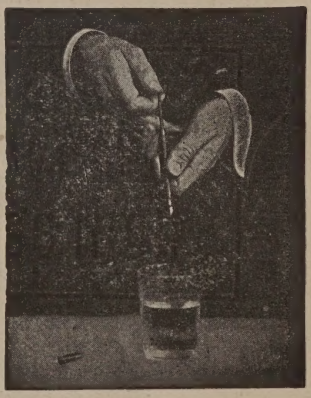

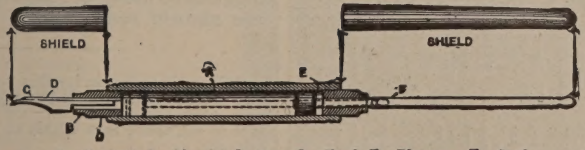


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### *Startling Words from the Committee Appointed to Investigate Hypnotism for the Benefit of Journal Readers.*

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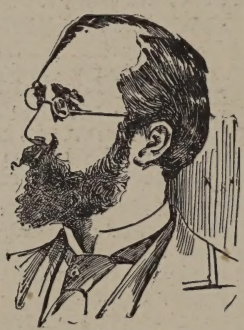

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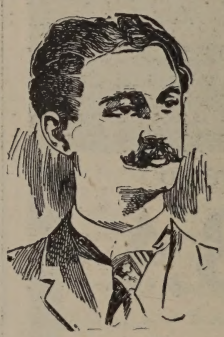

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It was clearly demonstrated that hypnotism may be employed so that the person operated upon is entirely unconscious of the fact that he is being influenced; and, all things considered, the committee regard it as the most valuable discovery of modern times. A knowledge of it is essential to one's success in life and well being in society.

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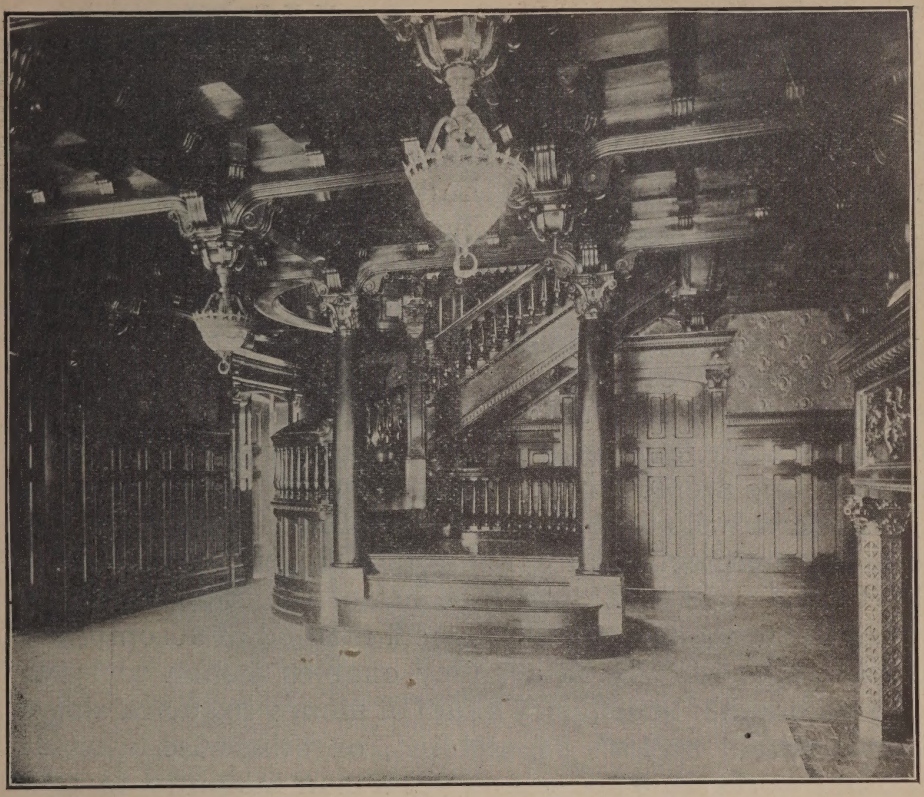

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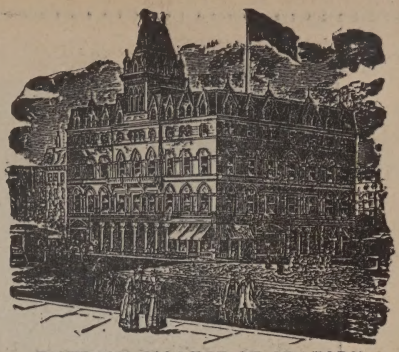

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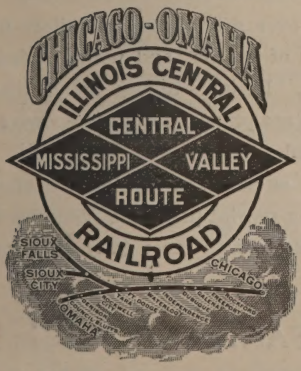


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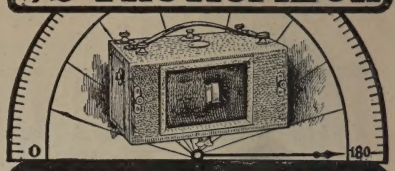


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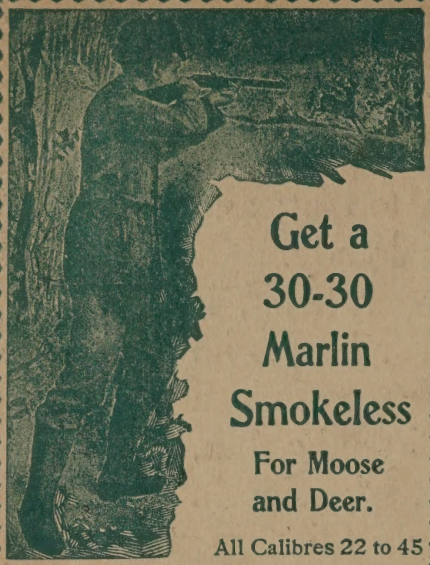

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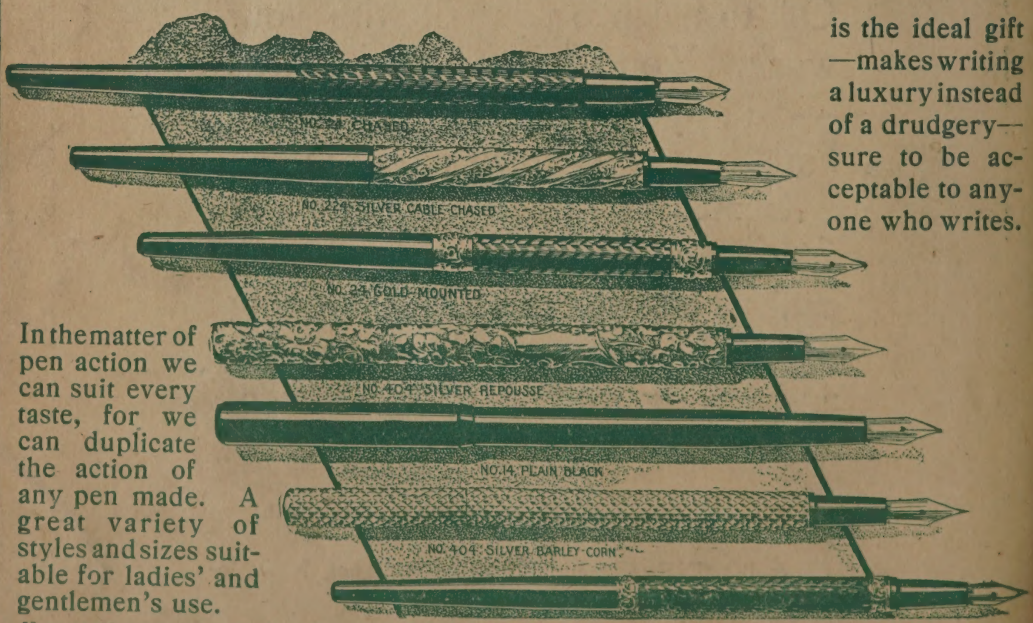
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